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**1839.**

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C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

# CONTENTS

OF

No. XI.

ART.		Pagc.
I.—1.	Brockedon's Road Book from London to Naples, illustrated with Engravings by W. and E. Finden. London, 1835	-
2.	Travels in Europe, for the use of Travellers on the Continent; to which is added an Account of the Remains of Ancient Italy, and also of the Roads leading to those Remains. By Mariana Starke. Ninth Edition. Paris, 1836	-
3.	Nuovissima Guida dei Viaggiatori in Italia. 3 <sup>a</sup> . Ediz. Milano, 1834	1
II.—1.	Europa und die Revolution. Von J. Görres. (Europe and the Revolution. By J. Görres.) Stuttgart	-
2.	Die Christliche Mystik. Erster Band: von Joseph Görres. (Christian Mysticism. By J. Görres.) Vol. I. Ratisbon and Landshut. 1836	31
III.—1.	Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools in Ireland, together with the minutes of evidence. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th September, 1835, and 18th August, 1836)	-
2.	Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9th August, 1838)	74
IV.—1.	Reminiscences of Rome: or a Religious, Moral, and Literary View of the Eternal City; in a series of letters addressed to a friend in England. By a member of the Arcadian Academy. London, 1838	-
2.	Degli Instituti di Publica Carità e d'Istruzione Primaria in Roma; Saggio Storico e Statistico. De Monsig. D. Carlo Luigi Morichini, Romano, Vice-Presidente dell'Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele. Roma, 1835	111
V.—1.	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vols. 15 to 40. New Series. London, 1833-38	-
2.	The Mirror of Parliament. Edited by John Henry Barrow, Esq. Vols. 18 to 36. London, 1833-38	133



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4  
.D82

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# CONTENTS

OF

No. XI.

ART.		Page.
I.—1.	Brockedon's Road Book from London to Naples, illustrated with Engravings by W. and E. Finden. London, 1835	-
2.	Travels in Europe, for the use of Travellers on the Continent; to which is added an Account of the Remains of Ancient Italy, and also of the Roads leading to those Remains. By Mariana Starke. Ninth Edition. Paris, 1836	-
3.	Nuovissima Guida dei Viaggiatori in Italia. 3 <sup>a</sup> . Ediz. Milano, 1834	1
II.—1.	Europa und die Revolution. Von J. Görres. (Europe and the Revolution. By J. Görres.) Stuttgart	-
2.	Die Christliche Mystik. Erster Band: von Joseph Görres. (Christian Mysticism. By J. Görres.) Vol. I. Ratisbon and Landshut. 1836	31
III.—1.	Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools in Ireland, together with the minutes of evidence. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th September, 1835, and 18th August, 1836)	-
2.	Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9th August, 1838)	74
IV.—1.	Reminiscences of Rome: or a Religious, Moral, and Literary View of the Eternal City; in a series of letters addressed to a friend in England. By a member of the Arcadian Academy. London, 1838	-
2.	Degli Instituti di Publica Carità e d'Istruzione Primaria in Roma; Saggio Storico e Statistico. De Monsig. D. Carlo Luigi Morichini, Romano, Vice-Presidente dell' Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele. Roma, 1835	111
V.—1.	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vols. 15 to 40. New Series. London, 1833-38	-
2.	The Mirror of Parliament. Edited by John Henry Barrow, Esq. Vols. 18 to 36. London, 1833-38	133

VI.—1.	Il Seminario Ecclesiastico, o gli otto Giorni a Santo Eusebio in Roma, opera del Dottore Agostino Theiner. Translated from the German into Italian, by G. Mazio. Rome, 1834	-	-	-
2.	The origin, object, and influence, of Ecclesiastical Seminaries considered, in a discourse delivered in the church of St. Mary's College, New Oscott, on occasion of the solemn dedication of the College and Church, May 31, 1838. By the Rev. H. Weedall, D.D. Birmingham, 1838	-	-	162
VII.—1.	Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider and Recommend a General System of Railways for Ireland: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. July, 1838	-	-	-
2.	Newspapers, and Periodical Controversies thereon. Passim	-	-	-
3.	A Practical Treatise on Railroads and Interior Communication in General. By Nicholas Wood. Third Edition	-	-	-
4.	A Practical Treatise on Locomotive Engines upon Railways. From the French of the Chevalier F. M. G. de Pambour. London, 1836	-	-	-
5.	On the Means of Comparing the respective advantages of different lines of Railway, and the use of Locomotive Engines. From the French of M. Navier. London, 1836	-	-	-
6.	Recent Reports of the Principal Railways of England	-	-	207
VIII.—1.	Sixteenth Report of the Inspectors General of the General State of the Prisons of Ireland, 1837, with Appendixes. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th March, 1838)	-	-	-
2.	England and Wales. Tables showing the number of Criminal Offenders committed for trial, or bailed for appearance at the Assizes and Sessions, in each County, in the year 1837, and the result of the proceedings. Made out by order of her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department)	-	-	269
IX.—	Summary Review of German Catholic Literature	-	-	277

# CONTENTS

OF

No. XII.

ART.	Page
I.—1. Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II und sein Jahr-hundert ; von Dr. C. F. Hock. Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II and his Age; by Dr. C. F. Hock. Vienna, 1837. 1 vol. 8vo. - - - - -	
2. Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII et de son siècle, d'après les monumens originaux; par J. Voigt, Professeur à l'Université de Halle; traduite de l'Allemand, augmentée d'une introduction, de notes historiques et de pièces justi- ficatives; par l'Abbé Jager, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838 - - - - -	289
II.—1. Historya Prawodawstw Slowianskich, prcz Wacława Alexandrn Maciejowskiego. Tom. I i II w Warszawie, i Lipsku, 1832. History of the Slavonian Legislature, by Venceslas Alexander Maciejowski, Vol. I and II, Warsaw and Leipsic, 1832 - - - - -	
2. Quelques mots sur l'état des paysans en Pologne, par un Polonais. Paris, 1833 - - - - -	
3. La Pologne Pittoresque; Scènes Historiques, Monumens, &c. &c. redigée par une Société de Littérateurs. Paris	325
III.—1. First and Second Report on the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain. By John Bowring, Esq. - - - - -	
2. Enquiry into divers Prohibitions upon the Introduction of Foreign Goods; dating from the 8th Oct. 1834; under the Presidency of M. Duchatel, Minister of Com- merce. Paris, 1835 - - - - -	357
IV.—Dodd's Church History of England, from the commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688, with Notes, Additions, and a Continuation, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A. Vol. I. London, 1839 - - - - -	395
V.—Remains of the late Reverend Richard H. Froude, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Vol. II. London, 1838 - - - - -	416

VI.—Kynge Johan ; a Play, in Two Parts. By John Bale. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. From the MS. of the Author, in the Library of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. London : Printed for the Cam- den Society, by John Bowyer Nichols and Son, Par- liament-street. MDCCCXXXVIII	-	-	-	436
VII.—1. Six Months in South Australia, with some Account of Port Philip and Portland Bay, in Australia Felix, with Advice to Emigrants, &c., by T. Horton James, Esq. J. Cross, Holborn, 1838	-	-	-	-
2. An Exposure of the absurd, unfounded, and contradictory Statements, in James's Six Months in South Australia, by John Stephens. London : Smith and Elder, 1839				449
VIII.—Measures to be adopted for the Employment of the La- bouring Classes in Ireland, detailed in an address to the Electors of Galway, with an appendix containing abstracts of the Reports of some of the Provincial As- semblies in Belgium. By A. H. Lynch, Esq., M.P. 1839	-	-	-	466
IX.—1. Geraldine : a Tale of Conscience. By E. C. A. Vol. III. London : 1839	-	-	-	-
2. The Propagation of the Faith : a Sermon preached in the Sardinian Chapel, London, by the R. R. Dr. Baines. London : 1839	-	-	-	480
X.—1. "Homeward Bound : " a Tale of the Sea. By J. Feni- more Cooper, Esq., author of the " Pilot," the " Spy," &c. London : 1838	-	-	-	-
2. Eve Effingham, or Home. By the author of " Home- ward Bound," &c. &c. London : 1839	-	-	-	490
XI.—Musical Reminiscences : containing an Account of the Italian Opera in England from 1773. Fourth Edition, continued to the present time, and including the Festi- val in Westminster Abbey. By the Earl of Mount- Edgumbe. London : 1834	-	-	-	529
REVIEW OF FRENCH CATHOLIC LITERATURE	-	-	-	545
MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.				

# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1839.

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- ART. I.—1. *Brockedon's Road Book from London to Naples, illustrated with Engravings by W. and E. Finden.* London. 1835.
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3. *Nuovissima Guida dei Viaggiatori in Italia.* 3<sup>a</sup> Ediz. Milano. 1834.

WHEN a family goes to the trouble of letting or shutting up its house, packing up its furniture, dismissing its super-numerary servants, and crossing the seas for a tour in Italy, it may be supposed that some specific object is had in view, likely to compensate so much trouble. An Englishman clings to his home till some very strong conviction of propriety, or some very violent impulse of caprice, drives him from it. If it be that the health of some dear member of his family require removal to a more genial climate, our warmest sympathies accompany the travellers, and we, of course, consider them guarded by a sacred fence from all intrusion, whether of impertinent advice or of critical comment. Their way is sorrowful,—the physician is their guide,—“*Clarke on Climate*” their road-book,—and a balmy air or a cooling breeze is more valuable to them than the marvels of art or the memory of past achievements. When a chosen spot is the sole aim of the journey; if economy of domestic arrangements or of good education have led to the choice of some provincial city in France or Italy for a place of temporary residence, we easily forgive the prudence which selects the shortest and least expensive road, and looks neither to the right nor to the left, as it hurries on towards such a final destination. And in like manner we speak of many who, with higher aims, have fixed their desires on particular spots; of the ecclesiastic whom devotion, or business of high and sacred importance, sends to the city of Peter; of the youthful scholar who hastens to seclude



himself in the walls of some college or monastery; or even of such as, having a limited time of rest from professional duties, prefer devoting it to some more interesting place. To all these we have nothing to say. Their purpose is definite, and they attain it. They have no time for loitering on the way; they have no relish for what can retard or distract them. But with the swarms that yearly cross the channel, and visit Italy, for the purpose, as they say, *of seeing it*, we have no patience. We can scarcely keep terms with them. What do they mean by this expression? To see its landscapes from their carriage-windows? its cities from the dining-room of hotels? its society in its ball-rooms? its morality in its servants' halls? its fine-arts in shop windows? Truly this is no uncommon way of seeing Italy. Or do they mean by Italy two or three of its large cities,—Florence, Rome, and Naples, where months are spent in the same company, in the same amusements, or rather in the same frivolities, as occupy the London season; while the intermediate spaces of rich historic provinces are left unheeded and unstudied? Truly this is the commonest way of seeing Italy.

The great tour of this peninsula, in fact, consists in being shot, so to speak, with the greatest possible rapidity from one capital to another, with every wish that the interval between them could be annihilated; and its art is to know and hit the proper moment when each place is in the full bloom of bustle, fashion and amusement. In the meantime, cities rich with the treasures of art, or abounding with resources of other intellectual gratification, are passed through with no farther notice than the operation of changing horses gives time for; and others, but a few miles out of the beaten track, however remarkable for objects of past or present celebrity, receive no nearer inspection than a pocket-glass can procure of their outward appearance. The only opportunities to be gained of truly knowing the inhabitants of this fine country, are thus utterly neglected; for the great cities of all Europe have become almost perfectly assimilated in taste, in manners, and, what is worse, in moral character.

To this method of running through the country, as from the face of an enemy, to the refuge of large cities, we own that our travellers are led by the books which generally guide them through their tour. But before proceeding to any remarks upon this, our proper subject, our readers may very pertinently ask what right we have to constitute ourselves judges in this matter, or to distinguish our own travels from the general class? It is true, then, that we have published no tour of Italy, for which, it would seem, six months' residence there is a sufficient qualification. But what is worse, we have never kept journals of our

various wanderings, made at many different times, not merely up and down, but athwart, and diagonally, and circuitously, about the classical peninsula. We keep few or no notes of what we see; first, because we think it one of the follies of travelling to put into manuscript what is already in print; and then because we never yet took pleasure, nor found others take it, in perusing the written journals of travellers. Such objects as have escaped common observation we may briefly note down; but our storehouse is chiefly within our memories,—for we perambulate principally for our own sakes. Moreover, we make no sketches; we have no album. In our journeyings our fortune is diverse; sometimes we have rolled post-haste in the luxurious English carriage, at others we have jolted for days in a lumbering *vettura*; we have tried, as best suited us, the diligence or the *char-à-bancs*; we have crossed untried paths on stumbling horses or on stubborn mules, and we have not despised the ministrations of a still humbler beast of burden. And when all these resources have failed, we have e'en trusted our fate to such remains of corporal activity as a certain increase of age and weight has left us; for we are becoming elderly. We have seldom been much at a loss about effecting a lodgement. As we have been long upon the road, we know our stations pretty well; and while we accept the cordial reception it is our good fortune to receive from many estimable and distinguished individuals, we can make up our minds to the miseries of a country inn, where the inmates are cheerful, though their larder be not full of good cheer. Where such resources fail us, religious hospitality will not; and we never knew the convent-gate refuse to open on a stranger, nor leave him, on shutting again, on the outside. Furthermore, we have, in the course of our Italian perambulations, tolerably mastered that great key to the hearts of every foreign race, their language. Whereby we mean not the formularies of published dialogues, or the stately diction of books; but that unwritten speech wherein the familiar intercourse of life is carried on, and which varies, by shades almost imperceptible to any but practised ears, from province to province. Now, without pretending or desiring to catch these peculiarities, we can sufficiently understand them, and chime in with them, to put ourselves at ease with the peasants of of any district. *Bolognese*, however, is yet too much for us.

To these qualifications for a tourist, we may add another still more essential. We like the people among whom we travel. We never think of banditti or stilettoes on our way: we trust ourselves fearlessly into their rudest mountain villages. We take with us no patent *travelling chamber-locks* (*Starke*, p. 508) for our bed-room doors at inns; for, even if they have a lock on, we

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generally leave it unfastened (we like being awakened betimes). Neither do we often drive bargains about our meals and other accommodations beforehand (p. 504). We know the usual prices of things, and are seldom asked more; if we are, we do not give it. We do not set forth on our travels with the idea that all Italians are cheats, or unfaithful, or superstitious. On the contrary, much as we admire the fine country over which we travel, we value more the people who inhabit it, the noble courtesy of its provincial nobility, and the natural and respectful civility of the poorest country people. We value the facility with which an introduction, prepared or accidental, begets acquaintance, and the ease with which acquaintance ripens into generous and lasting friendship. We have a delight in finding, in almost every small town we visit, some man of letters, or some recorder of his country's fame, whose reputation pervades the peninsula, while he pursues his labours under the sequestered shelter of his old family mansion, which is sure to be decorated with some productions of the pencil worth viewing, frequently an episode of the general history of art, unfolded in the galleries of the great capitals; for it will contain the series of local painters too little known. We feel an equal pleasure in the society of the intelligent and zealous ecclesiastics whom almost every town contains. Of these the bishop is often the first, at whose hospitable board will be heard conversation on the leading religious topics of the day, not unworthy of a conference held in a university. In fine, the more we travel over the country, the more we discover those finer and more recondite traits of character, which the amalgamations and assimilating processes of society in large places have pretty nearly worn away. Yet must we not forget, amidst the pleasures, often unlooked for, of such travelling, the discovery in almost every provincial town of a small domestic colony of wanderers from our own, or some other northern countries, who, by some chance or other, have there found "a peaceful hermitage," and have easily won the esteem and affection of the natives. To these the sound of their dear native tongue is a delicious treat, and no one who speaks it bears the name of stranger. The little comforts and elegancies of a British home spread through the baronial halls of Italian palaces; the successful attempt to draw the reminiscences of an English fire-side round the huge marble gate-way, rather than chimney, which yawns in their walls; and the mystic vessels (as they seem to natives) for the rites of the tea-table, spread upon old-fashioned slabs of massive marble,—these, and many other little nationalities incongruously preserved, bespeak the fond attachment, which an English family never can renounce, to the pleasures of its first home.

But we are garrulous. For after all that we have written, we must make some humbling confessions. We have no pretensions to be great travellers; that is, we are far from being able to boast, as many do, that they have seen *every bit* of Italy. In fact, we are not gluttons in this way: we like tasting and relishing what we partake of, and this requires leisure. We do not devour the land. We have yet reserved some delicious bits for future exploration; there are some nice unfrequented nooks, which will one day afford us a delightful repast. Moreover, in spite of our best purposes, we often find ourselves going over the same ground again. We have old favourites, that is, buildings, paintings, and holy shrines, which tempt us importunately out of our way. They are with us like our old friends among the poets. Often, when we take up a collection of them, fortified in our resolution to go through Drayton or Phineas Fletcher, we catch ourselves, almost unawares, gliding, for the hundredth time, through the pleasant pages of old Geoffrey Chaucer, or the charming stanzas of Will Spenser. And so it is that the desire of seeing once more some choice fresco or venerable sanctuary, which art hath helped religion to consecrate, doth decoy us out of our intended path, and make us revisit scenes yet fresh in memory. Then our friends about the country seem to think they have a right to a call from us, every time we put ourselves in motion, no matter what our direction or purpose; and thus the orbit we had designed alters its figure under the influence of such perturbations. Our friends know our weakness in this matter.

We have almost forgot the books before us, in recalling thus to mind the feast of soul which a tour in Italy ever affords us. We have placed them there more in warning than for commendation, at least the English ones. For the Italian guide, notwithstanding occasional inaccuracies, is far the best, and having been also published, we believe, in French, will be found the most useful. But English guide-books, so far as we know them, are not only most unsatisfactory, but likely to mislead upon a thousand points.

When a traveller starts on his journey, he is, generally speaking, ignorant of the character and excellencies of the objects which will principally have to engage his attention. In nine cases out of ten, he travels for the purpose of learning, rather than of applying knowledge already acquired. To him the language of art, for instance, is a mere jargon, its history about as familiar as that of Egypt. He has heard of the great men in both, of Raffaele and Sesostris, of Caracci and Amenophis; but he knows very little of the true value of the one or of the achieve-



ments of the other, and as for the older history of art, it is like mythology to most. The technicalities of antiquarianism equally baffle his comprehension: and either he mistakes their meaning totally, or he misapprehends their objects, by making them agree with what in modern times bears a corresponding name. To see Italy with any profit, without some knowledge of these and their subsidiary studies, is mere loss of time. But previous application to them is quite insufficient. They must at all times be present to the mind of the traveller, and they are as necessary to him as "the universal dispensary," or "diluted vitriolic acid," (*Starke*, p. 503); and it is as important to the traveller to know where he may procure information concerning them, as about where the best fish-sauces and wax-candles may be purchased (p. 573). In our judgment, a guide-book to Italy should contain a condensation of what is necessary on such subjects. A clear view of the rise and progress of art might be presented in a few tables, under the separate heads of architecture, sculpture, and painting. The last of the three would, of course, require the greatest development. Opposite to each artist of celebrity, the city should be mentioned in which his principal works are to be found, and in another column the precise nature of the subject of the most celebrated of these. The genealogy of art, showing the affiliations of the various schools, and their consequent relations, could be in like manner tabularly arranged. A farther improvement, we have sometimes thought, would be the addition of a pictorial map of Italy, divided, not according to political, but according to artistic provinces, whereby the extent of influence exercised by each school would be pointed out to the eye. We are aware of the difficulties of such a performance, but we do not think them insuperable.

With such a systematic guide, a traveller would be able to commence his studies upon art from the moment he entered Italy. In general, it is not till he gets to Florence or Rome, and perhaps reads Lanzi or Vasari, that he begins to understand that there are schools and a history in painting. And if he have taste enough to appreciate the study of them, he has the mortification of ascertaining that he only changed horses where the masterpiece of one school is found, or slept in another where the first efforts of a master-genius struggled into public notice. The fact is, that the true value of many interesting works cannot be appreciated, in the ordinary system of visiting them, until others have been seen, whereas a historical classification of works of art, such as we propose, would at once prepare the traveller of taste for valuing them, at least in some measure, from the first. Examples will best illustrate our meaning.

When the traveller reaches Rome, he has around him the superbest remains of ancient and modern architecture, sacred and profane, the ruins, or even the entire edifices of the Pagan, and the churches and palaces of the Christian, city. A manifest connexion or relationship he sees between the two classes of monuments, traceable to some extent through the basilicas and other buildings. But if he wish to study the history of this science upon its very best field, and take up a work upon the subject, he finds that he has passed upon the road many, nay most, of the connecting links. Omitting early specimens, it is highly probable that the churches of San Lorenzo and Sto. Spirito at Florence, the foundation-stone of modern Italian ecclesiastical architecture, will have been only hastily viewed, at least architecturally. For as the ordinary guide-book says no more of them than, "the Chiesa di San Spirito, built by Brunellesco, is, in point of architecture, the finest in Florence," and, "the Chiesa di S. Lorenzo was rebuilt in 1425 by Brunellesco,"—(*Starke*, pp. 74 and 72) and then proceeds to notice their paintings and sculptures, it would never occur to one who had not studied the ancient basilicas of Rome, on the one hand, and the modern churches, on the other, as well as such pointed edifices as Siena, Orvieto, &c., that these two buildings brought back Italian architecture from a disposition to imitate transalpine models, and restored the Diocletian epoch, with such modifications as suited modern times, or were, at least, adopted by later architects. If Mantua had been visited, there could not have been found a single line to direct the traveller to the master-pieces of Leon B. Alberti, the churches of St. Andrew and St. Sebastian, except the mention of frescoes by Giulio Romano, in the former. And the only place, if we mistake not, where this distinguished restorer of ancient architecture is mentioned, would lead the reader into complete error. It is as follows: "The church of S. Francesco, at Rimini, erected during the fifteenth century, according to the designs of Alberti, is a splendid edifice." (p. 263.) Now, when the traveller enters this truly curious church, (supposing this brief notice sufficient to make him descend from his carriage for the purpose) he finds a pointed edifice, all the chapels and windows having such arches, though strangely blended with ornaments and sculptures after the classical models. The intelligent traveller would put Alberti in the list of gothic architects; but, in fact, the church was *not* erected according to his designs,—he was called in after the *ogival* portion of the edifice had been finished, and

his share in the *erection* was to conceal it as much as possible. Now, this interesting work in the history of art is to be found *outside* the church, in the unfinished front, and still more on the side, which, perhaps, no traveller, who had not previously studied the history of art, would ever think of going round to see. There, by a series of arches, of Roman grandeur, yet of the simplest design, he has masked the rude wall of the older church, from which, however, it is detached, concealing the irregularity of its windows, without impairing their light. The works of this master form another important step in the revival of the classical orders.

Nor, if a guide-book to the arts of Italy were judiciously drawn up, would the instruction to be gathered from the inspection of these monuments, previously to having visited Rome, be important only from the greater care with which they would be noticed and remembered for future collation; for it would be easy, under the guidance of such a work, to arrange the tour in such a manner as to view them in their proper turn. For instance, the part of ecclesiastical architecture which is seldom known or understood by a foreigner till he has been in Rome, is that which refers to the basilicas, or ancient Christian temples. An accurate acquaintance with their style, the type and original of every other, is absolutely necessary for a complete knowledge of Christian art, and the earlier it can be learnt by the traveller the better. Now Ravenna presents more perfect specimens of it than Rome itself. For the church of St. Appollinaris *in Classe*, situated at a short distance from the city, is a purer model than St. Paul's without the walls, or almost any other church in the eternal city. It has suffered little or nothing from modern additions and appendages, and the sarcophagi of bishops, that surround it, take us back to the flourishing periods of that noble and saintly see. Several excellent roads, not marked in the latest travelling maps, yet equal to any that are, facilitate communication with this venerable city, too much neglected by travellers. One leads from Ravenna to Faenza, another to Forli; and a splendid new road, just opened between the latter city and Florence, makes it an easy day's journey, with the same horses, from the Tuscan capital to the city of the Exarchs. Hence a traveller would not sensibly prolong his tour, though he would most sensibly increase its profit and enjoyment, if he took this on his way from Bologna to Florence, or to Rimini, should his course lead him along the

shores of the Adriatic. But Ravenna is one of our favourites, and we shall, perhaps, have to return to it.

What we have thus briefly said of architecture may be still more compendiously illustrated from sculpture. The great works of Michael Angelo are generally the first that awake in the Italian tourist any strong attention to the Christian department of this art. The most striking of these are in Rome, for those of Florence have more of a profane character. But if he desire to learn by what steps the art reached that boldness and exaggeration of style, from which the next was necessarily towards decline, he will find it difficult to collect, in that city, the necessary elements for that purpose. He should have seen and carefully studied at Bologna the urn or tomb of St. Dominick, by which Niccolo di Pisa laid the first foundation of the revival of sculpture in 1225; the pulpit at Pisa, wrought by him in 1260; and the other works by his school at Siena and Florence, where Orcagna and others applied to it the correcter style introduced into painting by Giotto. At Perugia he ought to have diligently examined the monument of Benedict XI, in the Dominican church, justly considered, by Cicognara, one of the first works of the revival, and executed by Giovanni Pisano, the son of Niccolo. At Milan, he should have gone to visit the shrine of St. Peter Martyr, in the church of St. Eustorgius, the master-piece of Giovanni di Balducci, scholar of Giovanni Pisano. It is more than probable, that a traveller, however desirous of making himself acquainted with art, if he have not previously studied the voluminous works of Vasari, Lanzi, D'Agincourt, and Cicognara, and made for himself a chronological digest of them before starting, will overlook in his journey every one of the monuments we have enumerated; for, with the exception of the pulpit at Pisa, not one of them is mentioned in the popular English guide-book. After this, should the lover of art desire to know the entire history of sculpture, at, and after, the time of Michael Angelo, he must return to Orvieto, in the splendid cathedral of which he will find the largest and most beautiful collection of statuary belonging to that period. Among the colossal statues of the apostles, which adorn the nave, there are several by Scalza, Mochi, and Giovanni Bologna, full of grandeur and expression. That of *St. Sebastian*, by Scalza, rivals the productions of the Grecian chisel; the altar of the *Adoration of the Magi* has been particularly described by Vasari, as an exquisite piece of workmanship, by

San Micheli and Moschino. The group of the *Pietà*, or, *Our Saviour taken down from the Cross*, consisting of four figures larger than the life, formed out of one block, is, perhaps, the grandest piece of sacred sculpture produced since what is called the revival of art; but it exhibits the first traces of that tendency towards mannerism into which the school of Michael Angelo so immediately degenerated. It is the masterpiece of Scalza. One other statue there will engage the admiration of the stranger, as a marvellous piece of art, but of art unfortunately declined from the purity of Christian feeling—we mean that statue, by Mochi, of the Blessed Virgin in the act of being saluted by the Angel, which stands by the high altar. It represents her, not as was wont in the pictures and sculptures of the preceding age, sitting modestly with arms crossed upon the breast, but as having started from the chair which her hand grasps, with a look of majestic indignation, mingled with alarm. But could we abstract from the impropriety of such a representation of the subject, we should not hesitate to pronounce it the masterpiece of the school. The Archangel, on the other side of the altar, is the prototype of all that is bad in the school of Bernini.

These are only a small portion of the interesting works of art which make this cathedral a true museum. We need only mention in addition, the sculptures on its matchless front, by the scholars of Niccolò Pisano; the superb mosaics, on a gold ground, which surmount them; the magnificent reliquary of the sacred *Corporal of Bolsena*, representing in silver the front of the church, adorned with innumerable statues, columns, and enamelled paintings, executed by Veri, in 1338;\* the paintings of exquisite beauty by the blessed Angelico da Fiesole; others by Gentile da Fabriano; and those more celebrated ones of Luca Signorelli, on which Michael Angelo formed his conception of his terrible *Last Judgment*. Yet how few even think of visiting this city, remarkable, moreover, for its celebrated Well of St. Patrick, so called from the apostle of Ireland, down which a loaded mule may descend in safety to draw water, at the depth of 275 Roman palms; and for an unrivalled collection of drawings and cartoons in the Palazzo Gualtierio, as well as other works of art. In truth, all the invitation to turn aside to it, conveyed in the text of the guide which directs most of

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\* This splendid reliquary contains 400 pounds of silver. The miracle which it commemorates gave rise to the festival of Corpus Christi.

our travellers is in these words:—"North-east of Bolsena . . . . stands Orvieto (anciently *Herbanum*), celebrated for the excellence of its wines, and containing a handsome Tuscan-gothic cathedral." (*Starke*, p. 120\*). The wine first, and then the *handsome* cathedral! Whoever has *seen* it, will pronounce it, in its style, unique. Not even a hint is here given concerning its paintings, sculptures, and mosaics; and what is still more unpardonable in a professed guide-book, not an intimation concerning the roads that would lead a traveller to it. We will endeavour to supply this omission. First, therefore, an excellent road from Monte Fiascone will take the travellers to it in less than three hours, with post-horses, and in less than five if in *vettura*, the distance being eighteen miles, so that he might go thither, spend several hours there, return the same day to Monte Fiascone, and even go forward to Viterbo. This would be a delightful relief to the tediousness of that road. But another, and still more interesting route, is by a new road from Perugia to Orvieto, and so forward to the Siena road, just mentioned. The journey from Florence to Rome by this road will, if anything, be shortened by thus turning off at Perugia, and the traveller will see two most interesting cities, in exchange for the flourishing, but still unadorned, ones which he would go through on the Foligno road. One of these two cities is Orvieto, of which we have spoken, the other is Città della Pieve, the birth-place of Pietro Perugino, which lies about a mile out of the straight road, but is connected with it by a branch. This city, till lately inaccessible in a carriage, well deserves a visit from every lover of art. Almost every one of its churches contains some painting by its citizen Pietro; the cathedral has two, a *Baptism of Our Saviour*, and the *Altar-piece*, painted for the place it now occupies. In the church of the Servites are remains of a magnificent fresco by him, which has been barbarously cut down, and a belfry built upon it: it consequently cannot be seen without lights and the assistance of a sacristan. But there is another treasure here in the history of art, rendered so much more valuable by a discovery lately made, that, though we were treating of sculpture, not of painting, we must say a

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\* In the appendix to the later editions, a fuller, though still insufficient, account is given of the places mentioned above, with the addition of Todi and Rieti. But a separate journey is required for following the route there pointed out, whereas, travellers may see all that we have here described without sensibly prolonging their ordinary journey to Rome. We are at a loss to account for so much useful and interesting information being thrown into an appendix, while, moreover what is left in the body of the work is almost at variance with it.



few words concerning it. As our great object is to show that Italy cannot be known without visiting the smaller cities, that its arts cannot be studied without such a plan as will enable the traveller to commence his course of application with his tour,—and that the guide-books now in existence are wholly inadequate for either of these objects,—we shall not go far astray from our purpose if we dwell a little longer upon this instance. In an oratory belonging to the confraternity of the *Bianchi* or *Disciplinati* is one of the finest compositions of Pietro Perugino.\* It represents the Blessed Virgin seated in the centre, under an open shed, presenting the infant Jesus to be adored by the Wise Men of the East. The numerous groups are admirably disposed, the distant landscape full of life, yet with all the delicacy of finish characteristic of the school; and the expression of the heads all that Pietro, and none since his time, could make them. That of the Mother of God is so beautiful as to be generally ascribed to the hand of his scholar Raffaele. For many years it was supposed that the house of Pietro was opposite to this oratory, and that he painted this altar-piece while a resident in the city. In the mean time the picture had been sadly neglected, and left without any covering; some years ago it began to be better preserved, and, indeed, in the most interesting parts it has not suffered considerably. Some German artists, who visited it, suggested, as expedient for its better preservation, that the ground of the sacristy behind it, which was considerably higher than that of the chapel, should be lowered, as the damp had evidently a dangerous effect on the colouring. This advice was fortunately listened to, for the superior of the confraternity, to whom the chapel belonged, Sig. G. Bollelti, was a zealous lover of his country, and the author of its municipal history. He commenced his excavation in 1835, and was soon rewarded for his care by an interesting discovery. After removing some of the earth, the workmen found several earthen vessels, supposed to have contained the colours used by the artist, and with them a small tin case, containing two autograph letters from him concerning the work. The discovery was the more precious as only one small autograph of his was known to exist, which was published by Vermiglioli in 1820. These two we saw with pleasure, on our second visit to this town, framed and glazed in the oratory. To those who

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\* On one of Pietro's finest pictures in the Vatican collection, he writes himself Petrus de Castro Plebis, that is of Castel della Pieve, since declared a city. Mr. Brockedon, writing of Perugia, calls Pietro its native painter.—p. 128.

understand the original language, we flatter ourselves, we shall do a pleasure by taking this opportunity of giving them the two letters, exactly copied; and, for the sake of our other readers, we will add a perfectly literal translation. The former class will not fail to be struck with the rudeness of the diction and spelling of the two epistles, which, however, place in a favourable light the disinterestedness of Pietro. The letters in italics are effaced in the original.

LETTER 1.—“Charo mio Signore,—La penctura che vonno fa nelle Oratorio de desceprenate ve vorieno a meno duciencto florene, Io me contencitare de cento come paisano et venticue scubeto. glatre i tre ane venticue lano. et si dicto cotracto sta bene. me mande la poleza et le cua drine et sera facto et lo saluto.—Io Piectro penctore mano propia. Peroscia vencte de' Frebaio, 1504.”

(Outside.) “*Allo Scineco de Descripenate de Chastello de la Pieve.*”

“My dear Sir,—The picture which they wish to have made in the Oratory of the *Disciplinati* ought to cost, at least, 200 florins. I should be satisfied with a hundred, as being a townsman; twenty-five paid down, the others in three years, twenty-five a year. And if this agreement please, send me the indenture and the money, and it shall be done; and I greet you, I, Peter the Painter, with my own hand. Perugia, 20 Feb. 1504.”

“*To the Syndic of the Disciplinati of Castella della Pieve.*”

LETTER 2.—“Charo mio Signore,—Sabito me manne la mula et col pedone che verrone a penctora et fa la poliza pe strencue\* florene et cosi calaro venticue florene et niente piu me salutare la chomar et lo saluto.”

“Io Piectro penctore mano propia Peroscia, 1 de Marzo, 1504.”

“My dear Sir,—On Saturday send me the mule with the guide, that I may come and paint, and make the agreement for seventy-five florins, and so I will come down twenty-five florins, and no more. Salute my god-mother, and I greet you,—I, Peter the Painter, with my own hand. Perugia, March 1, 1504.”

The price paid for this beautiful work was, therefore, seventy-five florins of the Perugian currency, equal to little more than £30, which, making every allowance for difference of value between that time and the present, must have been a poor remuneration. Hence, it had been said that he received nothing for his work more than an omelet.† But it appears that two years after it was finished, which from the date on it was in 1504, the company was in his debt twenty-five

\* It is only by conjecture that the meaning of this word can be made out.

† Mariotti Lett. Pitt. p. 176.

florins, for which they gave him a house of that value—a precious tenement, forsooth it must have been !

All mention of this valuable painting, and of the many others existing in this city, is summed up in the brief notice, that the cathedral contains *one* painting by Perugino. (*Starke*, p. 604.) What we have written about this city is in truth a digression from the immediate purpose of what we were illustrating, that Italy is seen to great disadvantage by the lover of the arts, in consequence of the imperfect construction of the books which direct travellers. We have confined ourselves to architecture and sculpture, because the illustrations drawn from them allow some limits ;—we dare not trust ourselves to speak of painting, because the subject would be interminable.

We observed above, that besides the information concerning the arts and their history, which we think a guide-book should contain, so arranged as to enable an intelligent tourist to commence his studies upon it from the beginning of his journey, such elementary knowledge should be conveyed in it regarding archeological science as may assist him in understanding what may be said in the course of the work respecting particular remains. Many, we doubt not, lose a great many opportunities of improvement, from not having at hand a treatise upon the subject, especially one which is practically applied to the objects that a traveller meets on his way. And in fact, few ever think of applying themselves systematically to the study, till they have found its indispensable necessity at Rome.

But here we may be asked, would it be possible to find room in guide-books, already sufficiently voluminous, for so much additional matter? We reply, very easily, by first eliminating a vast quantity of superfluous matter which they contain, by curtailing much that is exuberant, and by confining the work to its proper and individual purpose. This brings us to the second part of our strictures. It is, therefore, our decided opinion that more than one half the matter contained in the guide-books should be expunged. In the first place all that regards Spain, Germany, Northern Europe, and even France, is perfectly useless and out of place. For no traveller in any of those countries could be satisfied with what is written of them in Mrs. Starke's book. Secondly, all that part of the Appendix which details the prices of articles, &c. had much better be omitted; both as being often inaccurate, and still more as establishing in every great town a mischievous and

unjust monopoly, in favour of such tradesmen as happen to have gained the author's favour or custom, instead of leaving the matter open to fair competition. As to the requisites for travellers, they would be almost extravagant for a party going to make a tour in Tartary and Siberia. Except for professed invalids, such *impedimenta* as are enumerated in p. 502, must be worse than useless. By all these omissions much room would be gained, but not sufficient. The great space would be obtained by almost entirely cutting out the descriptions of Florence, Rome, Naples, and other great cities. Such a proposition may appear monstrous, yet it is most reasonable. This we are convinced is the great bane of all such works, and causes our tourists to hurry on from capital to capital to the utter neglect of other places. When they arrive at any of the cities just enumerated, they must necessarily procure the special guides published at them, otherwise they will be sadly deficient in their acquaintance with them. Nay, generally speaking, the catalogues of different galleries or local guides to particular excursions, as Baïæ, Pompeii, &c., help to swell the travelling library to a considerable extent. Any attempt to condense the *mirabilia* of Rome in a hundred pages is vain, and therefore is better not made. But to a traveller who is really desirous of seeing Italy, how important it would be to him to have in one book an accurate guide to the *small* cities on the road, such as either have no particular guide-book published, or if they have, have it in Italian only. To collect all these on the road is, we know by experience, a troublesome task: and the result is a great encumbrance to the carriage-pockets. Moreover, a traveller should know *before* he reaches a town what there is really to be seen, so to make his arrangements, as to whether he shall halt or go on. This in our opinion should be the essence and form the bulk of a road-book to Italy. To compose it, it will not be sufficient to travel from Paris to Naples, making sketches, and writing a letter-press of inaccurate, superficial, and narrow-minded notes, as Mr. Brockedon has done; nor to fix a residence at one or two favourite spots, to which an undue prominence is given, to the disparagement by comparison of others equally deserving detailed notice. This is Mrs. Starke's great failing.

As to the first, we own ourselves disgusted with the paltry prejudices which seem to seize upon him the moment he enters the boundaries of the papal states. If on his ascent of Monte Somme near Spoleto, where the industry of the poor inhabitants has carried cultivation up every slope accessible to the

foot of man, till they have reached the boundary line of vegetation, the poor children with plates of fruit, and cheerful looks—for so they always have made their appearance when we have passed—ask him to purchase their little stock rather than give them an alms, he describes himself as besieged by a swarm of beggars. Farther on, speaking of the temple on the banks of the Clitumnus, he says: “It is an architectural gem, placed in a scene so tranquil and beautiful, that it might seem to be a dream of Paradise, but that the subjects of his Holiness destroy the illusion: and the observer, who has indulged in a delightful reverie” (*qu. sleep?* which might account for the ill-temper of the remark) “is roused by the piteous clamours of a herd of miserable wretches, more starved, filthy, diseased and deformed, than are to be found in any other country under heaven.” (p. 129.) Bravo Mr. Brockedon! We have passed and repassed the spot we know not how many times, and never had the good or bad fortune to see what has roused you to such select and eloquent phraseology. A few boys have indeed generally amused themselves by following the carriage at that spot, but a beggar we never saw; the bigotry or the dreams of the artist have supplied the herd and its characteristics. Farther on we have the following note: “Borghetto” (a small mountain village) “is a wretched place—an epithet that will apply with justice to nearly all the towns and villages in his Holiness’s territory. Situated amidst the finest scenes, the heart sickens in looking upon the degraded state of man under the curse of a government which paralyses his energies.” (p. 135.) Thus writes a man who has travelled up to that time, from the frontiers of Tuscany, some fifty or sixty miles on one line of road, and who yet on that line has passed through Perugia, a city abounding in all the elegancies and luxuries of life, rich in museums, galleries and public institutions, far beyond any provincial town in England; through Foligno, the centre of very considerable trade, especially in wax and other *drogueries*, with every part of Italy; through Spoleto, the cloth-manufactories of which, already very extensive and flourishing, are about to receive the additional impulse of the steam-engine: through Terni, which in addition to its staple of oil, and every other agricultural produce, of which the great facilities for irrigation enable the husbandman to obtain every year several successive crops, possesses several branches of manufacture. Borghetto is certainly a poor village, but many far worse will be found in any barren and mountainous district, in Piedmont, France, or the British islands: and the cities we

have enumerated are more flourishing than what this prejudiced writer must have passed between Florence and the papal frontier. After these specimens of the author's taste and correctness, we shut up his book. Its plates by Finden are certainly worthy of a better text. As to this we wonder how a respectable publisher, one particularly who has proved himself so intelligent and accurate a tourist, could put his name before so flimsy a composition.

The excellent and amiable authoress, lately deceased, on whose work we have commented more frequently, by no means deserves a similar censure. She is altogether free from narrow prejudice, and there is no doubt, that of the guide-books in our language, hers is decidedly the best. But she has had her predilections which bias her unfairly. Sorrento, for instance, was for many years her favourite summer residence, and the inhabitants would be well justified in erecting to her a monument or inscription. Still it is extolled far beyond its merits, and occupies many pages which worthier places ought to have shared. Again, Pisa occupies nine pages, while Milan is honoured with only three, a disproportion which at once convinces us that a longer residence gave leisure, and excited inclination, to study and illustrate it more minutely.

By thus proposing to all travellers one or two places of sojourn, we undoubtedly do an injustice both to many other places, and to those whom we thus mislead into the supposition that what is passed over in silence has nothing to recommend it.

Still more is this the case when we confine them in an *impasse* like Sorrento, with no road but the sea, and without any resource for taste except a beautiful prospect. On the contrary, it is our humble but sincere opinion that while the winter may be most profitably spent where it usually is, in the Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan capitals, the autumn and summer residence should be so selected as to give a range, on every side, of pleasing excursions, which would open to us new and less frequented tracks. This, Sorrento is most unqualified to do; it is a corner; when once there, you have no farther to go. But if the sea and its breezes be such an object, the coast of the Adriatic will offer a variety of delightful situations, uniting to these advantages those of most agreeable and highly cultivated society, in which the character of the natives may be learnt; a thing impracticable in the usual summer-quarters of our countrymen.

There is, for instance, Porto di Fermo, deliciously situated,



with orange-groves as rich as those upon the happy coasts of Naples or Gaeta, in the vicinity of Fermo, an elegant and polished city, with mountains not far distant that are most interesting to the naturalist for their minerals and plants. Pleasing excursions may be made to Ascoli; to Camerino, a city which possesses a good university; to Tolentino, where the church of St. Nicholas will interest the amateur by the paintings of Giotto, and other early masters; and to Loreto, where, even if his religious feelings take not delight, he will find sufficient occupation in the works of art which the sumptuous church and its adjoining Palace contain. Not far too is Macerata, second to no capital for the information and courtesy of its nobility, the learning of its professors, and the spirit and good management of its public institutions.\* There, a library will be found, now greatly augmented by the splendid donation made to it, by its reverend and learned librarian, of a copious and choice collection of books, equal to the wants of any man of taste or application.

But this lower part of the coast, supposing this to be an object particularly held in view, will keep the traveller rather too much out of the region of antiquity and art, and consequently he might select to greater advantage a residence somewhat more north. A simple inspection of the map will show the most central position to be at Pesaro, or rather at Fano. For here the principal roads from the north, south, and west, meet, giving facility of communication in every direction. It is a town not only well-built and adorned with most handsome edifices, but rich in all that can be necessary for a pleasant as well as a healthy residence. Nothing can exceed the fertility and richness of the plain in which it is situated, nor the beautiful landscapes opened from the cheerful hills, studded with villas, which surround it. The air is most salubrious, the heats are moderated by the sea-air, and abundance of charming walks afford opportunity for exercise. Among its nobility will be found, as in most Italian provincial towns, minds cultivated in all the arts that embellish life, and withal courteous and affable to the stranger, such as make these provincial sojourns charming. Hence it is not wonderful that a larger proportion of English should be found resident here than in any other town that we know. Though we only introduced the mention of this place, as of one eligible from its position to be the centre

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\* This city has been the first to publish judicial statistics for its province. We have before us two reports for 1835 and 1836, compiled by the president of the tribunal, the Marquis Accoretti, and arranged in four tables.

whence to extend a series of excursions into a part of Italy but little seen or known, we will dwell on it a little longer, as no bad specimen of the degree of information which guide-books give concerning what is to be seen in smaller towns. Mrs. Starke writes as follows: "The objects best worthy of notice at Fano are, *remains of a triumphal arch* erected in honour of Constantine; the cathedral, which contains paintings by Domenichino; the public library; and the theatre, which is one of the best in Italy." (p. 265.) There is little enough here in all conscience to tempt any tourist to stay an hour, or even, if in *vettura*, to induce him to make the driver go *through* the town, as they usually go round its walls; and yet that little is full of mistakes. Nor till the present has there been any new guide of the town, the old one being extremely rare.\* The triumphal arch states on its front that it was in honour of Augustus, and not of Constantine; who only built an attic, now nearly destroyed, upon it. The library of the Filippini *was* once a valuable collection, but would no longer repay the trouble of a visit. As to the theatre it is curious as a work of art. Its scenes are real and not painted, and the mechanism is as complicated as that of a cotton-factory. Even in mentioning Domenichino's paintings in the cathedral, justice is not done; for besides *sixteen* frescoes by that great artist, which unfortunately have suffered much from damp and injudicious treatment, there is a painting in the same church by Ludovico Caracci, a portrait on a monument by Vandyke, and another excellent picture representing the fall of the manna, by an unknown author.

All this, however, is nothing, compared to the treasures of art scattered over the other churches, and in private houses; which if collected together would form a gallery worthy of a capital. For instance, in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova are two beautiful paintings of Perugino's, one representing *the Annunciation*, the other the blessed *Virgin and Child*. This was evidently painted by him for the very place it occupies, but above it is a semicircular *lunette*, representing a *Pietà*, with St. John and Joseph of Arimathea, by the hand of his immortal scholar, Raffaele; and under it is a *gradino*, painted in five compartments, most probably by the same exquisite pencil, though attributed by some to Genga. Besides these gems, the same church contains a painting by Giovanni Sanzio, Raffaele's father, and a *Madonna* by Sasseferata. Few cities are richer than this in fine productions of the Bolognese school. By

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\* One is now preparing for publication by the Count Amiani.



Guercino there are, a splendid *Sposalizio* in the church of St. Paterniano, an edifice worthy of being a cathedral in any city; a *Guardian Angel*, in that of St. Agostino, both very beautiful; and a *Magdalen* in that of St. Philip. By Domenichino there is a very fine *David with the head of Goliah*, in the public College. By Guido, the Gabrielle chapel in the church of St. Peter possesses a glorious painting of *the Annunciation*, which many consider his masterpiece, and Cantarini used to pronounce the finest picture in the world.\* This church is in fact worthy of a place in the capital of the Catholic world, for the richness of its marbles, its gildings, and its paintings. The French indeed carried off two beautiful pieces of Guido's and Guercino's,† but the frescoes of Viriani they could not remove. They are his masterpieces. By Albani and his scholars there are several works in the church of Sta. Teresa. We pass over many other other fine specimens of art, by inferior, though still good, masters,‡ as well as those by the best which are in private collections, because a residence of some days would be requisite to see them all, and whoever will bestow that time will find easy direction to discover and inspect them all.

Here then we have a small provincial city, to the niches of which the traveller's guide-book would give him no key, and we may say the same of the many places within the reach of an excursion. We have mentioned to the north the interesting cathedral of Rimini; besides which, though itself worth a journey, there are many other objects of the fine arts in the city; as for instance a grand *St. Jerome*, by Guercino, in his chapel superbly ornamented with paintings by Pronti; and a beautiful Venetian picture in the church of St. Giuliano, celebrated for its altar-

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\* Maluasias, "Vita di Simon Cantarini, Felsina pittrice," vol. ii. p. 4.

† The extent of French devastation in the fine arts can only be known by travelling in the provinces. Most of the great works carried off from the capitals have been restored, few of those in smaller towns. The *Annunciation* of Guido was marked for exile, but the noble proprietor of the chapel proved, by original letters from Guido, that it was private property. The *Sposalizio* was saved by the same plea.

‡ For instance, in the Capuchin church are the master-pieces of Mancini and Ceccarelli, besides a fine piece by Cav. Calabrese. Perhaps the most peculiarly interesting paintings in this city are the works of the two Presciutti, Bartolomeo and Pompeo, native artists, who refused to adopt the changes which the art of painting had undergone at their time (1530.) "Fa meraviglia" says Lanzi, "il vedere quanto poco curino la riforma che la pittura avea fatta per tutto il mondo. Essi sieguono il secco disegno di quattrocentisti, e lascian dire i moderni. Ne il figlio par che rimodernasse, uscito dallo studio paterno. Ne trovai a S. Andrea di Pesaro un quadro di varj SS. che gli potea fare onore, ma nell'altro secolo." (Storia Pittorica, tom. ii, p. 39. Pisa, 1815.) This circumstance, of a family who refused to depart from the old christian style, deserves attention. Their principal works are in the church of St. Thomas and St. Michele at Arco.

pièce by Paul Veronese. We need not mention Pesaro, between these two places, because better described in the tours. But Ravenna will afford opportunity for a most interesting excursion beyond both. Whoever loves early Christian monuments, whoever desires to see them in far greater perfection than the lapse of fourteen centuries could warrant us in expecting, whoever desires to study them unaided by the remains of heathen antiquity, should make every effort to spend some days at least in this noble and imperial city. From Rome it differs mainly in this, that your meditations on its ornaments are not disturbed by the constant recurrence of pagan remains, nor your researches perplexed by the necessity of enquiring what was built and what was borrowed by the faithful. Ravenna has only one antiquity, and that is Christian. Seated like Rome in the midst of an unhealthy desolate plain, except when its unrivalled pine-forests cast a shade of deeper solitude and melancholy over it,—quiet and lonely, without the sound of wheels upon its grass-grown pavement, it has not merely to lament over the decay of ancient magnificence, but upon its total destruction—except what religion has erected for herself. She was not in time to apply her saving, as well as purifying unction, to the basilicas and temples of preceding ages; or rather, she seemed to occupy what she could replace, and therefore, in the strength of imperial favour, raised new buildings for the Christian worship, such as no other city but Rome could boast of. The entire preservation of so many monuments is really wonderful; the mosaics of the time of Justinian are as fresh as if lately finished, and invaluable they are to the Christian antiquary. In the archiepiscopal palace the chapel used by the present archbishop is the same as was built and used by St. Peter Chrysologus, altar, walls, mosaic ceiling, all are in perfect preservation. The same is to be said of the ancient baptistery of the church of St. Vitalis, singular for its form, (being the first *original* plan ever made for a Christian church), for its pictorial representations, and its other works of art; and of the tomb of Galla Placidia, on which, or on any of its accessories, no profaning hand has been ever laid. But space would be wanting to us were we to enlarge upon a small portion of this sadly neglected city, which few but professed Christian antiquaries think of going to see. We have already shewn the new facilities of communication, with which the papal government, most liberal in this respect, has lately supplied it.

Another interesting excursion in this direction would be to visit the little Republic of San Marino, situated upon a craggy

mountain, and counting only 7000 subjects. There are few objects of art to engage the stranger's notice, unless it be the splendid new church now building. But the singularity of such an institution, island-like in the midst of another state, the severe love of freedom which pervades the little republic, and yet the mildness of its sway, the simplicity of manners in the population, where the councillors prune the vine, and the supreme magistrate tills his own farm, must excite and will amply reward British curiosity. Yet in this little commonwealth there has not been wanting a wisdom of rule which has preserved it small but entire amidst the convulsions and revolutions of larger nations; and when the changes, so unexpected, of the state that encircles it, seemed to defy all prudent speculation as to its ultimate fate, and consequently as to the course to be steered by the little republic, a man arose, with sagacity and patriotism equal to the crisis, who seized its helm, and conducted it safe between the Scylla and Charybdis of two contending powers, each in its turn triumphant. This was Onofri, the father of his country. When Napoleon was at Milan, he had already prepared the decree for the suppression of the Republic of San Marino, nor was he a man to be easily averted from such designs. Onofri, however, undertook the task; he spoke with the freedom of a republican, and the warmth of a patriot; and he prevailed. The decree was itself suppressed, and Napoleon, who conceived a great esteem for the ambassador, said to him, "Onofri, we must do something for your republic." "Sir," he replied, "the only thing you can do *for* us is to leave us just as we are." The French government sent a message of fraternization to the republic; through the counsels of Onofri, no measure of reciprocity was taken; and a perfect neutrality was observed by it during all the contests that ensued. Napoleon sent a present of four pieces of cannon, they were disembarked at the custom-house of Rimini, and Onofri would not allow them to be released. When the Imperial rule was overthrown, it was warmly urged to the congress of Vienna, to apply its principles of suppressing or mediatizing small states to this republic. Onofri sent in a memorial, in which he vindicated his country from every charge, adduced the above-mentioned fruits of his foresight in proof of its blameless conduct, and obtained the confirmation of its independence. But as complaints had been made by the papal government that the republic was a refuge and sanctuary for all offenders from the neighbouring districts, it was enacted that in future no one should be allowed to settle within its small

territories, who had not his papers *en règle* from his own government. Onofri's fellow-citizens would have expressed their sense of gratitude towards him by continuing him in office beyond the usual time. But this he absolutely declined, and insisted that the law, which required a certain interval before re-election, should be strictly adhered to in his case. He several times afterwards filled the chief magistracy till his death. In this little town resides the learned Cav. Borghesi, perhaps the first antiquarian scholar in Italy; consulted in his retreat by the first archeologues of Germany, for his extraordinary sagacity in antiquarian difficulties, and his vast acquaintance with every department of classical literature.

To the west or inland part of Italy, a traveller who had chosen his summer residence where we have hypothetically placed it, would have a variety of most improving as well as pleasing excursions. Gubbio, for example, celebrated for its valuable tables, known under the name of the Eugubina, would not fail to attract him. But Urbino, the country of Raffaele, has indeed been most unbecomingly neglected by even more enterprising tourists. This probably arises from ignorance of the roads by which it may be reached, though various and most excellent. From the coast there are two, one branching off about two miles north of Pesaro, the other from Fossombrone. From either of these two cities it is half a day's journey with the same horses; and several times a week there is a diligence *en poste* from the former to it. The situation of Urbino is that of a fortress rather than a city; perched upon the craggy summit of a steep and barren hill, surrounded by rough unfertile mountains, it seemed a place of all others most unfitted by nature to form a nursery of art, or the seat of the most polished court of Europe. Yet such it was under the dominion of its dukes, the lords of Monte Feltro. In speaking of the elements necessary for studying accurately the history of architecture and sculpture, we did not make any mention of that department commonly known in Italy by the epithet of the *Cinquecento*, or the 16th century. It would be out of our province to endeavour to describe or characterise it minutely; it is sufficient to say that it is peculiarly beautiful for lightness of proportions in its architectural members, and still more for the richness of ornament which covers every part, in the form of antiquities, foliage, trophies, and running patterns. Much as is to be admired in this style in other parts of Italy, no true idea can, in our opinion, be formed of it without visiting the magnificent palace of the Dukes of Urbino. Immense as are its proportions, countless as are its sculptured cornices, pilasters,

doors, windows, chimney-pieces, and entire chapels and alcoves, never is there, throughout, a tendency to the slightest repetition, never do the inventive powers of the artist (if *one*) who designed them, appear to flag, and never does variety of character or inferiority of taste give rise to a suspicion that there were more than one employed. The most delicate hand has carried these elegant conceptions into execution; and we cannot conceive a better commission to be given, by any academy of ornamental design, to artists, than to take drawings or casts of these beautiful ornaments.

With such a sovereign as Duke Guidubaldo, it seems surprising that the rising genius of Raffaele should not have found encouragement and employment in his native city. Many hypotheses have been formed, to account for this strange circumstance. Some have thrown the blame upon the artist, as though he demanded for his retaining fee the palace of Pier Antonio Guidalotti, confiscated by the ducal chamber. But Father Pungileoni has shown this to be impossible, as the confiscation did not take place till after Raffaele's death. The exhaustion of the treasury when Guidubaldo recovered his coronet, is assigned by this learned illustrator of Urbino's glories, as a more probable motive of the duke's apparent want of munificence.\* Raffaele painted several small pictures for the family, but has left no monument in his own country worthy of his name. Only in his humble house is a *Madonna* on the wall supposed to be one of the early productions of his boyish days. Perhaps our readers will not be displeased to read the inscription which points out this mansion to the veneration of strangers:

“ Nunquam meritorius exiguis hisce in ædibus eximius ille pictor  
RAPHAEL natus est, oct. id. Apr. An. M.CD.XXCIII. Venerare igitur  
hospes nomen et genium loci ne mirere,

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus,  
Et sæpe in parvis claudere magna solet.”

Urbino, however, is not without its pictures. In the church of St. Francis is one by Giovanni Sanzio or Sante, into which the artist has introduced his wife and child, the little Raffaele, about three years of age. Within the convent of the poor Clares, who are obliging enough to hand them out to strangers, are two pictures; one of them attributed to Raffaele, but not his; the other interesting from two inscriptions on the back, written with a pen. One of them is the simple name *Raffaello Sante*, the other, “ Fu compra di Isabella da Gobio madre di

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\* Elogio Storico di Raffaele Sante. Urbino, 1829. p. 41.

Raffaello Sante di Urbino 14....” “A purchase of Isabella of Gubbio, mother of Raffaele Sante of Urbino.” It does not appear from the inscription, which is equivocal, whether she was the purchaser or vender. The picture is by Raffaellino del Garbo. In the Capuchin convent is a splendid Baroccio, an author whose works cannot be appreciated in Rome. Till his *Deposition from the Cross*, in the cathedral of Perugia, is seen, no idea of his powers can, in our judgment, be formed. Another of his master-pieces is the *Last Supper*, in the cathedral of Urbino, his native city. In fine, there is here a spacious oratory, dedicated to St. John, entirely painted by the school of Giotto, and, in spite of gross neglect, fresh and full of life. At the church of St. Francesco di Paola are two Titians, and in that of St. Joseph, a fine *Madonna*, by Timateo Viti, the friend of Raffaele. But no stranger should leave Urbino without obtaining a sight of the treasures in the sacristy of the cathedral: one of the few in Italy, which, through the zeal of its guardians, escaped the rapacity of the French invaders. The church-plate, almost entirely the gift of the cardinal Annibale Albani, is of every variety of form and material compatible with good taste and splendour. Porcelain, silver, massive gold, amber, rock-crystal, pietra dura, enamels, and precious stones, of immense value, have been profusely bestowed by that great man upon the cathedral of his native city; most being made from presents received from foreign courts. To these are added such an array of rich embroideries, without number, as the sacristy of the Vatican could not display. Having mentioned this princely family, which, by its immense landed possessions, and extensive pin-manufactories, gives employment to multitudes, it would be unjust not to notice the generosity and charity ever displayed by its members, down to the late Prince Cardinal of that name. More than once, when the crops have failed, we have been assured by his agent that he not only refused all rent from his numerous tenants, but sent large sums to be distributed among them, and cut new roads to give employment to the labourers. Yet, when the stupid revolution of 1830 took place, one of the first acts of the new government was to write a threatening and insulting letter to the benevolent prince, in Rome, then near his ninetieth year, insisting upon his undertaking to build a large palace in the public square, in order to give employment to the poor. He complied, with the greatest good-humour, and erected the handsomest modern building in the city. Notwithstanding this unworthy treatment, knowing, as he expressed himself,



that it proceeded from "three or four scoundrels and not from the people," he immediately after accepted the office of legate there, and closed his days among his fellow-citizens.

Should a traveller, having reached Urbino from the east, not be disposed to retrace his steps, but desire to advance towards Florence or Rome, he would have no assistance from his guide-books. We beg, therefore, to assure him that he will find, thence to the frontiers of Tuscany, the most magnificent mountain-road that we know south of the Alps. It has been constructed at the joint expense of the Papal and Tuscan governments, the province of Urbino alone having contributed 250,000 dollars. The *engineering* of the road is masterly, and the construction quite Roman. It crosses the highest Apennines, and brings him to San Giustino, where he may either turn into Tuscany by Borgo San Sepolcro, or go towards Perugia by Città di Castello.\* Neither of these frontier towns has been found worthy of a place in our English itineraries, though they will amply repay a visit from the man of taste. Borgo San Sepolcro may be called a city of painters, for none perhaps in Italy has produced so many. It possesses to this day many fine paintings, by Pietro Perugino, Luca Signorelli, Pietro della Francesca, Raffaele del Calle, and other excellent artists. Città di Castello has the merit of being one of the first cities that encouraged the rising genius of Raffaele, and had, consequently, the honour of possessing some of his earliest works. Most of these have now disappeared: one of St. Nicholas of Tolentine, was cut up, having been much damaged, and the upper part bought at a high price by Pius VI, and carried off by the French: the celebrated *Sposalizio* was stolen from the church for which it was painted, under the French usurpation, and forms the principal gem of the Brera at Milan: a beautiful *Crucifixion* was sold by the family in whose chapel it was, and now graces the gallery of Cardinal Fesch.† All that remains of the great painter, are two small standards in the Confraternity chapel of the Blessed Trinity, which had been shamefully neglected, and have lately been most barbarously repaired, if spoilt be not the truer word. In spite of these losses, there is much left to repay the intelligent traveller's stay of a few days in this pretty and most courteous

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\* As a specimen of geographical accuracy, we may observe, that the school atlas, published by Dr. Samuel Butler, now on the episcopal bench, in the first map of Italy, places not only this city, but Perugia itself, far within the Tuscan territories.

† Lately engraved in admirable style by Gruner, at Rome.

city. He will find many works of Luca Signorelli, Raffaele del Calle, Rosso Fiorentino, Pinturicchio, and Pietro Perugino, and of many native artists, well worthy of observation. We do not enter into particulars, as we did of other towns, which have no published guide, because excellent descriptions of both these cities have been published by the Cav. Andreocci, and more at length by the Cav. Mancini.\* The gallery of the latter will not escape the notice of the amateur, who will be delighted to find there pieces by the first masters, from Giotto to living masters, including Raffaele.

Towards the south of the central position which we have ventured to recommend as a good summer or autumnal residence, Jesi, Ancona, and Sinigaglia, would afford farther occupation. But the last-mentioned place has attractions of a different character from what we have till now described;—the splendid fair of twenty days, in July and August, which makes a residence near it an object of envy to many Italians. We have before us an animated description of its scenes, from the pen of one of our countrywomen, in the habit of attending it, which we regret that want of room, as well as the gravity of our censorious office, does not allow us to insert. From it we learn that its origin may be traced to the year 1200, when Sergius, Count of Sinigaglia, married the daughter of the Prince of Marseilles, who sent him, as a present, some relics of St. Mary Magdalen. This drew immense crowds to the celebration of her festival, on the 22d of July, and the concourse, as was usual in those ages, led to the establishment of the fair, as it is still called, of St. Mary Magdalen. Sigismund Malatesta, some years later, gave it new lustre, and repaired the port, which had been nearly destroyed by Manfredi. When the city came under the dominion of the Holy See, it stipulated for the preservation of its right of fair, with all its privileges, exemption from custom, tribute, and fees. The town is built expressly for the fair; its straight streets are covered with awnings, every house becomes a magazine, and every doorway a shop. Every article, from costly jewellery for the noble, to the coarsest wares for the peasantry, may be met in this universal emporium; tradesmen from Venice, Geneva, Trieste, France, Germany, and the Levant, display their various merchandize; not in small parcels to tempt the casual stroller, but in bales and cases for the supply of the inland dealers. Every dialect of the Italian language, cut into, by the rougher

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\* Two volumes, 8vo. Perugia, 1832.



tones of the transalpine, or the guttural jargon of transmarine languages, is heard, generating a Babel of sounds. On all sides are greeting of *dear friends*, who only meet once a year at the fair, yet are as loud and hearty in their salutations as though they were sworn brothers. From a semi-circle of fifty miles' radius (the city being upon the sea) the population pours in, with serious intentions of laying out their money to some purpose; while crowds of Roman, Tuscan, and other idlers, come to enjoy a lounge through this bazaar-city, or partake of its amusements. In the thoughts of the former, the custom-house officers have a considerable place; for as all the merchandize comes in free, and pays its duty upon passing the gates to enter into the country, many are the schemes and devices for escaping the vigilance of these most inconvenient and inconsiderate officials. Much that is bought is concealed in the town, so as to evade the minute domiciliary visit which closes the fair, and then is gradually conveyed home. What is in use passes, of course, free; hence troops of countrymen, tanned to colour of bronze, as they go out of the gates, shade their delicate complexions from the sun with their new umbrellas; and young men protect themselves against the chill of Italian dog-days with well-lined and fur-collared cloaks, wrapped close around them. Dropsies, too, look very common, and pocket handkerchiefs seem vastly like shawls. A sudden fashion seems to have come in of wearing double apparel, and many can no longer tell the time, without at least three watches in their pockets. Yet great is the squabbling, the entreating, the bullying at the gates; and many faint just at that particular moment, and cannot recover unless they drive outside, and feel the country air. In fact, it is an epoch in the year, to which everything is referred; a person is said to have died, or to have gone abroad, before or after the last fair of Sinigaglia; many know only those two periods in the year.

But to turn to more serious topics. The situation which we have pointed out as admirable for any one who wishes to see a most interesting part of Italy, will afford, to those who take delight in such things, several opportunities of visiting the seats of national industry. At Fassombrone, fifteen miles from Fano, the steam-engine is applied to the beautiful process of drawing off the silk, the finest in Italy; at Fabriano are very extensive paper mills, which supply all the states, and even send considerable quantities across the seas; at La Pengola are large carpet-manufactories, which now begin to copy

the English patterns. St. Ippolito, a small village not far from Fassombrone, is a species of Carrara in miniature, where beautiful marble work is executed at a third of the Roman prices, and might be shipped for any part of the world at Ancona.

We have shown how much might be made of a few months' residence on the eastern coast of Italy. If the sea be not particularly coveted, Bologna or Perugia would be excellent central points. Both are ancient friends of ours, but the latter has less of the capital about it, and besides having within its reach many of the places we have enumerated, as Gubbio, Urbino, and Città di Castello, it is the middle point of a school of painting that has for us peculiar charms. There is solid food in this line for many days, and, after that, pickings for weeks of delicious savour. Then there is Assisi near, more like a sanctuary than a city,—the town of which, both Starke and Brockedon write, that it is worth a visit to those that have time; especially to antiquarians, because there is a portico of a temple of Minerva. So says the latter, and he an artist! The former tells us, that “the Church of St. Francesco, in this city, contains several pictures of the old school.” (p. 475.) Why, it is not *one* church, but three, each enough for one city, piled up one above the other. *Several pictures!* The upper one is ornamented from roof to basement with frescoes by Giotto; and the lower one covered, ceiling and all, by the finest productions of the same artist, and Cimabue, his master, Buffalmacco, Memmi, Gaddi, and other restorers of the Christian art, not to speak of more ancient Grecian works. The Sagro Convento is a thing unique in its kind,—there is nothing like it in Italy, or out of it.

But there is another object of interest to every man of education who visits a foreign country,—its public institutions. Those who go to Perugia should not omit the opportunity it gives them of seeing several worthy of minute observation. One is the hospital, with its numerous appendages; another, the college, directed by the learned jurisconsult Collizzi. In cleanliness and good arrangement it would be difficult to find anything surpassing it in England; the book of regulations, now before us, shews us that, with severe attention to the moral and scientific attainments of the pupils, is united the greatest care to refine their manners and fit them for society. Their examinations show the extent and variety of the plan of education. This and the college, or academy, at Urbino, directed by the Somaschi Fathers, are, we believe, considered

the two best in the Papal states. Having minutely inspected both, we believe they have a claim to positive, as well as to comparative praise. But the asylum for the insane is the noblest establishment in Perugia. Under the paternal direction of Dr. Santi, it has been most successful in restoring, perfectly cured, to their afflicted families a very large proportion of the unfortunate creatures sent to it for relief. Nothing but the kindest treatment is allowed; and a most judicious distribution has been adopted, separating the patients into double classes, of rank or intelligence, and of symptoms. By a Report before us, published this year, it results, that in twelve years and a half there have been

	Admitted	Cured	Died	Remain.
Men -	202	120	51	31
Women -	110	36	27	27
Total -	312	176	78	58

It is particularly remarked, that of those who have once been cured and have relapsed, there has been no instance of failure in effecting a final and complete cure.

Much more we have to say, especially as we have purposely confined ourselves to a small portion of that state of Italy, which is most exposed to the contemptuous neglect, or studied misrepresentations, of tourists and writers of itineraries. We shall be satisfied if we can effect anything, by what we have written, towards inducing our countrymen to see more of the smaller towns and cities of the classical peninsula; and still more, if we shall induce some competent person to draw up such a hand-book for travellers, as shall enable them to do this with profit and delight. It must be no compilation, but the result of actual observation. Dr. Kitchener boasts that he had eaten through the whole of his *Cookery Book*; Hahnemann has taken every dose of homœopathic medicine which he prescribes; the author of such a book as we wish to see must have travelled it all through in person.

- ART. II.—1. *Europa und die Revolution.* Von J. Görres.  
 (*Europe and the Revolution.* By J. Görres.) Stuttgart.  
 2. *Die Christliche Mystik.* Erster Band: von Joseph Görres.  
 (*Christian Mysticism.* By J. Görres.) Vol. I. Ratisbon  
 and Landshut. 1836.

THE beneficial influence of the Catholic religion on the fine arts and on poetry has been rarely disputed, even by her bitterest opponents. The marvels which her sons have achieved in music and in painting,—in sculpture and in architecture, are too numerous and too splendid not to strike the attention, or captivate the admiration, of the dullest or the most prejudiced observer. This very superiority in art would incline one to believe the superiority of this religion, as a doctrinal system.

But favourable to poetry and the fine arts as Catholicism is admitted to be, yet her adversaries often pretend that her influence is hurtful to philosophical speculations. Yet, how destitute is this charge of foundation it would not be difficult to show. In the first place, it is evident, that a religion which establishes the formal distinction between articles of faith and matters of speculative opinion, which, while it decides peremptorily and for ever all the great fundamental questions in respect to God, man, and nature, and their mutual relations, yet abandons to free investigation a multitude of secondary and incidental points relating thereto;—that this religion offers to philosophy a two-fold advantage, by giving her at once a starting-point and a goal for her career.\* Deprived of this double resource, the ancient philosophy, particularly when the traditions of primeval truth had become obscured, laboriously revolved round a narrow circle of fundamental questions, and rarely advanced beyond it. In the second place, the Catholic religion, by shunning and reprobating all excess in doctrine and morality, by satisfying at once the heart and the senses, the imagination and the understanding, guards the human mind against those exaggerated one-sided views, which are the bane of all historical and metaphysical speculation. Thirdly, Catholicism, by bringing the senses

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\* One of the most learned and able divines of Catholic Germany, Professor Klee, has made an observation on this subject, which deserves to be recorded. In the maxim current among the theologians, “*Fides non est contra rationem, sed supra rationem*,” (Faith is not against reason, but above it) “Two things,” says he, “the dread of all science, and the temerity of science itself, are alike rejected as false and pernicious.” See his recent interesting work, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 81. Mainz, 1837.

under subjection to the spirit, by raising the soul above sublunary objects, and by training it in the wondrous ways of divine contemplation, combats that frivolity and that sybaritism so fatal to all high intellectual pursuits, and places the mind in the mood and temper best adapted for philosophical enquiries. Hence, as the illustrious writer, some of whose works stand at the head of our article, has observed, in his recent splendid production on the Christian Mystics, the *speculative* frequently kept pace with the *practical* Mysticism; and in those religious communities of the Middle Age, whose members were most distinguished for the austerity of their lives, philosophy frequently found her most ardent and enlightened votaries. Fourthly, the sublime doctrines and mysteries of Catholic theology furnish in themselves ample—inexhaustible matter for philosophical speculation. It would be too long here to adduce the proofs of this assertion; and so we shall content ourselves with alleging the testimony of two writers, who cannot be taxed with any undue partiality towards the Catholic Church. M. Victor Cousin, who cannot, we regret to say, be yet included in the number of Catholic writers, has in his interesting report on the state of education in the Prussian Gymnasias, described the beneficial influence of Christianity (and his words apply more particularly to Catholicism) in exercising the powers of the human mind. “But,” says he, “a pure religious instruction is quite necessary; and nothing is better adapted to promote a systematic, rich, and various instruction, than Christianity, with its history; which carries us up to the cradle of humanity, and is connected with all the great events of the world; *with its dogmas, which breathe the loftiest metaphysics*; with its morality, which unites all qualities, severity and mildness; lastly, with its great monuments, from *Genesis* to Bossuet’s *Discours sur l’Histoire Universelle*.”\*

The testimony of a celebrated German philosopher, who, in latter times was the leader of the Pantheistic school in his own country, and manifests, not unfrequently, a spirit of bitter hostility to the Catholic Church, is still more explicit in favour of the superior resources which Catholic theology offers to philosophic meditation. “Never,” says the late Professor Hegel, “have Catholics been such barbarians, as not to conceive and represent in a philosophic form the doctrines of

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\* See Denkschrift über den Gymnasial unterricht im Königreich Preussen, von Victor Cousin: aus dem Französischen übersetzt, von J. C. Kröger, p. 173. Altona, 1837. We have referred to the German translation, as we have not the original by us.

eternal truth.”\* Again he expresses himself still more strongly, “There is,” says he, “in the Catholic theology much more philosophic, speculative matter, than in the doctrinal system of Protestants.”†

To historic science Protestantism is not more favourable. To the Protestant, who wishes to *remain a consistent Protestant*, what a sealed fountain is all modern History! What outlet can he find from that inextricable labyrinth of religious doctrines, which he misapprehends,—of religious usages, with which he is unacquainted,—and of transactions in Church and state, the offspring of religious convictions which he despises? The lawful efforts of the clergy to maintain inviolate their spiritual rights and jurisdiction against the encroachments of the secular power, the Protestant designates as priestly arrogance. The most odious interference of the civil authority in ecclesiastical concerns, he terms a just exercise of royal prerogative. Carrying into the history of Catholic ages and Catholic nations, which constitute by far the largest portion of modern history, the false and narrow prejudices of his own sect, he misreads the records of the past, and miscalculates the prospects of the future. Right and wrong change their names for him; and history becomes one vast Dedalus. These observations of course apply to such Protestant writers only, as are blindly wedded to their religious errors. At all times there have been superior individuals, in whom a strong sense of natural equity, and great learning and acuteness, have succeeded in overcoming, more or less, the prejudices of education. And in our own age, when so many causes have concurred to soften the asperity of ancient religious animosities, there have been, we are happy to say, many enlightened and noble-minded Protestants, who have achieved a glorious part in the religious regeneration of historical literature.

If we had time and space to dilate on this subject, we might easily confirm these remarks by an appeal to facts. Where, indeed, shall we find greater depth and elevation of metaphysical views than in the ancient fathers of the Church? Where can we discover greater subtlety and dexterity of ratiocination, accompanied often with a spirit of profound speculation, than among the school-men of the Middle Age? And in the ages that have elapsed since the Reformation, where shall we find more illustrious thinkers than those that have adorned the ranks of the Church? What names in philosophy can Pro-

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\* Geschichte der Philosophie, 3rd vol. p. 169.

† Ibid, p. 260.

testantism show superior to those of Descartes, Huet, Pascal, Nicole, Mallebranche, Bossuet, Fénelon, and Leibnitz? for though the last, from the force of circumstances, lived and died in the outward profession of the Lutheran faith, still his writings prove him, in his inmost conviction, to have been eminently Catholic.\*

After the long winter of the eighteenth century, and the fearful tempests which convulsed its close, the fair plant of Catholic literature, which in that interval of time had drooped and languished, received, at the commencement of the present age, a new quickening sap, and blossomed in renovated beauty. What a host of distinguished spirits in France and in Germany rallied round the assailed, but still triumphant Church! As we have more than once adverted to this subject,† it is needless to say more, than that, as regards Germany, the Catholic regeneration of the public mind was first displayed thirty years ago, in the department of æsthetics, in poetry, and the belles-lettres; next it was manifested in the department of historical and political literature; and, finally, within the last ten or fifteen years, it has been shown in the course which theological and metaphysical speculations have taken. This remark leads us to the biography of the celebrated writer whose works stand at the head of our article, and whose literary and political life reflects the varied forms and colours of the agitated and eventful epoch in which his destiny was cast.

Joseph Görres, the subject of this memoir, was born at Coblenz, in the year 1776. In the year 1792, Görres, a youth of sixteen, went to Mayence, after the capture of that city by the French revolutionary troops. Imbued with those political opinions, then so prevalent among the youth of western Germany, young Görres visited the Jacobin clubs, and soon distinguished himself by his superior eloquence. In the year 1798, he formed one of a deputation sent to Paris by his fellow-citizens, in order to carry into execution the plan of a Cisrhenan republic; a project which was soon rendered abortive by the sudden demise of General Hoche. Görres returned to his native country by no means confirmed in his revolutionary opinions. His abode at Paris had afforded him opportunities of studying the character and principles of the wretched factions that then desolated France; and having been

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\* See especially Leibnitz's *Systema Theologicum*, edited by the Abbé Emery, Paris, 1819; a work quoted in the *Dublin Review*, No. VIII.

† See No. I. Art. *Gebet on the Eucharist*, and No. VI. Art. *Novalis's Life and Writings*.



admitted into the sanctuary, where the idol sat in all its terrors, the charm, which his imagination at a distance had lent to it, was soon dispelled. If the candid biographer must admit that the first youthful writings of Görres breathe a wild revolutionary spirit, his contemporaries concur in stating, that to honesty and sincerity in his opinions he united the strictest equity, honour, and moderation of conduct. Entering on public life so early, it was not surprising, that, like so many of his contemporaries, he should have been carried away by the revolutionary torrent of the age. But with a character most noble, and a mind most distinguished, he could not long remain insensible to the light of truth; and religion soon furnished him with the only clue, by which he could escape from the moral and political labyrinth of his times.

Renouncing public life, M. Görres repaired to the University of Heidelberg, where, for several years, he acted as private teacher. Here he devoted himself with great assiduity to the study of the history and poetry of the Middle Age, as well as to that of Asiatic mythology. In this city he formed an intimacy with Brentano, (now one of the brightest ornaments of Catholic literature in Germany) with Arnian, and several other young *literati*; and in conjunction with these he laboured to revive that taste for romantic poetry in western Germany, which Tieck, Novalis, and the two Schlegels, had just restored in the north. They found vehement opponents to their project in the pagan enthusiast, Voss, and other rationalists. The too famous Dr. Paulus perceived the great genius of Görres, as well as the spirit at work within him, and laboured in every way to thwart his advancement in the University.

On his return to Coblenz, Görres was appointed director of the Gymnasium, or public school of that city. Here he applied with great ardour to the study of physiology and natural philosophy. The fruit of these studies was an excellent work on physiology, which is highly admired for the originality of its views. The first book which established the reputation of Görres, as a scholar and a thinker of high order, was his *Mythengeschichte der Asiatischen Welt* (History of Asiatic Mythology) published in the year 1808. Of this work we have perused only a few extracts; but those competent to form an opinion on the subject, declare that this production, though it contains much which is fantastical, and which the maturer judgment of the author would reject, often displays great learning and profound reflection.



In 1810, M. Görres appeared a second time on the political arena; but animated with sounder views, and guided by a riper judgment. The glorious resistance of the Spaniards and Portuguese, as well as of their brave and generous allies, to the progress of the French arms, and the memorable defeat which Napoleon sustained in Russia, roused his generous spirit to vindicate his country's freedom and independence. To enkindle the patriotic ardour of the Germans, he published a multitude of political essays, pointing out the weak defenceless parts of the Gallic giant, and predicting with prophetic glance his speedy overthrow. In 1813, he founded a daily paper, entitled the *Rhenish Mercury*, allowed to have been the best journal ever edited in Germany; and which had a most decided influence in promoting the great national rising of the Germans against Napoleon. The editor was on terms of the greatest intimacy with the Prussian general, Gruner, who commanded at Coblenz, and was by him furnished with the most authentic and most speedy intelligence. Such was the influence of the journal, that Marshal Blücher exclaimed on one occasion, "We have four allies, England, Russia, Austria, and Görres."

On the re-establishment of peace, M. Görres continued the publication of his journal, which breathed a noble spirit of liberal conservatism, till the year 1816, when it was suppressed by order of the Prussian government. In 1817, he published a work, entitled *The Reaction at Berlin*, which made him still more obnoxious to that government. He was deprived of his place of Inspector-General of Studies, though he was allowed to retain its emoluments. Unwilling to receive remuneration without service, he requested an appointment to the chair of history in the University of Bonn, which the government was then about establishing. This request was positively refused. From this time his relations with the government became every day more unpleasant; and looking, not merely at his own situation, but at the prospects of his country,—at the denial of all her just political claims,—at the violation of the most sacred promises made to her in the hour of peril,—he resolved to quit his native soil. "But before I leave it," he said, "I shall leave the Prussians a memento." This memento was accordingly given, in the celebrated work entitled *Europe and the Revolution*, which was published in the year 1819. Since Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, no political writing had, perhaps, excited such an extraordinary sensation as this masterly per-

formance. It was read with avidity in every part of Germany. It soon drew down on the author the persecution of Prussia. Copies of it were ordered to be seized--the author's pension was withdrawn--and he himself would have been committed to prison, had he not fortunately escaped to the French territory.

Yet how cruel and unjust was this persecution, our readers may convince themselves by referring to Mr. Black's English translation of the work. On the defective constitution of the Germanic Diet, on the false policy of many German Cabinets, there are undoubtedly some severe strictures; but a love of order, a respect for authority, a horror of anarchy, pervade the book. Prussia is only incidentally mentioned. Happy had it been for that country--happy for Germany, if the political principles of Görres could have prevailed, and his counsels had been followed!

On his arrival at Strasburg, the pseudo-liberals of France courted Görres's society with great diligence; but when they discovered that the liberty *he* preached was far different from the idol *they* worshipped; that the liberty proclaimed by the German was one based upon Catholicism on one side, and upon Monarchy and all her concomitant institutions on the other, they soon turned their backs upon him. He now repaired to Switzerland; where, as many of its inhabitants were familiar with his writings, he met with a flattering reception. In 1820 he returned to Strasburg to write his most celebrated political work, *Europe and the Revolution*, of which we shall presently give a full analysis.

It is to be said, to the honour of the subject of this memoir, that very different from many converted revolutionists, who think they best evince their horror of former opinions, by rushing into the opposite extreme of absolutism, Görres has ever observed the golden mean in politics. He has been one of the most able and eloquent, as certainly the most intrepid, defender of the mixed or temperate monarchy; and his writings, in our humble opinion, form one of the richest treasures of political wisdom, which modern times can show. After a just eulogy on the genius of Görres, Frederick Schlegel has recorded his opinion, that the future historian will find in his political works, the best and amplest materials for a just appreciation of the eventful years that elapsed from 1810 to 1820.\*

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\* See his "Concordia," No. iv.

During his abode in France and Switzerland, M. Görres published a number of excellent essays on religion, politics, and literature, many of which appeared in the journal entitled *Der Katholik*.

At length, in the year 1825, that noble protector of the Church, and liberal patron of art and literature, Prince Lewis Maximilian, ascended the throne of Bavaria. One of the first acts of his reign, was the creation of a Catholic University at Munich; and he immediately invited the subject of this memoir to fill the chair of history in this establishment. Here for the first time in his life, had this distinguished man been appointed to a situation, where his talents could appear to advantage. For not to speak of the first stormy period of his life, when he rose and sank like a meteor of the political world, we have seen this great genius, capable of swaying the destinies of the mightiest empire, consigned for long years to the comparatively humble functions of a director of a public school, and an inspector of studies.

During his abode at Munich, his lectures on Universal History have excited general attention and admiration. In the year 1836, the splendid work at the head of this article, entitled *Christian Mysticism*, issued from his pen; two volumes only have as yet appeared. Its object is to reveal "the glory of God in his saints," to explain, illustrate, and classify all the various supernatural phenomena of the mystical life. The extent of erudition, and depth of reflection, it displays, have enhanced, if possible, the author's reputation; while the warm and fervent piety which pervades it, proves a man far advanced in the ways of interior perfection.

M. Görres was early united in marriage to a lady of one of the most respectable families at Coblenz; she has been long distinguished as well for her great talents, as fervent piety. Several children have been the issue of this marriage. Among them we may name Guido Görres, a young man of extraordinary talents and attainments, known by his beautiful lives of *Nicholas von der Flüe*, and *The Maid of Orleans*, and who bids fair to tread in the glorious footsteps of his father.

Such is the brief memoir of this illustrious man, as we have been enabled to compile it, partly from a meagre notice in the *Conversation's Lexicon*, and partly from the oral declarations of some of his most respectable countrymen and contemporaries.

We have selected the work which stands first at the head of our article, because it is not only the most remarkable and

most interesting of all the author's political writings, but the one best calculated to give the English reader an insight into his historical and political principles. This work is divided into four parts, the philosophic introduction—the past—the present—and the future. The first part contains the general principles which guide the author in his historical speculations. It has the fault of great obscurity. The second and third parts are devoted to considerations on the historical career of the various European nations in past and present times; and the fourth part to speculations on their future destinies, particularly those of Germany. This method is in our opinion defective, as it unavoidably leads to repetitions, and to arbitrary divisions of things in themselves inseparable. Hence in our review of this work, we have followed the *ethnographical* rather than the chronological method adopted by the author. Passing over the philosophic introduction, we shall commence with the second part.

“The present,” says Görres, “in all its commotions, in all its struggles and revolutions, in all its desolation and all its hopes, is the work of two great catastrophes, which in the natural course of history have sprung out of that mighty conflict between the spiritual and secular powers, which ended in the destruction of the Middle Age. Both the combatants had come out of the struggle mortally wounded: the most vital parts of European society were affected by their disorder; the old mode of life could no longer continue; great crises must ensue, and by these the regeneration of the deranged organism must be worked out.”—p. 125.

Many causes contributed to produce these crises in the Church, before they could affect the constitution of the state. The intercourse between the west and east, promoted by the crusades, and the pilgrimages which they facilitated—the resuscitation of Grecian literature and art in the fifteenth century—the discovery of the magnet at Amalfi, and the knowledge of new worlds to which that discovery led—and lastly, the invention of printing, which promoted so rapid a circulation of ideas—all these events, as they enlarged so prodigiously the boundaries of science, were calculated to make the human mind intoxicated with its sudden success, and throw it off its equilibrium, were it not supported by strong religious faith, love and humility.

But while the domain of science was thus extending, faith was losing its ground. A dry, critical temper, produced by the degenerate scholasticism of the latter part of the Middle

Age, in seeking after the letter, lost the spirit and object of religious institutions. That fine symbolism, which hovers round even the most insignificant usages, eluded the coarseness of its touch.

This spirit unfortunately found an aliment in the abuses and disorders existing in the Church in the declining period of the Middle Age. The long subjection of the popes to the French sovereigns, during their abode at Avignon, the political intrigues of which their court, there, became the theatre—the scandalous contentions between rival aspirants for the papacy during the *Great Schism*, whereby ecclesiastical discipline was so fearfully relaxed, and pontifical authority so degraded in public estimation,—the immoral lives and crafty policy of some pontiffs, the worldly-minded spirit and worldly engagements of many members of the episcopal body,—the corruption which spread among all classes of society, and reached even the sacred inclosure of monasteries, many of whose members, forgetful of the duties of their state, were sunk in ignorance and luxurious sloth—such, according to our author, were the causes which led to the Reformation.

In the state, great changes were taking place, which might become beneficial or hurtful, according to the good or evil spirit which pervaded society. The discovery of the new world, by furnishing Europe with such an abundance of the precious metals, had given an extraordinary impulse to commercial enterprise, diffused wealth more generally among the trading and manufacturing classes, and raised up in many places a monied aristocracy in opposition to the old landed nobility. The invention of gunpowder, by rendering personal valour and prowess less necessary, had changed the face of war; while by facilitating the extension of the use of arms to the burgesses and peasantry, it tended to lessen the military importance of the nobles.

M. Görres observes truly, that from the sixteenth century to the close of the eighteenth, the internal political condition of every country, was affected by the form and course which the Reformation assumed within it; and that all the great changes in society have since stood in close connexion with that great religious revolution. He illustrates this truth by the example of England, France, and Germany.

He now proceeds to take a rapid historical survey of the past and present condition of the five principal European countries, France, Italy, England, Spain, and Russia, reserving his own country for the concluding portion of his work.

been drawn into the pleasures of the court, and had taken part in all the turpitude of its policy. The many examples of great virtue, genuine piety, and solid learning, which the clergy constantly exhibited, sank into the back ground, in the frivolous metropolis at least, before the frivolity, to which a large portion of their body were addicted. The public morals, corrupted as they were from the high to the lower classes of society, abjured the aid of the clergy : in the dissolution of all the principles of justice and morality, nought remained unconsumed, save the consuming power itself—wit, which now not as a creative, but as a destroying spirit, brooded over the abyss. The literati, who had formerly gone to court, now, after having there finished their schooling, turned to the people and preached to them another doctrine—of the God who resided in matter, of the Heaven to be found in the senses, of morality that consisted in cunning, and of the felicity that voluptuous indulgence afforded ; and that all beside was the vain deception and jugglery of priests, whether at court or in the Church. That warm genial view of the Middle Age, which, in the same way as antiquity gave life to mountains, springs, and trees, looked on the state in all its members and parts as a thing endued with vitality, and procured for them, as so many essential personalities, love and attachment ; that warm ennobling view had long since passed away. In room of this, the doctrine of political materialism had descended from the high to the lower regions of society, and for warm life had substituted cold abstractions, cyphers, and rigid geometrical forms, which cut sharply into private life ; and for such dead abstractions it was impossible to feel affection.

“ The portion of the nobility that sank into degeneracy at court, incurred the contempt of the people. The better part, who residing on their estates, still cultivated many ancient virtues, were, as holding extensive landed possessions in the face of grinding poverty, objects of hatred ; and their consideration was undermined by the arrogance and ever increasing wealth of the monied class. Thus all bonds were relaxed, in proportion as the inward expansion of all relations increased. Authority sometimes, with a good-natured imprudence, assisted in the destruction ; sometimes terrified, struggled against it in impotent opposition, by means of her police and bastilles, and then again sent her armies over the Atlantic, in order to visit in America the school of freedom. Thus all was prepared for the stroke ; and when the same want of money, which through the indulgencies had led to the Reformation, necessitated the convocation of the three estates, the *Revolution* broke out.”—pp. 158-161.

We have seen with what sagacious accuracy, with what forcible colouring, this mighty master has depicted France of the eighteenth century. Let us see now, how with a few vigorous strokes he portrays revolutionary France from 1789 to 1792.



"These were to be found," says our author, "in provincial peculiarities, in various local laws, in diversely acquired privileges, in the rights of particular corporations, the influence of municipal communities, the workings of earlier institutions, the resistance of historical recollections, the power of usage and habit, the hostility of deep-rooted customs and manners, the pride of self-conscious independent feeling and the reaction of knowledge and talent."—p. 148.

M. Görres next describes, with fearful force, the moral and political corruption of France in the course of the eighteenth century. The causes which led to the awful catastrophe that convulsed the close of that century, are set forth with the most masterly condensation in the following passage.

"The people, who, reduced to the greatest political insignificance, had been converted into mere mummies, valued only for the revenue they afforded, began now to count themselves, and discovered that their "name was legion," and that consequently power resided with them, if they would only keep united. No legal organ now remained to represent and regulate that popular opposition, and to divert discontent: the old estates of the monarchy had fallen into desuetude; and the Parliaments, although they were respectable and independent, and amid the general corruption had preserved in an admirable degree their character unsullied, yet constituted, with their right of enregistration, but a far too accidental, extraneous, and broken opposition, which however it might prevent partial evil, was incapable of establishing any thing satisfactory. On this account the newly-awakened opposition had recourse to that secret civil war of nations against government, which more than a century ago preceded the great explosions of our time. The first pioneers of the revolution were those bands of smugglers, armed with craft and violence, in whom the people of modern times first enounced the thought of resistance to oppression, and in whom the elementary school of revolt was first organized.

"The more the civil functionaries pored over their papers, and, estranged from life, dwelt in their own peculiar, not fantastic indeed, but still fictitious world, the more did the real world emancipate itself from their influence and control. While they administered their protocols, the world gradually learned to govern itself; the events, which they thought to guide, they only enregistered; and while they laboriously strove to set their tables in order, disorder without increased more and more, and licentiousness waxed stronger the more evident became their impotence to avert it. To the torrent of selfish motives, which had early polluted the good cause of freedom and justice, religion could oppose but a powerless resistance; for the secret of courtiers, that it was formed only to beguile simplicity, had got abroad among the people. The Church had fallen in public estimation, since many of its high prelates had

been drawn into the pleasures of the court, and had taken part in all the turpitude of its policy. The many examples of great virtue, genuine piety, and solid learning, which the clergy constantly exhibited, sank into the back ground, in the frivolous metropolis at least, before the frivolity, to which a large portion of their body were addicted. The public morals, corrupted as they were from the high to the lower classes of society, abjured the aid of the clergy : in the dissolution of all the principles of justice and morality, nought remained unconsumed, save the consuming power itself—wit, which now not as a creative, but as a destroying spirit, brooded over the abyss. The literati, who had formerly gone to court, now, after having there finished their schooling, turned to the people and preached to them another doctrine—of the God who resided in matter, of the Heaven to be found in the senses, of morality that consisted in cunning, and of the felicity that voluptuous indulgence afforded ; and that all beside was the vain deception and jugglery of priests, whether at court or in the Church. That warm genial view of the Middle Age, which, in the same way as antiquity gave life to mountains, springs, and trees, looked on the state in all its members and parts as a thing endued with vitality, and procured for them, as so many essential personalities, love and attachment ; that warm ennobling view had long since passed away. In room of this, the doctrine of political materialism had descended from the high to the lower regions of society, and for warm life had substituted cold abstractions, cyphers, and rigid geometrical forms, which cut sharply into private life ; and for such dead abstractions it was impossible to feel affection.

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“ A strong bulwark of the old order of things were the great possessions in the hands of the clergy. This outwork must first be stormed, in order that out of its ruins a new system of property, and a new revolutionary interest, might be created. On this account they were immediately seized ; and to render them moveable property, paper money was without delay hypothecated upon them. As property had been congregated in those great masses ; so by tradition, likewise, a treasure of science, of observation, and experience, had been collected in the laws, in the maxims of administration, and in the principles of jurisprudence. Even this collection was dispersed, and in lieu of it a second paper money, composed of new theories and abstract principles, was created for the guidance of the future. In the same way, by the surrender of a portion of individual liberty, for the securer preservation and freer developement of the remainder, a like social deposit had been entrusted to the hands of authority ; and this maintained society in its accustomed order. This deposit was now, with the overthrow of authority, scattered to the winds ; and in the written constitution a third paper money was established. Thus was the great bank blown up, which had preserved the public property of the nation, that had been lodged in it ; every individual was now left to the exercise of his own energy, his own property, and his own activity. In this spirit were the several orders of the state reduced to equality ; the corporations dissolved ; all distinctions of rank and honorary designation annihilated ; even the ancient divisions of provinces were abolished, and in their room new mathematical ones instituted. Thus was the work of destruction successfully accomplished ; but in the task of reconstruction, greater difficulties soon presented themselves.”—pp. 163-4.

If the indulgence of the reader will only make allowance for the defective medium of our translation, he may, perhaps, fancy he hears in the following passage the voice of Edmund Burke thundering from his tomb :

“ As after the total extirpation of all existing institutions, nothing more remained standing—no fundamental law—no hereditary usages—no customs—no strong rallying-point—nought, but that universal corrosive principle of dissolution, by which everything was destroyed ; so an universal anarchy must necessarily precede every construction, and this again must begin by degrees, and with many abortive and again destroyed formations, like to those monsters which emerged from old Chaos, prior to the regular creation, and whose images according to ancient tradition were preserved on the walls of the temple of Belus. With that great national bank, of which we have spoken, was broken open in the metropolis the depot of all the vices and crimes which had been accumulated by the licentiousness of manners, the infidelity, the moral degradation, and general corruption of the upper classes ; and as a bale of goods, incautiously opened, may spread pestilence

through a whole country, so the moral contagion was here rapidly diffused through the too susceptible mass. When in the circus, the dens of the wild beasts were unbarred, they rushed headlong into the arena; so all the furious, blood-thirsty, treacherous, knavish, malicious, rash, and violent impulses of nature, let loose from their chains, devoured each other. In the midst of this frenzy, the Lord came down, and judged first the crimes of the despotism of many centuries. As the generations of men are responsible in their several links for each others' misdeeds; so here fate struck the most innocent, the most benevolent in the whole line of princes; that, after the most fearful trials, he should bleed for all those on whose corpses only the sentence was now executed. But then the judge took into account this new debt of blood, and gave full vengeance to all the passions. Then began that savage civil war, which, while the sword without destroyed its victims, preyed within on the entrails of the state; and this frenzy of faction was inflamed again by its own slaver to new blood-thirstiness. The very elements of nature, burning, as it would seem, with a like fury as the social elements, must in a degree become instruments of death; and iron, fire, and water, devoured their victims. Terrorism raged with her drownings and her shootings, her proscriptions and confiscations, her *maximum*, *requisitions*, and universal plunder: public bankruptcy and famine closed the procession of the furies."—pp. 168-170.

In the terrorism of 1793, anarchy reached its extreme term. A reaction was now to come, which after precipitating society in the opposite extreme of despotism, was gradually to bring it back to that happy medium, where, as our author justly observes, political freedom and stability can alone be found. The weak vacillating government of the Directory prepared the way for that military despotism, whose powerful spell could alone put down the demons of the revolution. In the person of one despot, anarchy became concentrated. The Church re-established for mere political purposes—the administrative centralization of the old regime elaborated with still more systematic refinement—a system of public education, in which religion had small part, conducted according to cold, selfish and exclusive principles, fitted only to convert a people into the most abject tools of tyranny—lastly, foreign warfare permanently organized, in order to avert the evils of domestic strife. Such was the policy of Napoleon. And yet this man, with all his crimes, and with all the mischief which he inflicted on the world, was an instrument in the hands of divine Providence for accomplishing no inconsiderable good. One of the bitterest reproaches, perhaps, which posterity will make him, was the good which he omitted to do. When at the hands of the sovereign pontiff he received the imperial crown, what a noble

mission was presented to him. To erect anew the ruined altars of religion—to restore to the Church the freedom necessary to enable her to achieve her sublime task of the moral and intellectual regeneration of France—to heal, as far as in him lay, the wounds of the revolution—appease the animosities of faction—reconcile, by an equitable compromise, the old claims of property with recently acquired interests—and to consolidate order and liberty in his country, by the establishment of a sound representative system, accompanied with all those municipal institutions which are its necessary appendages;—these are the blessings which Napoleon might have conferred on his country,—which, had he so conferred them, would have entitled him to the lasting gratitude and admiration of posterity. But the hopes which some measures of his earlier policy had called forth, were soon blasted by the insatiable ambition, the remorseless cruelty, the systematic oppression of his subjects, and the impious crusade against the Church, which marked the course of his reign.

The imperial despotism has been characterized by M. Görres with his usual felicity. On the Bourbon restoration—on the blessings and advantages which it offered to France—on the many and various obstacles which it had to encounter—on the errors which many of its partisans committed,—our author has admirable reflections, which derive an additional force and interest from the events of recent years. Happy had it been for France—happy for the world at large—had men, imbued with the religious and political principles of Görres, been intrusted with the mighty work of the social re-organization of that great country. Our limits will only permit us to cite the following passage, which, however short, may furnish our readers with a clue to his principles of policy.

“But calmness and moderation are essential to the government; and if it will only guide the helm of state with steady prudence, avoiding every extreme, honestly satisfying every just claim of the age, repelling with firmness all injustice and violence, indulging in no reaction or abuse of power, executing only what is absolutely necessary, never anticipating the future, nor obstinately clinging to the past, it will succeed in promoting, by the re-establishment of confidence, the re-establishment of mutual good-will. *But France can never obtain a true, solid, and salutary freedom, till her communes shall be emancipated.*”—p. 223.

The able minister, M. de Villèle, now admits, that the withholding of municipal rights from France, was the great error of his administration. Indeed, the three great deside-

rata of France, were municipal institutions, freedom of the Church, and a sound, solid, and Christian system of education; and these, together with the Charter of 1814, would, we think, in the course of time, have established religion, the throne, and the popular liberties, on a secure basis.

From France our author passes to modern Italy, and describes the marvellous, the sublime, destinies of the Italian nation, in a passage, where the elevation of thought is equalled only by the magnificence of the eloquence. We, however, must regret our inability to find space for its insertion.

After describing the character of the Italians, M. Görres enters into an interesting parallel between them and the Germans. The points of resemblance, and the points of diversity, in the moral and intellectual qualities of the two nations, in their historical career and political destinies, their achievements of the past, and their prospects of the future, are all traced with the most felicitous skill. The comparison between German and Italian art is particularly interesting.

England comes next under consideration; and this section of the work is one of the best executed. He commences by observing, that the English character combines many of the opposite qualities of the French and German. This combination he ascribes to the mixture of races that first settled in these islands, and to the various invasions of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, that in a greater or less degree infused into our veins new currents of blood.

“There arose,” says he, “a new language, in which the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, and Gaelic elements were connected and interwoven with each other, in the same degree as those elements were found in the national character, in the manners, feelings, and constitution; in such a manner, however, as Catholic Ireland appears pre-eminently Gaelic, the Presbyterian Lowlands of Scotland pre-eminently Germanic, and England as the reconciling medium between the two.”—p. 226.

We doubt whether the origin, the growth, and the vicissitudes of the British constitution, have ever been traced with such admirable perspicuity and masterly condensation, as in the following passage, whose extreme interest will, we trust, be an apology for its length.

“In this policy,” says our author, “and true to this two-fold character, the British constitution has grown up like an alluvial mountain, through the gradual inundation of ages. The old kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was in all its parts constituted according to the principles of Germanic freedom; in this the rights of the people

were fully secured, by their participation in the Wittenagemots. But when at the Conquest the right of the sword had triumphed over the rights of man, the Saxons became the bondsmen of the Normans ; the conquerors appropriated to themselves their liberties, and imposed on them, with the yoke of conquest, the whole burden of the services and obligations of a vanquished people, leaving them only the enjoyment of a few sparingly-conceded rights. Upon this substratum of a race, despoiled of all independence, the conqueror organized the victorious class as a second and superior nation, in a manner to enable them always to hold the former in subjection ; for as, according to the principles of the feudal system, the independence of the vassals was combined with their duty of service, the whole body possessing the property of the land, resembled an army, ready, at the first summons, for battle. In this order of things, the crown became the predominant principle ; the clergy and the nobility, who, in the fiefs, possessed nearly equal shares, were so closely connected with the crown, that in them the principle of independence was far outweighed by that of servitude ;—a servitude which in the last degree pressed with undivided weight on the mass of the subjugated people.

“ The prince, at once superior feudal lord, and the wealthiest landed proprietor, supreme judge in peace, and general in war,—in his executive power completely unfettered, and in his legislative restrained only by the counsel of his prelates and barons assembled in the feudal parliament,—the prince obtained, in this order of things, the most decided preponderance ; and thus was the *monarchial principle* developed in this constitution, and continued to flourish ; while the aristocratic and hierarchic elements, during the first century and a half which followed the Conquest, were being slowly consolidated. But when, in the person of the tyrannical, cowardly, unsteady, and capricious John, this monarchial principle had degenerated into an unbridled despotism ; when the tyrant had by his cowardice lost the French provinces ; then, in order to get absolved from Papal excommunication, had bound himself as a vassal to the court of Rome, and had, at the same time, by his oppression incurred the hatred of the people,—the clergy, indignant alike at the pretensions of the Pope, and the violence of the King, formed that confederacy of the Barons which at last wrung from the tyrant *Magna Charta*. This Charter, which had reference to an elder one of Henry I, as the latter had to one still more ancient, founded more immediately the liberty and independence of the Church and the aristocracy ; and, at the same time, by the concession of some liberties to the commonalty, paved the way for its total emancipation. Under the protection of these liberties, the second, or aristocratic element of the constitution, attained such a development, that, under the weak reign of Henry III, and in the council of the twenty-four Barons, it rapidly grew to an oligarchy, which, as the clergy almost entirely withdrew from secular affairs, completely arrogated to itself the kingly prerogatives. In the civil war, which was enkindled in consequence of these preten-

sions, the people, who had long begun to feel their numbers and their strength, gained an increase of influence; and, as the cities had fought for the oligarchy, their deputies were summoned by it to Parliament for the first time.

“When by the first Edward’s energy, the triumvirate was broken, the conqueror perceived the change of times, and the utter desuetude of the feudal system. In order to counterbalance the higher nobility, he directed the inferior nobles (the *Barones minores*) to elect their representatives according to counties; and the cities also to send their deputies to Parliament. These at first sat in one chamber, united with the Peers; but, soon as the growing impoverishment of the inferior nobility approximated them nearer to the ranks of the Commons, daily increasing as they were in wealth, they both separated from the Peers, and, in support of the crown, formed a distinct chamber. And thus now *the third, or democratic element*, was legally introduced into the constitution; and thereby the old Germanic race, that had been subjugated by the Norman conquerors, emerged from oppression, and began to re-assert its ancient and long-withheld rights. These claims became the more irresistible, in proportion as, in the progress of time, the influence of the third estate in England, as in every other country, began to increase; while the power of the hierarchy and the aristocracy declined, and in proportion as the crown, in its foreign wars, needed the good-will of the Commons. But when, in consequence of the opinions broached by the reformers, the inferior hierarchy was destroyed, the upper hierarchy convulsed to its foundation, and its power in a great degree usurped by the third estate, arrogance, according to the natural order of things, necessarily ensued; and in the grand rebellion which now followed, the democratic element became in its turn exclusively predominant, as the others had once been. After this had run through all the stages of the wildest and most unbridled anarchy in religion, as well as politics, after it had let loose all the frenzy of the passions, put in practice the most extravagant theories, and at last dragged royalty to the scaffold, this democracy was again, in its turn, coerced by a fanatic despotism. And when now the flames of fire had been extinguished in floods of water, an equitable compromise was, after the accession of the new dynasty, concluded in *the Bill of Rights*, which has since formed the constitution of the country.”—pp. 229-33.

After describing the several parts of the British constitution, the crown, the clergy, the aristocracy, and the commons, and showing how each conduces to the security and well-being of the other, our author sums up its merits in the following beautiful passage.

“Thus it has been,” says he, “with this constitution, whose origin coincides with the origin of the nation; which in its rights and duties



passed from the Anglo-Saxon time to the Danish and the Norman periods, in regular transmission and gradual development; became in the Magna Charta a written law, which, more than thirty times ratified and sworn to, kept constant pace with the progress of the nation, passed through a fearful revolutionary dissolution, and so has come down to the present generation. It is with reason regarded as an eternal, indissoluble compact, concluded between past and future generations—as the compact of compacts; consequently, the source of all special contracts;—an entail, which, like life and property, has been bequeathed by ancestors, and is to be transmitted to posterity.”—p. 236.

The passage we have cited must be gratifying to every Briton, and to none more than to the British Catholic, who looks on the national constitution, not only as the palladium of his country's rights, but as a glorious monument of his forefathers, whose wisdom founded, and whose courage and perseverance defended and supported it. When a late Lord High Chancellor used to speak of its *essential Protestantism*, he little thought he was bestowing his eulogies on one of the most Catholic constitutions in Europe; for our own England, with all her Protestant zeal, has preserved more of what may be called *political Catholicism*, than almost any other country. The British constitution is only a noble surviving monument of the old constitution of the three estates, common to almost every European kingdom in the Middle Age. And what a mysterious analogy has this form of government with that of the church, where the Papacy corresponds to royalty, episcopacy to aristocracy, and the inferior clergy to the Commons; where the diocesan synod answers to the municipal corporation, the provincial council to the assembly of the more local or provincial states, and the general council to the extraordinary convocation of the estates of all parts of the realm. “Popery and arbitrary power,” forsooth! The Church abhors all arbitrary measures. Look at her canon law, that model of judicial equity and wisdom! See with what care and precision she has defined the ecclesiastical rights and duties of her ministers. See with what wise solicitude she watches over their interests; providing that none, whether occupying the high or the inferior grades of her ministry, should be deprived of their charge or office, without undergoing a regular trial, conducted according to the forms, and subject to the conditions, prescribed in her code.

It is remarkable that this states-constitution, the noble child of Catholicism, declined in Europe, in proportion as the au-



thority of religion waxed feeble, and Papal influence in political matters was abridged. About the same period, Henry VII in England, Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain, and, still more, Lewis XI in France, undermined the liberties of their subjects, and laid the foundations of the modern absolutism. Then came the Reformation, to accelerate the march of despotism. For this religious revolution, by the civil commotions, conspiracies, and rebellions, which everywhere attended its course—by the great change it produced in the relations of the ecclesiastical order towards other branches of the state—by the anarchic doctrines it proclaimed in some places, and the servile maxims it avowed in others, ended in establishing either the arbitrary power of the prince, or the absolute authority of the multitude.

It is also to be observed, that the popular licence and anarchy, which in so many countries the Reformation gave birth to, tended to inspire Catholic princes with an undue jealousy of their prerogatives, and a dread and distrust of their subjects; and sometimes afforded them an opportunity, and sometimes furnished them with a plea, for circumscribing the popular liberties.

The old cry of an insane bigotry, “Popery and arbitrary power,” might well be retorted on the Reformation, and was supremely absurd in this country, where our free constitution was well nigh subverted by the Protestant Tudors and the Protestant Stuarts. It is vain to talk of the catholicity of King James II. *That unfortunate, but well-meaning prince, was the victim, not only of an imprudent religious zeal, but also of those arbitrary principles of government which he inherited from his Protestant ancestors.*

The Revolution of 1688 restored the nation to the enjoyment of that political freedom which it had possessed under the Catholic Plantagenets—a freedom which, of course, received many improvements from the lapse of ages, and the progress of civilization; but underwent some deteriorations also, as, if this were the place, it would not be difficult to show.

The populace of our great manufacturing towns, are represented by our author, with reason, as sunk in the most horrible moral degradation, and as concentrating in themselves all the animal passions of the nation. Their minds being constantly embittered by the spectacle of the most grinding poverty, in the face of the most arrogant wealth, this class comprises the most dangerous and inflammable materials for a revolutionary combustion.

On the debateable ground of party-politics in this country, we shall, for obvious reasons, forbear following our author. Yet, without, we hope, giving offence to any class of politicians, we may venture to observe that M. Görres's opinions, signally confirmed as they have been by the experience of recent years, are well entitled to the dispassionate consideration of Englishmen of all political parties. He concludes his observations on England, with expressing his conviction, that this country, like almost every other in Europe, wanted statesmen of a true and enlightened moderation of principles; and that a party adverse to all political concession, was opposed by another, whose pretensions were unlimited.

M. Görres does ample justice to the aptitude of the British intellect for poetry, history, oratory, and natural science; but want of space forbids us to dwell on this part of his work,—the more so indeed, as throughout this article it has been our intention to point out our author's opinions on the *political* rather than the *intellectual* characteristics of the various European nations. Spain passes next under review; and her historical destinies are thus powerfully described.

“ When the Germans obtained the dominion of this country, they surprised its inhabitants in a state of great internal discord; and four Germanic nations divided among themselves the booty so easily obtained. For centuries that Visigoth kingdom flourished in its mountain independence, till the Saracens landed, and by treachery became masters of the country. Then the energy of the nation flew to those Northern Pyrenees, and from thence carried on a struggle with the invaders, which, enkindled by all the passions of hatred and jealousy, and by all the fervour of religious zeal, lasted (a thing unexampled in history) for eight hundred years; till at last inflexible constancy was crowned with victory; though the manners, feelings, and language of the conquerors, received, from a long intercourse with the conquered, a strong oriental tinge. In this state of constant exertion, shut out from the rest of Europe, and combating on its own soil for all the goods of life, the national character thus necessarily assumed a peculiar form. All the energies of a nature, still more noble than that of the Italians, directed without intermission towards one object, and not, as among the latter, dissipated in every direction, must needs in their concentration have given a peculiar stamp to the national character, such as we find not to the same extent among any other people. As the struggle with the African Atlantides, by its long duration, formed an entire, eventful, mighty, and connected history—a powerful drama, complete in its three unities, and terminated in itself, moving perpetually around those two great subjects, religion and country; so the remembrance of these events, in proportion as resistance called forth all the national

energies, struck deeper roots in all the affections of the nation, and determined its peculiar moral physiognomy. Hence, religion, country, and the reminiscence of the past, like soul, body, and the life, which is the result of both, became the Penates on the domestic altar, and the heir-looms in the national sanctuary. To this soil, for which they had so warmly combated, and which they had fertilized with their blood, the nation turned all their affections. They had shut it up in their heart with all its powers, and thus had they become a home-bred people, quite the reverse of the Northerners, who with their constant love of migration, settled in every region, and like birds of passage, everywhere followed the spring. . . . . Even their faith has assumed the same specific character. While among the Italians religion possesses a sort of epical objectivity, aiming at the dominion of the world ; it is with the Spaniards quite subjective, and with a lyrical enthusiasm it has seized upon those burning souls ; and if it hath not been able, as in Italy, to attain that richness of outward forms, it has, on the other hand, descended here into the inmost depths of human nature, and become the most hidden soul of the people. Hence the political authority, which it obeyed, could not obtain force, other than as a delegation from above. We might almost call its constitution theoretic, in which the king, grand master at once, and advocate and eldest son of the Church, was guardian of the *Graal*, defended by a noble race of heroes, true spiritual knights, in whom faith devotion, fidelity, honour, constancy, and all the chivalrous virtues, were united in holy fellowship ; and whose mansion, like the Escorial, at once a monastery, a palace, and a cemetery, all the arts of the earth combined to adorn, as the *Titarel*, that mirror of old Spain, and its most peculiar production, so faithfully portrays.—pp. 245-48.

Here we have seen the retired secluded Spain of the Middle Age described. The following beautiful passage portrays her, when emerging from her long, yet active and glorious retirement, she begins to play a more important part in the history of the world.

“In this manner was this people formed ; and thus it stood long, like a mighty contemplative recluse, looking down from the heights of its Montserrat on the changeful destinies of the world, and its own internal deeply agitated life ; and proudly disdaining all earthly greatness, because it measured it by a higher standard, and found it too petty and insignificant. While all other European nations resembled great horizontal beds, piled one upon the other, this people alone preserved its pure primeval character. The three constituent parts of its character,—fidelity, proud self-consciousness, and patriotism, bound together by a firm, unshaken, religious faith,—grew into a thick granite. Such a character, suddenly dragged from its solitude into the arena of the great world, must now reveal, like a long shut and suddenly opening bud, all the fulness of its in-

ward life, in the same degree as the outward world was disclosed to it. This, accordingly, was the case, when in the sixteenth century the world was suddenly unbarred to this nation; and it was as if the earth were given it for a foot-stool, and it had received the proud calling to be its lord and master. And right well did it understand the accomplishment of its mission; and it filled the world with the glory of its arms and the splendour of its exploits. In this new school was the Spaniard of that age formed; belonging now to the world, but clinging with an old predilection to his home, over whose weal, in peace and in war, his cortes watched; ever excited to new feats by pious zeal, essaying much and oft-times war and adventure; cold at once and violent; quick in love as in honour; grave, stern, nay sullen in his disposition; generous, magnanimous, and steadfast in his conduct; the fulness of his feelings overflowing into his dignified, sonorous, copious, and figurative language."—pp. 249-250.

The causes which led to the political decline of this interesting nation, are traced by M. Görres with masterly power. These were, the tide of emigration to the New World, which exhausted the mother country—the baneful treasures of America, which so far from stimulating industry, promoted indolence, and led to the neglect of agriculture—the long wars of the sixteenth century, which partaking often of the nature of civil and religious strife, embittered and exasperated the feelings of the nation, and habituated it to scenes of cruelty and oppression—the fatal blow given to the national liberties by Philip II, when he set aside the Cortes—and, lastly, the political ascendancy of France. To these might be added the banishment of the Jews and the expulsion of the Moriscoes—measures which, cruel and unjust in themselves, were most injurious to Spanish industry and commerce.

The government of the Spanish Bourbons in the eighteenth century, is admirably characterized by our author.

"The princes of the new dynasty, by their horrible financial operations, lost the confidence of the nation; ruled it, but struggling constantly with its aversions; exercising uncontrolled sway, yet, like all the sovereigns of the last century, remarked for their good-nature; diffusing a sort of trivial enlightenment, refining on industry, playing with the sciences, and living with the most reckless prodigality. Under their sceptre, the old nobility completely fell to the ground, the Church declined, the people vegetated in a sort of drunken sleep, and gradually lost the remembrance of the past. What has remained, helped to make up the modern Spaniard; who living always on ancient renown, after he has lost all the merit, is unwilling to give up his high pretensions, and by his demure, pathetic, and fantastic demeanour, has not unjustly brought down on himself the nick-name of the tragical Gascon."—p. 253.

Our author shows how utterly Napoleon miscalculated the character of the Spanish people. Materialist as he was in politics, he was unable to conceive any national resources beyond a powerful army, a well-equipped fleet, and a well-organized administration. Mistaking the imbecility of the court for that of the people, he ventured on the insane attempt to accomplish a permanent subjugation of their country. But long misgoverned as the Spaniards had been, and deprived of much which constituted their ancient greatness, they yet preserved an unfailing source of aid and strength, in their holy faith, their ardent patriotism, and indomitable courage. In their struggle against Napoleon, in which they rivalled the most glorious deeds of their ancestors, and wherein, with the aid of their brave and generous allies, they succeeded in achieving the independence of their country and of Europe, the national character was reinvigorated. The nobility for the most part exhibited the same weakness and vacillation as the court. The national energy was concentrated in the clergy, the middle class, and the peasantry. But, unfortunately, a portion of the middle class, imbued with those false political principles which the French Revolution had promulgated, and which, under the nerveless despotism that for a century and a half had ruled Spain, were likely to gain ground very easily, checked by their perverse policy the noble spring of national patriotism. We have seen how much the absolutism of the last century thwarted the generous feelings, habits, and convictions, of the Spaniards. The democratic Cortes of 1812 was necessarily still more inimical to the public spirit.

“ This constitution of the Cortes, our author well observes, which condemns the king to servitude, makes him the mere executor of dictated laws, confines the legislative power to a very artificially contrived *electoral aristocracy*, quite removed from the people; guarantees religion as only something extraneous, merely tolerates the Church, and instead of attempting a better distribution of its property, violently expels its ministers from their possessions; which does not recognize the existence of the nobility, rejects all historical recollections, and placing itself in decided opposition to all specific, local, national, and characteristic peculiarities, undertakes to found a new Spain; this constitution can never, in consequence, permanently maintain its exotic nature in the old Spain.”—p. 257.

In this work, published seventeen years ago, M. Görres foretold that violent and sanguinary struggles would probably ensue, ere the hostile political factions which divided Spain,

renouncing their exclusive pretensions and exaggerated opinions, would concur in an equitable compromise, calculated to insure to that distracted country the blessings of a free and stable government. How fearfully have his predictions been fulfilled! If the history of Spain for the last thirty years prove anything, it is, that in that country, neither the effete absolutism of the eighteenth century, nor the irreligious democracy of the Cortes of 1812, can ever obtain a permanent footing. The most enlightened members of the monarchical party, clerical as well as lay, desire the restoration of their ancient Cortes, adapted and enlarged to suit the exigencies of the age.\*

It is also consoling to perceive that in the very bosom of the Spanish liberals, who have hitherto taken up a position of such decided hostility towards the Church, a Catholic party has very recently been formed, or rather, is in the process of formation:—an event which may exercise the most important influence on the future destinies of Spain.

Our author's reflections on the Russian Empire are remarkably fine. Of these we shall endeavour to give a short analysis, interweaving a few remarks of our own.

The royal power in Russia degenerated, by degrees, from a patriarchal authority into the most absolute autocracy, devoid of all constitutional check, limited neither by the influence of the clergy, nor of the nobles, nor of the people. It is since the reign of Ivan Wasiliwitsch, at the close of the fifteenth century, that this autocracy has attained to such a fearful developement; and from that period, its history presents the same traits of tyrannic violence, bloody conspiracies, and successful usurpation, which stain the annals of Asiatic despotism. The nobility of Russia, unfired by the love of martial glory and adventure, uninspired with the generous spirit of freedom, strangers to all intellectual refinement, formed, during the Middle Age, the most decided contrast to the Catholic barons of western Europe. "Never," says M. Görres, "during the many opportunities which frequent changes of dynasty presented, have these nobles had the spirit to stand up for a Magna Charta." But with all this servitude, they have ever carried their aristocratic pretensions

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\* M. Clausel de Coussergues, a French Royalist of distinction, in a work which he published in 1823, declared, that among the many Spanish Royalists whom he met with in the South of France, he found the most influential holding the opinion stated in the text. This opinion, it is well known, has gathered strength amid the revolutions which have since convulsed the Peninsula.



to the most ridiculous excess; and shut up in a sort of oriental caste, have detached themselves from the rest of the community. The same oppression which they endure from their czars, they inflict upon their serfs, who are sunk to a very low degree of moral and political degradation.

Russia received her faith from the missionaries of Byzantium; and was, unhappily, drawn into the schism which severed the Greek from the Universal Church. Dependent, like all schismatical Churches, on the will of the secular power, the Russian Church, especially since the time of Peter the Great, has fallen into the most ignominious servitude. Her dogmas have remained dead formularies, possessing little influence on opinion, on the state, or on science; and her noble ritual, losing its high and touching significance, has degenerated into an empty ceremonial. Ignorance and inebriety are the ordinary characteristics of her inferior clergy; and her people, deriving from them little religious instruction, are addicted to many superstitions and vices.

The violent efforts of Peter the Great to engraft on his barbarian subjects an off-shoot of European civilization, and the abuse which, in the course of the eighteenth century, was made of that civilization, are cursorily pointed out by our author. He dwells with much satisfaction on the many internal reforms and ameliorations, for which Russia is indebted to the government of the late Emperor Alexander,—ameliorations which confer as much honour on his memory, as the zeal and courage wherewith he defended against the enemy the independence of his empire. With the following passage we must close our extracts from this excellent work.

“By the exertions of this government, the higher members of the clerical order have risen in respect and dignity, and its inferior members have advanced in knowledge and intellectual culture; for eight and fifty seminaries prepare, at the public cost, young men for the service of the Church, while six well-endowed Universities supply the necessities of the state. In Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, the gradual emancipation of the serfs, conducted on an intelligent plan, is well-nigh completed; the regulation relative to the peasantry has been established; communal judicatures and district courts of justice have been instituted; and in Finland, courts of arbitration for diminishing the number of law-suits have been introduced. To all peasants in the empire the right has been conceded of establishing manufactories; a privilege which was formerly granted only to the nobility, and to the merchants of the first and second class. The example of the crown, exciting among the nobles a laudable spirit of emulation, they have everywhere exhibited



towards their dependants a milder treatment; and throughout the whole empire, many of the serfs, by a free contract with their predial lords, have been enfranchised.

“The Odnoworzji, as they are called, said to be about two millions in number, enjoy the possession of freedom of person and of estate, having the right to sell and acquire property, and are distinguished from the nobility only by the obligation of military service.

“These, together with the six millions of citizens who dwell in 1800 cities, and with all the soldiers, whose term of service, limited to 25 years, has expired, and who then by the laws of the empire are declared free, form the nucleus of an independent third estate, which according to the natural course of things must constantly increase. And as hereby the internal prosperity of the empire is promoted, so its external security is guaranteed by that girdle of colonization, which stretches from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and wherein has been established a military caste, according to the principles of the feudal system, like to those earlier settlements of Cossacks organized in the Ukraine.”—pp. 269-70.

We should willingly multiply our quotations from this important work, but the space which we have already devoted to it reminds us that we must proceed to consider a work of equal interest, but of a different character. The important political work which we have reviewed was the production of our author's manhood; we pass to the great theologico-philosophical work, which stands next at the head of our article, and is the fruit of his honoured age. In the *Christian Mysticism* the genius of Görres shines forth with a more tempered splendour—a tone of serener wisdom, and a less vehement, but not less persuasive eloquence, pervades the book. It is calculated, we think, to form an epoch in the history of the Church; for, in consequence of the false spirit of Rationalism, diffused by the Reformation, and by the philosophy of the eighteenth century,—and by whose contagious breath even many Catholics were, in a greater or less degree, affected, the Mystical Theology has sunk into too general neglect and disfavour. Yet is this theology intertwined with the very roots of Christianity; and such neglect, whenever it occurs, argues a deadness of the moral sense, a decline of faith, and a relaxation of piety.

Two volumes of the present work have already appeared; and the third volume is shortly expected. In the first book the author examines the physical structure of man, and the various organs through which he is made susceptible of mystical influences and operations. This portion of the work is extremely difficult and obscure, and to such as are unac-

quainted with physiology, for the most part unintelligible. The second book proves, that the germ of all Christian mysticism is to be found in the Bible ; and traces its progress and developement through the different ages of the Church, showing how that progress was either retarded or promoted by the external destinies of religion. The third book is devoted to what the author calls the Purifying Mysticism ; or that wherein the appetites of sense, the feelings of the soul, and the faculties of the mind, undergo a sort of ascetic training ; and the individual is prepared for entering on the higher degrees of mystic contemplation. The fourth book treats of the mystical illumination in its first stage, when it has still much connexion with the natural objects and with the present state of existence ; and the fifth book, of the highest degree of ecstatic illumination, when the soul is entirely absorbed in contemplation of the mysteries of Heaven. Here closes the second volume. In the third the author will devote two books to the consideration of the Demoniactal Mysticism. Such is a brief outline of this vast work, whereof our limits will permit us to review, at present, but a comparatively small portion. As soon as the third volume shall appear, we shall make it a point of duty to recur to the subject, and devote a lengthened critique to the work.

The difficulty and obscurity of the first book induces us to pass it over, especially as it is unnecessary to the elucidation of the one to which we shall now more particularly call the reader's attention. We shall in a later review of the work have occasion, now and then, to refer to it. The second book, the most interesting and important, as it characterizes the successive epochs of Christian Mysticism, shall now be brought under consideration.

After describing the physical substratum for Mysticism, whether of a good or evil kind, which the human organization presents, M. Görres arrives at the immediate object of his enquiries, the Christian Mysticism. He proves that the religious Mysticism has its roots in the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption. After pointing out with great ability the mystical relations in the birth, life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, he concludes, very justly, with the following observation :—

“The beginning, centre, and term of all Mysticism, lead us back to the most inward mystery of Christianity. They, consequently, who acknowledge Christianity, yet deny Mysticism, must see how they can reconcile this contradiction with themselves.”

But if our divine Lord, by descending from heaven, and

taking flesh, hath united the earth more closely to heaven, He must needs send down his most precious gifts and graces upon those mortals, infirm as they are, whom he hath charged with the continuation of that divine work.

“This was now consummated, when He sent down the paraclete upon those whom he had before sent forth as his missionaries, to cast out demons in his name; and this paraclete had, in a mighty wind and in tongues of fire, rained down his gifts upon the apostles, gathered together in their master’s name, and had made them, drunk with a new wine of light, begin to prophecy in other tongues. The power of the Divinity, which before had come down upon the Virgin, and had united itself with the essence of Him who was to be born of her, had now overshadowed the disciples. And that typical essential act was now reflected in an imitative formal act;—the first in the series of all that were to follow.

“As the form of the new progenitor, clothed with a human essence, was engendered for them as the restored image of God, so were they engendered as the first-born of his new race; and, by right of filiation, his heritage was transferred unto them, and a holy one was born out of them. With this transfer of his inheritance his power also must be entrusted to them; and the measure of that power, within the compass of the human faculties, must depend upon their merit. Hence, as *He* had exercised dominion over external nature, this dominion was imparted to them also. The elements must obey them; the night, which veils all material objects, must open to the light of their intellectual eye; fulness of blessings is confided to their hands; the three regions of the invisible world are revealed unto them; and the ladder is planted with its foot on the earth, and its summit reaching into the depths of heaven, and down it angels descend to an earth ransomed and atoned for. Mysticism, whose super-historical origin must be fixed in the Incarnation itself, had now, entering within the limits of time, struck roots within the world of history; and transmitted from those who had received its first gifts, it could be handed down as a *fidei-commisum* from generation to generation. Every one, who practising the duties of a child, obtains thereby the rights of a child, can appropriate these gifts to himself, in the same manner as the air belongs to all who inhale it: and so long as the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, all thus taken constitutes the possession and the heritage of him who takes it. But there is no Thabor without a Calvary; no transfiguration without suffering; no gift without service; no wonder-working power without perfect obedience; no exaltation without humiliation:—this is the immutable fundamental law in the mystical region; because He, who there rules, hath so ordained it, and hath confirmed the ordinance by his own example.”—vol. i. pp. 174-5.

The holy Apostle of the Gentiles has enumerated the various spiritual gifts, which, destined for the outward use and advan-

tage of the Church, may be called the *exoteric* Mysticism, in opposition to the internal and sanctifying graces of the *esoteric* kind.

“Now,” saith he, “there are diversities of graces, but the same spirit. And there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but the same God, who worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto profit. To one, indeed, by the Spirit is given the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit. To another, faith in the same Spirit; to another the grace of healing in one Spirit. To another the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, divers kinds of tongues: to another, interpretation of speeches.”—1 *Cor.* xii. 1-11.

With what abundance these holy gifts were showered upon the apostles and first preachers of Christianity, the sacred Scriptures will inform us. And how common was their occurrence in the ages which immediately followed, the writings of the early fathers will attest. And though far more rare in later times, yet whenever they have been requisite to the defence and propagation of the Gospel, that Divine Spirit, who watcheth over the preservation of his Church, hath never failed to confer them on the chosen instruments of his mercy.

In the next chapter, M. Görres speaks of the Mysticism of the desert, or of those first Christian recluses, who treading in the footsteps of the Baptist, retired from a corrupt world, devoted themselves to prayer and contemplation, and, by their powerful example, preached up to all Christians the kingdom of penance. He opens the subject with the following lofty reflections upon that mysterious region, which, as in its times of Heathenism, it had given itself up, with all its energy, to the dark rites of magic, so after its conversion to the true faith, entered with foremost zeal upon the paths of Christian Mysticism.

“All Mysticism, especially the esoteric kind, requires for its culture and developement great stillness and seclusion, in order that the faculties and energies of the human mind may not be dissipated by a variety of objects; but that, self-collected, the soul may list to the gentle voice of heaven, and in the deepest secrecy solemnize the mysteries of a more exalted existence. Such quiet did the human mind, weary of the turmoil of the ancient world and its mere natural existence, find in the solitudes of the east; and it did not fail to seek a refuge therein. As it carried into the wilderness the new acquisition of Christianity, and there planted it, the latter soon struck root in the propitious soil, and flourished in a manner peculiar to that region.

“ Together with Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the countries of the Euphrates, the deserts in the Valley of the Nile, were, in an especial manner, favourable to Christian Mysticism. In that valley, from primeval times, the Mizraim had settled—a race in temperament and passions most fiery—in their disposition children of night—and in their intellectual pursuits searching the deepest and most mysterious secrets of natural science. Their national stream, which, flowing from a concealed source, watered and nourished their home, and to which the Etesian winds conveyed from above what it poured into the sea through the depths below, must have appeared to their self-reflecting minds as an emblem of the great life of nature itself; which in a constant alternation of movements emanates from, and again flows back to its centre; and all history must have looked like a continuation of this great metempsychosis in nature. In this spirit, they made all the institutions of private life, the constitution of their state, as well as their religious worship, a figure of the universe; and by the stream of ages they had erected their pyramids, like frontier columns of primeval times, which, questioned as to their origin, could give no answer. So their gods were worldly potentates; their dynasties, with their various changes, evolutions of great periods in the transmigrations of the gods; their temples copies of the starry palaces they inhabit; and in the breast of their sphinxes lay concealed all the enigmas of existence, which old night had given to the day to solve. As the surface or luminous side of their land was to them an image of heaven; so its depths, or opaque side, were in their view a figure of the abyss and its powers; and while the first half in the grand circle of the transmigration of souls from ascending to descending grades, traversed the regions of life, the second part of that circle lay through Amenthes. But here they aimed at solemnity, and therefore had they snatched from death an appearance of life to impart to their dead bodies; and the integument of the mind, invested in all the brilliant colours of existence, they preserved as a mummy. And so had these dreaming night-walkers of history gone their round of the world, and when three thousand years\* were to be accomplished, looked forward to the final consummation.

“ The number of centuries was not yet completed, when that view of the world had outlasted its time, and Christianity had offered another, which the earnest meditative spirit of this people soon appropriated. Instead of the old centre of nature, a higher spiritual medium was now presented to its view. Before the new light which emanated from the gospel, the old light of nature sunk into the shade, and appeared like night by the side of it, and earthly existence, in opposition to that higher life now revealed, seemed only another species of death. Hereby the whole view of things must be inverted. If ancient Egypt, in her chambers of the dead,

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\* This is an allusion to the great secular period of the old Egyptians.

had gathered around her mummies, which she regarded as chrysalized souls—all the illusion of existence, in order as it were to vivify death; in the modern Egypt, on the other hand, Christianity, by that contempt of the world which she inculcated, and which was there regarded as her most distinctive trait, annihilated the earthly life, so that in the walking mummy which remained, the unchained soul might be set free, and no longer consume the body like a devouring flame, but like a mild light play around it.”—vol. i. pp. 181-2.

It was in Upper and Lower Egypt, in the fearful wastes that spread on either side of the Nile, towards the Red Sea, or towards the Libyan sands, that the “Fathers of the Desert” loved more particularly to fix their abode. But these holy eremites were to be found scattered in the Libyan Cyrene, in different parts of the Holy Land, by Bethlehem, on Mount Olivet, at Jericho, on the banks of the Jordan, and in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. We find them also in the wilderness, near Cyrrhus, two days’ journey from Antioch; then, towards Berrhæa, on the mount near Teleda, on the Cilician frontier; again, near Nisibis, on the frontiers between the Roman and Persian empires; lastly, near Ancyra, and in various other places.

These holy recluses were the original and model of all later monastic institutes: hence the interest which attaches to their history. Often as the subject has been handled, yet from the attractive pen of our author it has acquired all the freshness of novelty. M. Görres gives a most interesting description of the origin and progress of the eremitical life; the gradual formation of the cenobitical institute; its rules of discipline; the eminent virtues and astonishing austerities of these holy contemplatives; their trials, their temptations, their consolations, and the great services which they rendered to the Church by their instruction, as well as by example, and to mankind by their industry, their hospitality, and their charity. He next proceeds to show, by examples drawn from the lives of St. Anthony, St. Macarius, and other saints, that the high spiritual graces of the Holy Spirit, enumerated by the apostle, and adverted to above, were vouchsafed to the men of the desert. We find them possessing the gift of faith, the basis of all the others; the gift of wisdom; the grace of healing in the Spirit; the power of working miracles; the gift of prophecy; the discerning of spirits; the speaking divers kinds of tongues; and the interpretation of speeches. We find, too, in the lives of these first anchorites of the Church, many of those other supernatural phenomena which occupy so promi-



nent a place in the history of the later Christian mystics; such as visions, prophetic dreams, and the ecstasy in its various forms. We need not add, that in this, as in every other portion of the work, the examples adduced are of the most cogent kind, and supported by the most authentic evidence.

The next chapter is entitled the "Mysticism of Martyrdom," and is also very beautiful. We do not remember to have met in any work with so vivid and graphic a portrait of the constancy and courage wherewith these spiritual heroes, in the cause of Christ, braved suffering, torture, and death in its most ghastly shapes.

If the recluses, who, in holy solitude, waged a long, slow warfare against the concupiscence of the flesh, and the demons that prey upon lone bosoms, were refreshed and rewarded in the combat by such high spiritual graces and consolations, what an abundance of heavenly gifts must be showered upon those whose bodies, as well as souls, were exposed to all the trials and assaults which the malice of men and the craft of hell could devise. The author cites a few striking examples of the visions and revelations which cheered and supported these holy combatants in their dreadful warfare. It is remarkable that these visions have a character of antique simplicity; distinguishing them from those with which the later Mystics were favoured.

After having described the practical Mysticism of the holy anchorites, and of the martyrs, M. Görres draws our attention to the *speculative* Mysticism of the early ages of the Church.

While the policy of the state, united with popular fanaticism, was plying every engine for the destruction of the infant Church, a false philosophy lent its aid to combat a foe which, it well knew, menaced its very existence. The hostile schools of Zeno and Epicurus had leagued to assail Christianity in its very origin; but it had afterwards to encounter a still more formidable adversary in the Neo-Platonic philosophy. This philosophy, founded at Alexandria in the course of the third century, by Ammonius Saccas, an apostate from Christianity, and developed successively by Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblicus, and Proclus, had, for its two-fold object, the renovation of paganism, and the destruction of the Christian religion. The nature of this philosophy has been succinctly but ably defined by a distinguished colleague of M. Görres, in a passage which we shall take the liberty of translating. "The new Platonists," says Professor Döllinger in his recent excellent *Manual of Church History*,—"The new Platonists endeavoured to



prove that, amid all the variety and diversity of incidental points and outward forms, an essential internal unity pervaded all philosophical systems, as well as popular creeds; and then they wished to compound, into one harmonious whole, the one philosophy with the one religion, and to purify and ennoble the faith and worship of Polytheism, partly by tracing them back to some old, common, fundamental truths, as well as by an allegorical explanation of the Myths; partly by the alliance with philosophy, and partly, in fine, by the adoption of Christian ideas.”\*

To the unity of Christianity these philosophers opposed the false unity presented by a forced and artificial conglomeration of the most absurd, inconsistent, and contradictory opinions. Against the universality and antiquity of our religion, whose roots reach through Judaism unto the primitive revelation, they confronted all the local, conflicting, and varying superstitions and errors of heathenism, transformed by the subtle alembic of their school into an airy and shapeless substance. Lastly, they set off, against the holiness of Christianity, their system of inflated ethics, and the sort of philosophical asceticism, the celibacy, prayer, and fasting, practised in imitation of the Christians by some of their leaders.

“The defenders of the Christian Church,” says M. Görres, “met these attacks in a two-fold manner. Some adopted a polemical course in respect to the new philosophy. At times they pointed out the untenableness of many of its hypotheses; next the arbitrary interpretations it gave to ancient Myths and philosophical opinions; then they showed the violent and unnatural union of opposite principles which it attempted: or penetrating still deeper into the essence of this system, they laid open its fundamental pantheistic errors, and the pernicious consequences of such doctrines. Other apologists again, passing over what was erroneous, artificial, and sophistical in this system, and confining themselves to those portions of truth which it undeniably contained, demonstrated that Christianity in its simplicity possessed all those truths, in a purer, clearer, and more solid manner, and that while from the limited capacity of the human mind, science could make but a gradual approximation to the truth, Christianity possessed the round, rational expression of that truth, and as it were, the quadratures of all its curves. This latter course was adopted by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Synesius, and others, partly indeed not without danger to dogma, then not rigidly defined: while the polemical apologists were equally successful in the line of defence they pursued.”—p. 226, vol. i.

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\* See *Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte, von Dr. Joh. Döllinger*, vol. i. p. 25. Landshut, 1836.

But it was necessary that a system of Christian philosophy should be erected, which, in solidity, grandeur, and elevation, should far surpass this gaudy and fantastic fabric of declining paganism. This, accordingly, was to be found in the mystical writings falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, first bishop of Athens.\* The real author lived at the commencement of the fifth century, and wrote a series of treatises on the nature of the Godhead, on the divine names, on the celestial hierarchy of spirits, on the divine judgments, on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and, lastly, on symbolical and on mystical theology. Several of these profound and remarkable writings have been lost; those which are extant well deserve the attention of the philosopher and the divine; for, independently of their intrinsic merit, they exerted a great influence on the theological and metaphysical speculations of the Middle Age. Our author has given a brief but interesting analysis of them.

After having thus described the practical and the speculative Mysticism of the early ages of the Church, when the influence of Christianity was confined exclusively to the family and the individual, our author proceeds to descant on the *social* Mysticism, or the influence which, after her alliance with the state, this daughter of heaven exerted on the political institutions, the laws, the manners, and the arts and sciences, of the nations of the Middle Age. In this part of his book the great historical genius of Görres shines forth in all its splendour; and we here easily recognize the hand of the master, whose historical portraiture we have in the former work had occasion to admire.

The pseudo-Dionysius, and, after him, most of the Mystics, designate three successive periods in the spiritual progress of the soul:—the period of purification, the period of illumination, and the period of perfection or consummation. A similar progression is, in our author's opinion, discernible in the history of Christendom. The ages which elapsed from the invasion of the Germanic nations, down to the restoration of the western empire by Charlemagne,—ages during which fire and sword had uprooted and burned out the tares and rank weeds from the European soil, and fitted it to receive the seeds of a higher civilization,—he calls the period of purification. This period is described in the following powerful passage; of which the first part may, perhaps, remind the

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\* M. Görres shows that it was not from any intention to deceive, but from a deep mystical idea, that the author of these writings assumed the name of Dionysius, first bishop of Athens.

reader of the splendid chapter on the Germanic invasions in F. Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*; and the latter part must prove gratifying to every British and Irish Catholic, from the handsome tribute it pays to old Erin:—

“The guiding hand of Providence had prepared in the forests of Northern Europe, and also in the steppes of Northern Asia, as well as in the deserts of the Arabian peninsula, rich plastic matter for these new formations. As the time had now arrived, and Providence let loose the flood from the former, and then from the latter region, it would seem as if a second time ‘the windows of Heaven had been opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up.’ Long had the floods of the Germanic migration, rising ever higher and higher, been arrested by the mounds of the Eastern and Western Empire; and when the Asiatic Huns came to swell the tide of invasion, resistance was rendered utterly impossible. The Western Empire was overflowed; the Eastern Empire, whose existence was prolonged with difficulty, now seemed, when the inundations from the South had set in, and soon penetrated even to the walls of its capital, to stand like some disrupted isle of elder formation, amid the new which had every where sprung up, and by its rottenness proclaimed aloud the necessity of that renovation which had elsewhere occurred. \* \* \*

“Christianity, covered over by these inundations, yet retaining its productive power fresh and indestructible, brought order and beauty out of the chaos of conflicting elements; and rapidly overtopping the mass of fragments piled above it, clothed them with fresh verdure, and rendered their barren nakedness productive. \* \*

“Amid the struggles and efforts which filled up the ages from the overthrow of the old order of things down to the establishment of the new, that species of Mysticism, which was connected with martyrdom, had ample opportunities for developement. Christianity had had all the time necessary to take firm and deep root throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. Now, when the inundations had come down from the North, it had to contend with a new species of heathenism; and then again when the tempestuous invasion had rolled up from the South, it had to combat with that new species of Judaism, which the sons of the desert had fashioned. Equally severe was the struggle which arose between the different confessions of Christianity, when Arianism encountered the old Catholic doctrine; especially when the sectarian spirit, united to policy, urged the Vandal kings in Africa to the wildest and most fanatical persecution. In all these struggles, thousands of victims bled; but their faith stood by their side to minister consolation; and the same mystical enthusiasm, which on the bloody path of martyrdom had raised their predecessors above themselves, did not deny them its aid. All not engaged in the combat took refuge in the ark of the Church, which amid the mighty swell of waters floating hither and thither, guarded the treasures concealed within

it; and while amid the general tumult of the times, it secured a peaceful asylum to religious meditation, it continually promoted the contemplative, as well as heroic, martyrdom. Such an asylum was found from the middle of the fifth century in the green Emerald Isle, the ancient Erin; whose secluded situation and watery boundaries, as they had once served to protect her from the disorders of the Roman empire, now sheltered her from the storms of the migration of nations.\* Thither, seeking protection with St. Patrick, the Church had migrated to take up her winter quarters, and had lavished all her blessings on the people who gave her so hospitable a reception. Under her influence the manners of the nation were rapidly refined; monasteries and schools flourished on all sides; and as the former were distinguished for their austere discipline and ascetic piety, so the latter were conspicuous for their cultivation of science. While the flames of war were blazing around her, the green isle enjoyed the sweets of repose. When we look into the ecclesiastical life of this people, we are almost tempted to believe that some potent spirits had transported over the sea, the cells of the valley of the Nile with all their hermits, its monasteries with all their inmates, and had settled them down in the Western Isle; an isle, which in the lapse of three centuries, gave eight hundred and fifty saints to the Church, won over to Christianity the North of Britain, and soon after a large portion of the yet pagan Germany; and while it devoted the utmost attention to the sciences, cultivated with especial care the Mystical Contemplation in her religious communities, as well as in the saints whom they produced."—pp. 235-7.

The great order of Benedict was in this tempestuous period a beacon of piety and learning. This excellent body of men fertilized the most sterile lands, collected all the most valuable monuments they could discover in the shipwreck of ancient learning, planted schools, cultivated sacred and profane literature, and sent forth hosts of missionaries for the conversion of the heathen.

In the Eastern empire also, much as the old religious communities in general had degenerated from their pristine fervour, our author shows that even in Asia and Africa, there were some, which down to the epoch of the Saracen invasions, still guarded the sacred fire of ascetic devotion and mystical contemplation.

We now approach the second period in European civilization, termed by M. Görres the period of illumination, and which extends from the latter part of the eleventh, to the commencement of the thirteenth century. This period is

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\* See History of the Christian Church, by Döllinger, 1st vol. 2nd part, p. 174. Landshut.

distinguished by great reforms in the Church, in the state, and in the school. The Church, emancipated from the secular power, works many salutary reforms in her monastic orders and other spiritual fraternities; enforces the strict observance of the old practice of celibacy on her ministers; and rescues from the dark dominion of idolatry, the Slavonians and Bulgarians in the East, and the Scandinavian nations in the North of Europe.

In the state the lawless spirit of universal warfare is curbed and restrained by the institution called the "Truce of God:" the German empire, though limited in extent, becomes more consolidated; and the various European kingdoms dismembered from the Germanic body, grow up in vigorous and energetic independence. On the whole, while Islam had, in a political and intellectual point of view, become stationary, and the Byzantine empire was approaching its last agony, the Christian nations of the West were rapidly advancing in order, liberty, and civilization.

In the schools this period witnessed many important changes. The establishment of Universities, the adoption of the Aristotelian philosophy, the bold spring which metaphysical speculation now took, and the bright dawn of poetry and art, have rendered this epoch for ever memorable.

The best symbol and representative of this age of moral and intellectual regeneration, M. Görres finds in the great Burgundian saint, St. Bernard; and the account which he gives of the life, miracles, and writings, of this last of the fathers, is one of the most beautiful and interesting passages in his work. We regret that our limits will not permit us to cite any portion of it.

We now reach the third epoch in European civilization, or the period of high perfection. This was the time which elapsed from the commencement of the thirteenth century down to its close; an age which witnessed the most astonishing developement of energy in Church and State. M. Görres enters into a very interesting parallel between the constitution of the Church, and the political constitution of the several European states, particularly the Germanic Empire. He shows how both consist of a hierarchy of corporations: how both are thoroughly of a mystical nature, both in themselves and in their mutual relations. He then finely contrasts the moral and political institutions of Islam, with those of Christendom.

"Between Christendom, thus organically constructed, and even in

her counterparts bound together by one living animating spirit, and the empire of Islam—a mass congregated by hazard—the same mystical instinct, which had produced that diversity of organism, must lead to a violent conflict.

The Ishmaelite empire, founded near the fountain of water in the wilderness, by the natural son, whom the bond-woman bore to the old, common progenitor,\* had made a violent invasion on Christendom. Forming in every respect a direct contrast with the latter, Islam flourished in its own peculiar way. Of religious, civil, and domestic freedom, there could in this kingdom of blind force be no question; nay, the servant of Allah was his slave, whom he held fast bound in the chains of destiny. And how could he, who lay trammelled in the bonds of lust, hope to escape the scourge of the representative of this God of fate? As the ethics of this religion are thoroughly pantheistic, it must necessarily lead to a pantheistic Mysticism, whereof we find a striking example in Sufism. In the social relations there could be as little free subordination of divided powers; there could only be a slavish subjection; so that after the high-priest had absorbed the emperor, and now the emperor the priest, nought remained in public life but the army, and in domestic life but the harem.

“To the Church, an empire so constituted could appear nought else than an abomination of the abyss, a spectre of antique error that had emerged from the bosom of old night, a delusive phantom of demoniacal agency. And as she prepared to resist with all her power its farther inroads into her kingdom of light, she made her first appeal to her advocate and protector, the emperor, and then to all the other secular potentates. These potentates also had good reason to obey the summons; for the caliphate having become the prey of the old heroes of Turan, a race of bold Asiatic cavaliers, and the sword of the Turks having concentrated its divided strength in an Eastern empire, the safety of the whole European commonwealth was most seriously endangered. And it was only by a general rising of the European nations, under the standard of one universal, all-mastering idea, that Christendom could be rescued from total subjugation. This idea was the deliverance of that place, where the first fruits of the resurrection had left to all succeeding times the pledge of immortality, from the desecrating hands of the unbelievers. Of that sacred place the demon with all his powers had obtained possession: where the Heavens had once opened, yawned now the abyss of Hell. Such an abomination could not be tolerated; and thus did this purely mystical idea call forth the Crusades, and arm the whole West against the East; Pope and Emperor at the head of the combat.”—pp. 259-60.

The author next shows, in many beautiful pages, the influence of Christian Mysticism on the architecture, the

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\* Abraham.



painting, the philosophy, and the poetry, of the thirteenth century. In no age had Mysticism so thoroughly impregnated all the institutions of life, and all the productions of genius.

The chapter which follows is on the religious orders of modern times; and it is one of the most interesting in the work before us. The following is the last extract we can venture to make.

“When Christianity had penetrated among the nations of the West, it was the religious orders which headed her victorious march. They settled down with her in the new territories, took root with her, and bloomed and flourished through the three successive epochs of her developement. In the midst of the first period, when the spirit breathing from above had stirred up a sea of nations, that, mounting higher and higher, burst in wild eruptions over the continents, St. Benedict and his sister Scholastica sowed the seed of their two-fold order, and the tempest of the times quickly scattered the winged seed over all the countries of Europe. Penetrating into the forests of savage lands, the monks courageously began the struggle with the wild unbound elements of physical, as well as intellectual nature; and, at last, after various alternations of recurring, and again allayed outbursting, and again subdued violence, which repeatedly buried the seeds that yet again lifted their green tops, the unwearied exertions of the missionaries rendered them masters of the wild ferment. And so they were able to enjoy the calm spring-tide of the Carolingian sway. But, as want, and distress, and struggle, have ever proved more salutary to human nature, than ease, and repose, and enjoyment, and abundance, so this was evinced in the religious orders; sunshine and the mild air had rendered them soft and effeminate. Hence, when under the later Carolingians, at the commencement of the tenth century, the tempest was again unchained, when the Lombards in Italy, the Saracens in Spain, the Normans in the North-west and North of Europe, and the Slavonians in the North-east, were spreading desolation, and the Huns were renewing their excesses in Eastern Europe, and everywhere disorder, civil war, tyranny, and lawless rapine, had raised their heads, these religious orders no longer possessed the zeal and energy sufficient to enable them to sustain with courage the renewed combat. They no longer observed rule or discipline; and in crowds did the inmates of the cloister return to the world, there to prolong their existence. Hence, enthusiastic spirits must arise in the very bosom of these monastic institutions, to enkindle anew the dying embers. Bernon, Odon, Ademar, Odilon, who successively departed this life, in the years 927, 942, 994, and 1048, received, one after the other, this lofty mission. Cluni, in Burgundy, was the theatre of their activity; and by their united, persevering exertions, the Benedictine order in the Reform, called from that place, flourished anew in many ramifica-



tions that issued from thence, and extended their renovating power even to the monastery of Hirschan, in the remote German North. At the instigation of Cardinal Peter Damian, the Popes had in two councils effected the reform of the canons regular, and brought them back to the rule of St. Augustine. Hereby the Church entered the second great climacteric year of its developement. The flow of national migrations had subsided—but the flow of ideas had, on that account, commenced, and filled up the larger portion of this period.

The struggle between the spiritual and secular powers, in the dispute respecting investitures, had distracted and convulsed Church and State, even to their deepest foundations. All the worst parts of human nature, even in times of peace with difficulty restrained, had, in these days of general dissolution, espied their advantage; and, as the barriers gave way before the tide of corruption, and lewd priests and tyrannical warriors leagued together, society was dissolved in its inmost elements. This must, consequently, urge all the earnest, vigorous, and religious spirits in the Church, to concert measures for her aid and deliverance, and to oppose to the general corruption, a concentration of their strength in religious orders, full of youthful activity, and glowing with new-born zeal. Thus the rise of many such communities, was a result of this re-action of the sanatory spirit in the Church.

“But yet, such was the veneration entertained at that time for St. Benedict, that all the founders of these new institutes, established them on the basis of his rule; differing from him only in this respect, that of the two species of monks whom he admitted, the anchorites and the cenobites, some decided for the former, and others for the latter, while a few endeavoured to combine the two kinds with each other.”—pp. 269-70.

In taking leave of this work for the present, we shall endeavour to sum up in a few words its principal merits. The first quality which must strike the reader, is an erudition so extraordinary for a layman, in every branch of hagiography, in ecclesiastical history, and in the writings of the fathers, as well as the Mystics of all ages of the Church. Knowing that the curious and marvellous narratives he recites, needed the fullest and most authentic evidence, he has been careful to give exact references as to all the authorities he quotes; and the margin of his pages bears witness to the diligence of his enquiries. In the next place, the work is characterized by an extreme clearness, vividness, and vigour of description, in the narrative parts, as well as by an extraordinary depth and comprehensiveness of view in the general reflections. Lastly, the admirable piety, the high ascetic spirituality which pervades this work, is, as we have before said, one of its principal charms. Its object is to reveal the glory of God in his saints—to dis-

play the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty, in the miracles wrought by his faithful servants—and in the revelations and other supernatural gifts, which he hath imparted to them. If, on the one hand, by a body of evidence so strong, so compact, so irrefragable, it hath proved the existence and perpetuity of such gifts in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and, consequently, its divine origin and divine preservation, so, on the other hand, by the many edifying examples it brings forward of every Christian virtue, by the light it throws on the mysterious conduct of Providence in the government of souls, it is eminently calculated to nourish piety and devotion.

In conclusion, we shall endeavour, in a few words, to appreciate the genius of our author. The German critic, Menzel, has recently compared the genius of Görres to one of the noble minsters of the Middle Age. The works of this great writer are, indeed, quite cast in the style of the gothic architecture; uniting to the most extraordinary elevation of thought and mystical depth of feeling, a rich and even fantastic variety of ornament. To an understanding of prodigious depth and comprehensiveness, he unites a clear, strong, practical sense, averse to all rashness of speculation. His imagination is rich and copious, even to exuberance; and his learning is as various as it is profound. His knowledge in physiology is great; and his acquaintance with every branch of ancient and modern history, perhaps, unrivalled in Germany. His style has always been remarkable for uncommon vigour and condensation, yet not unfrequently deficient in purity and elegance. In his last splendid production, however, on the *Christian Mystics*, these defects have almost entirely disappeared; that work, uniting to the deepest research and the loftiest reflections, frequent examples of as clear, elegant, and concise narrative, as the German language has ever furnished. It has been urged against this great man, that he has dissipated his intellectual powers in too great a variety of pursuits. This observation is not entirely unfounded.

Yet, when he shall have completed his great work on the *Christian Mystics*, and also his *Lectures on Universal History*, whereof he has published an excellent Synopsis, and in which we see historical science conducted on the most vast and comprehensive scale, we are at a loss to conceive what better fruits of his genius the most fastidious could require. On the whole, we believe we may assert with confidence, that since the death of Frederick Schlegel, no man living in Germany, considered both as a thinker and as a writer, presents so extraordinary a

combination of splendid qualities as the author whose political writings we have reviewed.

As a man, this illustrious character is equally entitled to admiration. For all who have the happiness of knowing him, declare, that to the high integrity and noble intrepidity which have ever distinguished his public conduct, he unites in private life the most unaffected simplicity of manners, and the most fervent piety of a Christian. That he may long continue to be the ornament of his country, and the defender of the Church, must be the wish of every admirer of genius, and every friend of religion !

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**ART. III.—1.** *Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools in Ireland, together with the minutes of evidence.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 10th September 1835, and 18th August 1836.)

**2.** *Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 9th August 1838.)

**I**F the subject of education in Ireland be not understood by every English legislator, it must be owing to his own idleness, his own indifference, or his own stupidity. He may be too idle to read the volumes of facts which vitally concern a nation's happiness, he may be too indifferent to pursue the study with deliberate attention, or he may be too stupid to understand the interesting narrative and distinguish the clear and practical conclusion to which it should lead him ; but he cannot excuse his ignorance by alleging that he has not all the requisite information within his reach, brought indeed to his very door and laid upon his library table, in the printed records of the House. The Government and Parliament have, in their investigations into this subject, adhered to the most rigid principles of experimental philosophy. All the facts were ascertained with the most exemplary patience and caution before any theory of improvement was admitted. There have been divers Committees, and several sets of Commissioners, witnesses of every class, and of every opinion, examined and re-examined, evidence in volumes thick and frequent, condensations thereof and suggestions thereon in reports innumerable, and pamphlets, speeches, articles, and

letters, scattered like busy skirmishers over this debateable land,

“Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks  
In Vallombrosa.”

Scarcely a fact which has not been stated, no opinion which has not been expressed, confirmed, or refuted. Twenty years were occupied in examining, considering, reporting, and debating, before a decisive conclusion was formed, or a single step taken. The authorities cannot surely be accused of any indecent haste. And singular enough too, though witnesses of every conceivable variety in politics and religion contributed each his peculiar and distinctive mite to the mass of evidence, though the Boards and the Committees, at least those of a later date, embraced in their composition an equal range and conflict of opinions, yet there was not one individual who could deny that great abuses existed, nor one who ventured to question the propriety of that general scheme of improvement the outlines of which were suggested. To add, if possible, a still farther sanction, the enquiry was commenced and conducted under a Tory administration, and was completed and carried into execution under a Whig ministry. And let not the Whigs rob the Tories of their share of the merit, if any merit there be, in the present system of National Education in Ireland. The Whigs were in this instance but copyists of the Tories; though triumphant followers, yet at best but humble imitators of their Tory predecessors in office. The only fault, or rather misfortune of the Whig ministry, was, that it fell to their lot to execute a design originated and recommended by the high and concurrent authorities of the most celebrated bishops and saints of the Church. They concocted no new plan of their own, a plan never before thought of, heard of, spoken of, or suggested—no—they invented nothing; they were not even guilty of an innovation. They found in the official desks of their Tory *precursors*, certain plans upon paper, which they put into practice. And herein consists their real merit. On the subject of education in Ireland, the Tories had for more than twenty years been *professing* the most fair intentions. The Whigs lost no time in realizing this long promised fairness.

The Right Reverend, and Reverend, and other orthodox authorities, who at various periods, since 1806, were deputed to examine and report, professed to be, and therefore of course were, anxious that the state should provide for all the means of obtaining that common instruction which would make them better members of society, and allow each the opportunity of

obtaining distinct instruction in the creed of their forefathers without any bias or favour, so far as the aid of the state went, towards either the one religion or the other. The misfortune was that Lord Grey's government took them at their word, thanked them for their labours, acknowledged the justice of their suggestions, and forthwith carried them into execution, making the plan as fair in practice, as it was plausible in design. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* The gentlemen *meant to have had the execution of their own plan*, to have executed it in their own fashion, and with their own instruments. We have before seen these same parties publish reports overflowing with impartiality, and flourish forth schemes of the most winning kindness and equal-minded charity towards all classes of Christians; and then, behind the thin screen of this affectation of fairness, proceed to dig deep the foundations of a system of the rankest (we had almost said the most *corrupt*) proselytism, in the vain hope of undermining and exploding altogether Catholicity in Ireland. Such was the progress of events with the Kildare-street Schools,—such their profession and such their practice. And such we may by reasonable analogy infer would have been the result with the National System of Education, a mere second edition of the Kildare-street system. Indeed the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, in a letter to the Education Commissioners of 1824, suggests, with a feeling of complacency which is quite enviable, and an innocent simplicity which is almost irresistible, “as to the persons to whose superintendence the education of the poor should be entrusted, I find that in the judgment of the Commissioners it was the intention of the state, by the statutes of Henry VIII and William III, to commit this important charge to the established clergy. I am happy to express my concurrence in this opinion; it appears to me, that such is not only the true interpretation of the statutes referred to, but the obvious nature of the thing; if the superintendence of a national system of moral education be considered as a duty, the obligation naturally devolves upon the established clergy; if, on the other hand it be regarded as a privilege and a mark of public confidence, they seem best entitled to receive such a distinction.”

And again in a subsequent letter he writes, “I have already expressed my opinion in a former letter, and I do not think it too much to repeat it now, that the state, particularly a state like ours, in which so much depends upon public feeling, has an immediate interest in the moral and social principles

of its members; that this interest gives it a right, or rather imposes upon it an obligation, of providing a system of national instruction; *and that the trust of superintending this system is most consistently reposed in an established clergy.*"

The established clergy should have the superintendence of the system of National Education; *they* should have formed the board to distribute amongst a Catholic people the grant of public money: upon *their* shoulders should have been imposed the burden of appointing treasurers, secretaries, clerks, and other officials connected with the central management; of planting a teacher *of whom they approved* in the midst of every little community throughout the country; and of sending round a well disciplined corps of their own trusty inspectors, to clip down or to expand the system into a shape conformable with their own private opinions and ultimate objects. Equal rules and a fair system sound very good in a public report or an official minute, but we know too well that the equality and fairness are but a dead letter, a mere delusive chimera of the imagination, if those to whom the administration or *superintendence* be confided, choose so to superintend as gradually to accommodate the practice to suit their own purposes.

And the reasons alleged by his Grace of Armagh why this superintendence of the education of the poor should be entrusted to the established clergy, are as singularly inappropriate as the claim itself. The reason or argument amounts to this. Because certain statutes of Henry VIII and William III imposed upon the established clergy the duty of educating the poor, *which they neglected*, therefore now, when a new regulation becomes necessary, *in consequence of that very neglect*, those defaulters are forsooth the only parties to whom that same duty should again be entrusted. To us who are not guided by the peculiar light of the Establishment, it would seem that, when certain monies have been given by the state to certain parties for an express purpose, which purpose those parties receiving the money have neglected to fulfil, that the state, when it comes to remedy the evil consequences of that neglect, should take the money away from those parties who have misappropriated it, and make fresh arrangements for applying it, through other hands, to the purpose for which it was originally destined. The established clergy have been in the receipt, and had the superintendence, of various funds, by acts of parliament and by royal charters, by wills and by deeds, specially applicable to the



education of the Irish poor, and that education they have miserably neglected. These are not declamatory assertions, they are mere facts, carrying with them a much greater weight of indignant condemnation, than any comments of ours could convey; we will prove the facts rigidly and completely, and the reflections resulting from them will, we think, need no prompter.

We intended to have laid before our readers a brief narrative of the remote and proximate enquiries which eventuated in the present system of national education in Ireland, and to have shown how all opinions converged towards that principle of joint literary and separate and independent religious instruction which is now in operation, with such remarks as a brief experience might suggest respecting both the theory and the practice; but as this could not in any reasonable limits have been combined with the history of the rise, progress, and decline of the foundation and other public schools of Ireland, we have preferred giving our attention first to this latter branch of the subject, which is less canvassed, and therefore less understood, by the public, but a correct knowledge of which should, nevertheless, form the basis of all opinion or proceeding respecting education in Ireland.

The Irish peasantry have been accused of ignorance;—we have, ourselves, heard clergymen of the Establishment, in public meetings, unblushingly advance this accusation against them. As well might they be accused of a natural antipathy to potatoes, because they cannot get enough to appease their hunger. An adequate supply either of education or potatoes is, we know, too often unattainable. But is the poor man who is famishing to be taunted with his hunger by the very wretch who has robbed him of the means of subsistence? And, by exact parity of reasoning, is the poor man to be taunted with his ignorance by the very parson who, having the means, and the charge of instructing him, withheld the one and neglected the other? These very clergy of the Established Church, who are guilty of taunting the poor Irish with their ignorance, are bound by law to maintain in every parish a school for educating them, but which trouble and expense they have too generally avoided. By the 28th Henry VIII, c. 15, the bishops are directed to administer an oath to every clergyman on his admission, “that he shall keep or cause to be kept within his parish a school to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same; taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient



stipend or salary as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken." The 7th William III, c. 4, renews the injunction. Every clergyman in the enjoyment of a benefice is required to take an oath to observe it, in the following terms:—"I do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English school, within the vicarage or rectory of ———, as the law in that case requires." The same statute farther enacted, "To the intent that no pretence may be made or used, that there was not sufficient number of schools in this realm to instruct and inform the youth thereof in the English language *and other literature*," that the Act of Henry VIII, whereby it was provided that every incumbent should keep or cause to be kept an English school, &c. should be thenceforth strictly observed and put in execution. There are also Acts of 8th of George I, c. 12, s. 9, and 5th George II, c. 4, (extended by 50th George III, c. 33, § 1 and 2) empowering bishops and other dignitaries, and in the latter acts tenants intail and for life, to grant land to the minister and churchwardens and their successors for ever, "for the use of a resident schoolmaster to teach the English tongue to such children of *poor Papists and all others* as would resort to the same."

The Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools, states the object of these statutes to have been to provide a system of parochial and elementary education for the whole people, without any political or religious distinction. According to one construction of these acts, the clergy were held to be obliged to provide the school-house, to teach themselves, or to provide and salary a teacher, and encouraged to contribute, if requisite, the land; according to another, they were required only to provide a school-house and teacher, but the teacher was to rely for his stipend on the pupils, being restricted in his demands to such amount as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken. According to the first construction the funds would be taken wholly; according to the second, in great part from the Church: both have to a certain degree been practically admitted by the clergy themselves. Sufficient instances of its observance occur to show that the law was neither obsolete nor unknown, and sufficient, therefore, to deprive the far larger part of the clergy who neglected it of any possible excuse. Mr. John D'Alton, a barrister, who has occupied more than twenty years in collecting information on this subject, and who has recently, we observe, published an elaborate and very valuable history of the County of Dublin, gives the following evidence:—

“‘Are you acquainted with the parochial schools in Ireland?’ ‘I know some of them.’—‘Have those schools disappeared in most cases?’ ‘They have been very seldom indeed established.’—‘Were they originally sectarian?’ ‘I apprehend not; the words I have read (from the Act of Henry VIII) I think sufficiently show that their object was to teach the English language.’—‘The parochial schools were never established in any great number in Ireland?’ ‘Never.’—‘At what period were they most flourishing?’ ‘I should think about the time of William III. By an Act of the seventh year of his reign they, as well as the diocesan schools, were farther enforced.’—‘Are you aware that even then great complaints were made of their utter inefficiency?’ ‘I know that they were.’”

In 1788 returns were obtained from twenty-nine dioceses, containing 1699 parishes, comprised in 838 benefices. Of the 838 benefices 352 only had parish schools, which were in no instance kept by the incumbents or their curates, but by deputies or persons paid for that purpose, whose stipend did not exceed, some very few instances excepted, 40*s.* yearly. In 74 of the said 838 benefices, the clergymen paid 40*s.* yearly as an allowance for a schoolmaster, without causing any school to be kept in their benefices. And in the remaining 412 of the said 838 benefices the clergymen neither kept any school nor paid any salaries to others for keeping them. In fact, as the Report of 1788 states its apprehension, “they are not kept in very considerably more than half the benefices of this kingdom.” Moreover, it appears by the said returns of the twenty-nine dioceses, that there were 201 school-houses, in which the said schools (for 352 benefices) were kept, and about forty-four acres of ground, chiefly in small parcels, belonging to some of the said school-houses. Thus after noticing that the 838 benefices comprised 1699 parishes (two parishes on an average to each benefice) the result is, that in 412 out of 838 benefices, the clergy altogether neglected their duty, neither keeping a school nor paying one farthing towards it, seventy-four benefices got each 40*s.* a year for a schoolmaster without a school, and the remaining 352 benefices enjoyed amongst them 201 school-houses and forty-one acres of land; two benefices (containing four parishes) appearing usually to club together for one school-house, and exactly half a rood of land being the contribution from such of the 352 dutiful benefices.

Matters were not much better in 1810, when the number of benefices inspected was 1125; schools were kept in 549; no schools in 187; and *no returns* from 389. Nor in 1823, when the number of benefices inspected was 910; schools were kept in 321; no schools in 145; and *no returns* from

454. The Select Committee thus sum up their remark on parochial schools: "The administration of these schools *rests solely on the local incumbent or his substitute* ; there are no periodical reports; their establishment, conduct, and continuance, depend exclusively on individuals. It is a matter, *therefore*, of no surprise, that parochial schools were never established in any great number in Ireland, nor calculated at any time to answer fully the purposes for which they were instituted." How bitterly true the remark, that *because* the administration rested solely with the local incumbent, *therefore* the parochial schools were seldom established and badly constructed.

Having thus ascertained that if the poor Irish in any benefice be ignorant, the guilt lies not with the poor man, but with the individual incumbent, who ought out of the funds of the living to have kept a school for his instruction, let us proceed to enquire whether the collective clergy of each diocese, with its bishop at their head, discharged their duty any better. In the 12th of Elizabeth passed "An Act for the erection of a Free School within every Diocese of this Realm." It directs a school-house for every diocese to be erected in the principal shiretown of the diocese, where school-houses were not already built, at the costs and charges of the whole diocese, under the direction of the ordinaries; and the sheriff of the shire, or the chief governor, was, according to the quantity and quality of each diocese, to appoint for every schoolmaster such yearly salary, where none was already appointed, as he should think expedient; whereof the ordinaries of every diocese should bear for ever the third part; and the parsons, vicars, and prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons of the same diocese, the other two parts, by an equal distribution to be made by the ordinaries.

There is no act referring to these schools in the long period from Elizabeth to William; but the Act of 7th William III, c. 4, is evidence, that then they either had not attained, or had lost, their prosperity. That act was intended to remedy the neglect; but though, in the words of the statute, "justices of the peace and assize were required to give it in charge to the grand juries, and to be very circumstantial in seeing the same put into execution," the injunction appears to have remained, in a great degree, as far, at least, as diocesan schools were concerned, inoperative. In the 12th year of George I, the legislature finding, we presume, that the clergy and bishops would not both build the schools and maintain them, and that laws, indeed, were incapable of compelling them to discharge this

duty, empowered "the grand jury of each county to raise such sums as they should find reasonable for their respective proportion towards building or repairing such diocesan school, to be levied upon the whole or such part of the said county as should be situate in each respective diocese." These proportionable presentments were found impracticable; and to remedy the defect, the 29th George II, c. 7, empowered grand juries to present on the entire of the county for the building or repairing of such schools in future. These acts relieved the clergy from the burden of *building* the schools, in the vain hope that they would not be unwilling to fulfil the only obligation remaining upon them—that of paying the salary of the master. But there was no particular zeal manifested in discharging this mere instalment of their original duty. Whether through the fault of the grand juries, of the diocesan clergy, or of the successive chief governors of Ireland, these several statutes were not carried into anything like general effect. In 1788, the report of the then Irish secretary, Provost Hutchinson, states: "After the most diligent enquiry, we have not been able to find any appointment made by the chief governor or privy council pursuant to the 12th of Elizabeth, or whether any such appointment had been made, except only, that, in an original applotment for the diocese of Connor, an appointment for that diocese by the lord lieutenant and privy council is recited some time after the year 1673. The books of the privy council were indeed consumed by fire in 1711, but the Rolls' and Auditor-General's Office, and the registers of the several dioceses in the kingdom, had likewise been searched and with as little effect." . . . "In this position," says the Report of the Select Committee, "were they allowed to continue; no new act was introduced affecting their management till the 53rd of George III, c. 107. This act, introduced by Sir Robert Peel, then secretary for Ireland, *exempted the Church from the obligation of supporting a school in every diocese*, by consolidating several dioceses for such purpose into one; it established a Board of Commissioners to direct the administration, and in other particulars gave a more regular character to the entire. Applications have since been suggested for improvement, and an act partially amending the 53rd George III, namely, 8rd George IV, been passed."

We must particularly notice respecting the nature and constitution of these diocesan schools, that they were, 1st, to be open to all without distinction of sect or class. There is

nothing sectarian in any of the acts, or subsequent regulations respecting them; but, on the contrary, it was stated in evidence, by the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners, that their directions had been that “no course of religious instruction should be adopted which could interfere with the religious opinions of anybody.” And, 2nd, open gratuitously, at least to a great extent. Their title in the act of Elizabeth, was that of “Free Schools;” which, has in all the subsequent acts and regulations, been adopted and therein confirmed.

Now let us observe how far these intentions have been carried into effect, by those zealots in the cause of education, the clergy and bishops of Ireland! Mr. D’Alton says in his examination before the Select Committee:—

“I do not find that any diocesan schools were established in Armagh, Dublin, Emly, Limerick, Killaloe, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Waterford, or Lismore, (i. e. eleven dioceses.) Perhaps, in reference to this line of enquiry it is worth calling the attention of the committee to a very remarkable record, in 1583, whereby Queen Elizabeth, understanding that the act for the endowment of diocesan schools, was, as the record states, ‘slenderly or not at all executed’ in Limerick, empowered the mayor of that city, by mandate, to sequester yearly, and from time to time, so much of the livings, tithes, &c. as belonged to the bishop and clergy of the diocese, until the act was complied with.’—‘Was the education in those schools originally free?’ ‘It was, I believe, intended to be so.’ ‘Has it not ceased to be so in almost all the diocesan schools?’ ‘Long since: the masters claim and obtain such salaries for the pupils as any other school-master would, without any endowment whatever, and who had no endowment or recompense to expect but those salaries.’ [The reader should notice this the more, as it will immediately appear in evidence, that these masters are usually clergymen of the establishment, *otherwise beneficed*.] ‘Do you think, that, as the law has not been repealed, the clergy of Ireland ought to be called upon to obey this law, and to establish those schools pursuant to the original statute?’ ‘I think it is a legal and justifiable mode of requiring their compliance.’”

Mr. W. Charles Quin was Secretary to the Board of Commissioners appointed under Sir Robert Peel’s Act of 53 Geo. III, and he had therefore a most accurate knowledge of the system, without any extreme disposition to disclose its faults. The cautious, perhaps reluctant, nature of this evidence may be learned from the following question and his reply: “‘Did that act of Elizabeth, contemplate free schools?’ ‘*They are styled Free Schools.*’” Nothing to be got out of him beyond the bare letter of the law, not even an opinion as to its obvious

and practical meaning ; yet, when asked “were these acts of parliament (for the establishment of diocesan schools) effective?” he is obliged to answer in the simple, and from such a witness, the expressive, monosyllable “no;” and he afterwards admits that the act of 53 George the Third, arose out of the inefficient state in which education in those schools was conducted at the time. Again, from his evidence, “‘Do you not collect from the report of the Commissioners (in 1812,) that up to that period few diocesan schools had been established ; that the masters were paid very small salaries, and that the schools in general were in a state of comparative neglect?’ ‘YES.’ ‘In the early reports of the diocesan schools, it is stated that out of thirty-four dioceses, there were not more than twenty diocesan schoolmasters, and that these schoolmasters, who were examined before the Commissioners of that day, did not receive a larger sum than £20. 12s. yearly at the lowest, and £40 yearly at the highest ; a sum which is well known to have been inadequate to the purposes of instruction, particularly in a class of schools like that of the diocesan ; to whom would you attribute this neglect?’ ‘I think it was owing to the laws as they existed at the time. The Lord Lieutenant has been since empowered to fix the salaries of those masters with which the diocesans and the clergy are charged.’” But if the diocesan and the clergy had been very particularly anxious to see the people educated, might they not as the law intended they should, have contributed a moderate and respectable salary to each of the schoolmasters, without any need of the Lord Lieutenant thus administering the spur to their reluctant zeal? This obvious consideration occurred to the committee, and they accordingly proceeded to enquire, “‘was not the bishop obliged, together with the clergy, to pay the salary of those schoolmasters, and how came it to pass that they gave so small a payment to those schoolmasters, as £20 to the lowest, and £40 to the highest?’ ‘*I cannot answer that question.*”

He distinctly admits that the masters were bound to receive free scholars, and is then asked :—

“When you were secretary to the board, were there any schools without free scholars?’ ‘There were, as appears by the return before me.’ ‘How many?’ ‘This return is dated the 18th July, 1831. At the school of Armagh and Connor, there seem to have been *no* free scholars ; at the school of Down and Dromore, *none* ; at the school of Limerick, Killaloe, and Kilsenora, *none* ; at the school of Meath and Ardagh, *none*. I have stated that there are



nominally 18 schools, but there are not masters to some of them; but under the act there should be 18 schools.' 'How many are there in actual operation?' 'Twelve.' 'What was the smallest number of scholars returned to you in any of the diocesan schools?' 'The smallest number by this return appears to have been six.' 'What was the return from Limerick in 1831?' 'In July 1831, the number of scholars was eleven.' 'What was the general accommodation in those schools: were they sufficiently large in general, to receive a considerable number of scholars?' 'Not large enough to receive a considerable number: and with reference to the school I have last mentioned, there was no public accommodation for scholars; the master was not provided with a schoolhouse.' 'Was a schoolhouse rented?' 'At his own expense.' 'Were there many cases of a similar kind?' 'I find five that have returned scholars, that were not provided with schoolhouses.' 'Had the other seven schools buildings erected for their particular use on ground given for the use of the school?' 'Yes; when I say that there are five without schoolhouses, I ought to add to the number, the six schools that have not masters at present.' 'Then of the twelve which have masters, there are four which have no free scholars; so that in point of fact there are only eight schools which have free scholars, those schools being established under an act for the erection of free schools?' '*Exactly so.*' 'Is there any religious qualification requisite, for entrance into those schools?' 'None that I am aware of.' 'Is it open to all persuasions alike?' 'So far as I am aware of.' 'Are you aware of any indisposition on the part of Roman Catholics, where those schools exist, to enter them?' 'No, I am not, from any particular circumstances.' 'Are the masterships of any of these schools held in conjunction with ecclesiastical livings?' 'There are some.' 'Are such situated in the vicinity of the living held by the schoolmaster?' 'I cannot say with certainty.' 'Are the masters generally clergymen of the Established Church?' 'Altogether.' 'Did you ever hear of a Roman Catholic being appointed to a diocesan school?' 'No.' 'Are you aware of anything either in the laws of the country, or the regulations of the board, to preclude a Roman Catholic from being appointed?' 'I am not aware of anything.'"

From the evidence of Mr. W. C. Kyle, (the successor of Mr. Quin, in the secretaryship) we merely select his replies on one interesting point. He is asked:—

"'How are the teachers in the diocesan district schools paid?' 'By the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, in the proportions settled by act of parliament.' 'Is this proportion easily levied?' 'From the bishops I believe it is, but the schoolmasters, I believe, find it very difficult indeed to get their quota from the respective clergy of the diocese, especially in the South of Ireland.' 'Is it left to the teachers themselves to levy this amount?' 'It is;



and there is a power given to the diocesan of sequestering the livings in case those small amounts are not paid, but that power I believe is not acted on.' 'On whose application does the sequestration issue?' 'I believe on the application of the schoolmaster.' 'Have you heard of any instance in which there has been an application for such sequestration?' 'I cannot say I have, but I know of many complaints; I am acquainted with an individual, who says he gets the bishops proportion, but he can never get paid by the clergy; in fact they cannot in many instances pay, as they get nothing from the livings.' 'The sum they pay is very small?' 'The sum they ought to pay is very small; but in the South of Ireland particularly the masters do not get it, and they do not get anything from their livings.'"

It thus appears, amongst other things, from the evidence of the two secretaries, that under the consolidation of dioceses-act of Sir Robert Peel, there ought to be eighteen diocesan schools, which ought, in each instance, to consist of a schoolhouse, a schoolmaster, and a salary. Of these eighteen which should be thus equipped, there were, in 1831, six schools without either schoolhouse or schoolmaster, five with schoolmasters but without school houses, and the remaining seven, with schoolhouses not large enough to hold any considerable number of scholars; and the salaries *very difficult indeed* to be obtained from the respective clergy of the diocese.

Altogether respecting these diocesan schools, we learn from the report of the Select Committee, condensed from a variety of previous documentary and personal evidence, that in 1781, there were diocesan schools in but eighteen out of the thirty-four dioceses of Ireland, and these eighteen schools (with by the way only thirteen schoolhouses in a "most disgraceful state") divided amongst them the following scholars. Boarders 46 ! Day scholars 253 !! Free 25 !!! Total 324 !!!!

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In subsequent years these abuses appear to have continued.

In 1809, the number of schools had actually dwindled down to thirteen; and with them, in still greater proportion, the number of free scholars. In 1831, there were but twelve schools, and in 1835 we do not find any increase in the number.

We cannot conclude this information respecting diocesan schools better, than with the suggestion contained in the fifteenth report of the Commissioners of Education, signed by several Protestant Prelates, "that it would be highly expedient, that the contributions of the clergy should be paid with greater regularity, and to a greater extent than usual. It might not be unreasonable that they should be rated at a sum not exceeding two and a half per cent. of their respective incomes." Considering from whom this suggestion proceeds, we do not apprehend that in urging upon Parliament the adoption of *at least* such a tax, for such a purpose, upon clerical incomes in Ireland, we should run any risk of hurting the reverend incumbents.

In consequence of the utter inefficiency of the before mentioned parochial schools, THE CHARTER SCHOOLS were established in 1733, and, as the charter expresses it, "to the intent that the children of Popish and other poor natives of Ireland, might be instructed in the English tongue, and the principles of true religion and loyalty." In reference to the expression "true religion," Mr. D'Alton says:—

"I should be disinclined to think that the act was as sectarian in its origin, as it afterwards practically became. I have no doubt that those who suggested the obtaining of the charter, did mean by "true religion" that which they themselves professed; but I am not prepared at present to say that they then exercised that plenitude of proselytism which afterwards distinguished them; I am confirmed in this opinion by their originating in the desire to supply the deficiencies of the purely English parochial schools."

In 1775 they became professedly and exclusively, proselytising, by means of a bylaw in that year, by which Popish children only were declared in future admissible. Their funds were derived partly from Parliamentary grants, and partly from private bequests; and now that the Parliamentary grant is withdrawn, they enjoy the latter only; respecting which, Mr. D'Alton says, "I think that some funds were left to the charter schools only while they existed as such; and that other funds, which were left for education generally, have been misappropriated to charter schools, very early on their foundation."

“‘Are you acquainted with the parochial schools in Ireland?’ ‘I know some of them.’—‘Have those schools disappeared in most cases?’ ‘They have been very seldom indeed established.’—‘Were they originally sectarian?’ ‘I apprehend not; the words I have read (from the Act of Henry VIII) I think sufficiently show that their object was to teach the English language.’—‘The parochial schools were never established in any great number in Ireland?’ ‘Never.’—‘At what period were they most flourishing?’ ‘I should think about the time of William III. By an Act of the seventh year of his reign they, as well as the diocesan schools, were farther enforced.’—‘Are you aware that even then great complaints were made of their utter inefficiency?’ ‘I know that they were.’”

In 1788 returns were obtained from twenty-nine dioceses, containing 1699 parishes, comprised in 838 benefices. Of the 838 benefices 352 only had parish schools, which were in no instance kept by the incumbents or their curates, but by deputies or persons paid for that purpose, whose stipend did not exceed, some very few instances excepted, 40s. yearly. In 74 of the said 838 benefices, the clergymen paid 40s. yearly as an allowance for a schoolmaster, without causing any school to be kept in their benefices. And in the remaining 412 of the said 838 benefices the clergymen neither kept any school nor paid any salaries to others for keeping them. In fact, as the Report of 1788 states its apprehension, “they are not kept in very considerably more than half the benefices of this kingdom.” Moreover, it appears by the said returns of the twenty-nine dioceses, that there were 201 school-houses, in which the said schools (for 352 benefices) were kept, and about forty-four acres of ground, chiefly in small parcels, belonging to some of the said school-houses. Thus after noticing that the 838 benefices comprised 1699 parishes (two parishes on an average to each benefice) the result is, that in 412 out of 838 benefices, the clergy altogether neglected their duty, neither keeping a school nor paying one farthing towards it, seventy-four benefices got each 40s. a year for a schoolmaster without a school, and the remaining 352 benefices enjoyed amongst them 201 school-houses and forty-one acres of land; two benefices (containing four parishes) appearing usually to club together for one school-house, and exactly half a rood of land being the contribution from such of the 352 dutiful benefices.

Matters were not much better in 1810, when the number of benefices inspected was 1125; schools were kept in 549; no schools in 187; and *no returns* from 389. Nor in 1823, when the number of benefices inspected was 910; schools were kept in 321; no schools in 145; and *no returns* from

454. The Select Committee thus sum up their remark on parochial schools: "The administration of these schools *rests solely on the local incumbent or his substitute* ; there are no periodical reports; their establishment, conduct, and continuance, depend exclusively on individuals. It is a matter, *therefore*, of no surprise, that parochial schools were never established in any great number in Ireland, nor calculated at any time to answer fully the purposes for which they were instituted." How bitterly true the remark, that *because* the administration rested solely with the local incumbent, *therefore* the parochial schools were seldom established and badly constructed.

Having thus ascertained that if the poor Irish in any benefice be ignorant, the guilt lies not with the poor man, but with the individual incumbent, who ought out of the funds of the living to have kept a school for his instruction, let us proceed to enquire whether the collective clergy of each diocese, with its bishop at their head, discharged their duty any better. In the 12th of Elizabeth passed "An Act for the erection of a Free School within every Diocese of this Realm." It directs a school-house for every diocese to be erected in the principal shiretown of the diocese, where school-houses were not already built, at the costs and charges of the whole diocese, under the direction of the ordinaries; and the sheriff of the shire, or the chief governor, was, according to the quantity and quality of each diocese, to appoint for every schoolmaster such yearly salary, where none was already appointed, as he should think expedient; whereof the ordinaries of every diocese should bear for ever the third part; and the parsons, vicars, and prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons of the same diocese, the other two parts, by an equal distribution to be made by the ordinaries.

There is no act referring to these schools in the long period from Elizabeth to William; but the Act of 7th William III, c. 4, is evidence, that then they either had not attained, or had lost, their prosperity. That act was intended to remedy the neglect; but though, in the words of the statute, "justices of the peace and assize were required to give it in charge to the grand juries, and to be very circumstantial in seeing the same put into execution," the injunction appears to have remained, in a great degree, as far, at least, as diocesan schools were concerned, inoperative. In the 12th year of George I, the legislature finding, we presume, that the clergy and bishops would not both build the schools and maintain them, and that laws, indeed, were incapable of compelling them to discharge this

duty, empowered "the grand jury of each county to raise such sums as they should find reasonable for their respective proportion towards building or repairing such diocesan school, to be levied upon the whole or such part of the said county as should be situate in each respective diocese." These proportionable presentments were found impracticable; and to remedy the defect, the 29th George II, c. 7, empowered grand juries to present on the entire of the county for the building or repairing of such schools in future. These acts relieved the clergy from the burden of *building* the schools, in the vain hope that they would not be unwilling to fulfil the only obligation remaining upon them—that of paying the salary of the master. But there was no particular zeal manifested in discharging this mere instalment of their original duty. Whether through the fault of the grand juries, of the diocesan clergy, or of the successive chief governors of Ireland, these several statutes were not carried into anything like general effect. In 1788, the report of the then Irish secretary, Provost Hutchinson, states: "After the most diligent enquiry, we have not been able to find any appointment made by the chief governor or privy council pursuant to the 12th of Elizabeth, or whether any such appointment had been made, except only, that, in an original applotment for the diocese of Connor, an appointment for that diocese by the lord lieutenant and privy council is recited some time after the year 1673. The books of the privy council were indeed consumed by fire in 1711, but the Rolls' and Auditor-General's Office, and the registers of the several dioceses in the kingdom, had likewise been searched and with as little effect." . . . "In this position," says the Report of the Select Committee, "were they allowed to continue; no new act was introduced affecting their management till the 53rd of George III, c. 107. This act, introduced by Sir Robert Peel, then secretary for Ireland, *exempted the Church from the obligation of supporting a school in every diocese*, by consolidating several dioceses for such purpose into one; it established a Board of Commissioners to direct the administration, and in other particulars gave a more regular character to the entire. Applications have since been suggested for improvement, and an act partially amending the 53rd George III, namely, 8rd George IV, been passed."

We must particularly notice respecting the nature and constitution of these diocesan schools, that they were, 1st, to be open to all without distinction of sect or class. There is

nothing sectarian in any of the acts, or subsequent regulations respecting them; but, on the contrary, it was stated in evidence, by the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners, that their directions had been that “no course of religious instruction should be adopted which could interfere with the religious opinions of anybody.” And, 2nd, open gratuitously, at least to a great extent. Their title in the act of Elizabeth, was that of “Free Schools;” which, has in all the subsequent acts and regulations, been adopted and therein confirmed.

Now let us observe how far these intentions have been carried into effect, by those zealots in the cause of education, the clergy and bishops of Ireland! Mr. D’Alton says in his examination before the Select Committee:—

“I do not find that any diocesan schools were established in Armagh, Dublin, Emly, Limerick, Killaloe, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Waterford, or Lismore, (i. e. eleven dioceses.) Perhaps, in reference to this line of enquiry it is worth calling the attention of the committee to a very remarkable record, in 1583, whereby Queen Elizabeth, understanding that the act for the endowment of diocesan schools, was, as the record states, ‘slenderly or not at all executed’ in Limerick, empowered the mayor of that city, by mandate, to sequester yearly, and from time to time, so much of the livings, tithes, &c. as belonged to the bishop and clergy of the diocese, until the act was complied with.’—‘Was the education in those schools originally free?’ ‘It was, I believe, intended to be so.’ ‘Has it not ceased to be so in almost all the diocesan schools?’ ‘Long since: the masters claim and obtain such salaries for the pupils as any other school-master would, without any endowment whatever, and who had no endowment or recompense to expect but those salaries.’ [The reader should notice this the more, as it will immediately appear in evidence, that these masters are usually clergymen of the establishment, *otherwise beneficed*.] ‘Do you think, that, as the law has not been repealed, the clergy of Ireland ought to be called upon to obey this law, and to establish those schools pursuant to the original statute?’ ‘I think it is a legal and justifiable mode of requiring their compliance.’”

Mr. W. Charles Quin was Secretary to the Board of Commissioners appointed under Sir Robert Peel’s Act of 53 Geo. III, and he had therefore a most accurate knowledge of the system, without any extreme disposition to disclose its faults. The cautious, perhaps reluctant, nature of this evidence may be learned from the following question and his reply: “‘Did that act of Elizabeth, contemplate free schools?’ ‘*They are styled Free Schools.*’” Nothing to be got out of him beyond the bare letter of the law, not even an opinion as to its obvious



and practical meaning ; yet, when asked “were these acts of parliament (for the establishment of diocesan schools) effective?” he is obliged to answer in the simple, and from such a witness, the expressive, monosyllable “no;” and he afterwards admits that the act of 53 George the Third, arose out of the inefficient state in which education in those schools was conducted at the time. Again, from his evidence, “‘Do you not collect from the report of the Commissioners (in 1812,) that up to that period few diocesan schools had been established ; that the masters were paid very small salaries, and that the schools in general were in a state of comparative neglect?’ ‘YES.’ ‘In the early reports of the diocesan schools, it is stated that out of thirty-four dioceses, there were not more than twenty diocesan schoolmasters, and that these schoolmasters, who were examined before the Commissioners of that day, did not receive a larger sum than £20. 12s. yearly at the lowest, and £40 yearly at the highest ; a sum which is well known to have been inadequate to the purposes of instruction, particularly in a class of schools like that of the diocesan ; to whom would you attribute this neglect?’ ‘I think it was owing to the laws as they existed at the time. The Lord Lieutenant has been since empowered to fix the salaries of those masters with which the diocesans and the clergy are charged.’” But if the diocesan and the clergy had been very particularly anxious to see the people educated, might they not as the law intended they should, have contributed a moderate and respectable salary to each of the schoolmasters, without any need of the Lord Lieutenant thus administering the spur to their reluctant zeal? This obvious consideration occurred to the committee, and they accordingly proceeded to enquire, “‘was not the bishop obliged, together with the clergy, to pay the salary of those schoolmasters, and how came it to pass that they gave so small a payment to those schoolmasters, as £20 to the lowest, and £40 to the highest?’ ‘*I cannot answer that question.*”

He distinctly admits that the masters were bound to receive free scholars, and is then asked :—

“When you were secretary to the board, were there any schools without free scholars?’ ‘There were, as appears by the return before me.’ ‘How many?’ ‘This return is dated the 18th July, 1831. At the school of Armagh and Connor, there seem to have been *no* free scholars ; at the school of Down and Dromore, *none* ; at the school of Limerick, Killaloe, and Kilfenora, *none* ; at the school of Meath and Ardagh, *none*. I have stated that there are



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" 'How are the teachers in the diocesan district schools paid?' 'By the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, in the proportions settled by act of parliament.' 'Is this proportion easily levied?' 'From the bishops I believe it is, but the schoolmasters, I believe, find it very difficult indeed to get their quota from the respective clergy of the diocese, especially in the South of Ireland.' 'Is it left to the teachers themselves to levy this amount?' 'It is;

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The government of the charter schools, is partly vested in the Incorporated Charter Society, sitting in Dublin, and partly in local trustees. Who these may be, we have not the pleasure of knowing, but presume they are well enough known to many of our Irish readers, and their peculiar sentiments and character are sufficiently manifest in their management, or rather mismanagement, of the schools. They have received upwards of a million of the public money, and their annual income, from the interest of stock and endowment, was considered to be about £10,000 a year, independent of voluntary subscriptions. In 1771 they had 52 schools, with 2035 scholars, maintained by an annual expenditure of £10,000. In 1811 they had only 34 schools, with 2351 scholars, and an annual expenditure of £40,000. Nor was this a cost peculiar to that year only, for, in 1821, they had 33 schools with 2,200 scholars, and an annual expenditure of £36,000. Their avowed object, for a number of years, was to gain proselytes to Protestantism, by the bribe of education. But their success was not equal either to their zeal or their outlay. It was, in fact, at once the most extravagant and most futile, of the various experiments that have been tried in Ireland with this object. The commissioners of education state, generally, that “in 1825 not more than 12,745 children had been apprenticed; that the cost for the apprenticeship of 7905 had been £1,000,000; and out of 196 children apprenticed, not more than 101 were doing well.” Far be it from us to say that it is too expensive to buy little children into the pale of Protestantism, at the rate of £125 a child, even though it be out of the public taxes; but it does look somewhat awkward, that not more than *half* of those bought at so high a price, should turn out *good* Protestants. Moreover, add the commissioners: “From 1806, £83,689 had been expended in building, but not more than two new schools had been erected.” And, on the whole, the commissioners concluded, that not only were the schools totally mismanaged and inefficient, but, “that the evil was so monstrous it could not be corrected;” and parliamentary aid was, therefore, gradually withdrawn: and they are now dependent entirely on their own endowments. Indeed, as the select committee state, “The Reports laid before the House, of the manner in which education was conducted in these institutions,” (whose sole aim, be it always recollected, was to effect the conversion of Catholics) “disclosed such evidence of undue severity and ignorance on the part of the teachers, such neglect of the physical, intellectual, and moral interests of the pupils,

so total a disregard of the very first principles of education, as to leave no choice to the legislature and the government, between a sanction of these abuses, and a withdrawal of the grant." And in consequence of their being thus left to the unaided zeal of their friends and promoters, Mr. D'Alton says, he can speak from his own personal observation, that the schools are, in most instances, going to complete ruin. He is also kind enough to suggest, that it would be desirable that these neglected buildings should be put under the controul of some public body in Ireland, to be by them applied to the purposes of general education, though he justly expresses the apprehension, that any attempt to transfer these, which have been considered the strongholds of proselytism in Ireland, to a system of liberal education in the country, would cause a long and bitter contest.

The ROYAL SCHOOLS seem to have borne the same relation to the diocesan schools, as the charter schools did towards the parochial. The two latter were for elementary instruction, the two former for more advanced or classical education. The chartered were established to aid the inefficiency of the parochial, and the royals to help those of the dioceses, and they seem, moreover, equally to have succeeded in the amount of their respective co-operation, *i. e.* they helped the others to do nothing.

There are seven royal schools, founded by Charters of Charles I, viz. at Armagh, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Raphoe, Cavan, Banagher, and Carysford; and estates comprehending 13,627 acres, in the north of Ireland, were granted for their support. The administration of these estates was formally vested in the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops, with extensive powers for the due execution of the trust; and it was not till 53 Geo. III, that they, as well as the diocesan schools, came under the control of the Commissioners appointed by that Act. These schools also were intended for children of every religious denomination, there being nothing in charter, act, or bye-law, to exclude any person. This, indeed, is expressly admitted by Mr. Kyle, the secretary to the commissioners, who states that Catholics were in attendance at all these schools; that there was a course of religious instruction for Protestants; but, as to Catholics, he fancied it was managed at home—the board knew nothing of it—that no complaint had been made to the board, either of the want of it, or of interference with it; and that if such a complaint were made, the board would interfere at once to do away with the cause of it; and

indeed, that in the case of Carysford school, he was directed by the board to give the master instructions, that he should be particularly cautious not to allow anything to occur in the school, which could have the effect of preventing scholars, of any religious persuasion, from attending the school. Mr. Kyle, however, states, that though there is no religious qualification required for the situation, the masters of these, as well as of the diocesan schools, are all, in fact, members of the Established Church, though there is no legal necessity for their being so. "In some instances," says the Report of the Select Committee, "the situation (of master) has been combined with ecclesiastical livings; Dr. Millar, the master of the school of Armagh, holds the mastership of that school, and the living to which he was collated on leaving the university;" and "with the single exception of Carysford, all the masters, and several of the assistants, are Clergymen of the Established Church."

The royal schools ought also, so far as the endowment goes, to be free schools. The Act of 53 Geo. III, expressly directs the supporting and providing of free scholars, and the endowment of exhibitions at Trinity College, after paying the master, and, if necessary, his assistant, and the building and repairing of the schools. Mr. Quin, the former secretary to the Commissioners, is asked, "'Was not free instruction originally contemplated, as a consequence of this endowment?' 'I should think so; but the question has been disputed, I understand, so far as concerns the royal schools.' 'Have the masters disputed it, or has it arisen from the interpretation which the Commissioners have given to the Act of Parliament?' 'I never heard that the present masters disputed it, or that the question was raised at the board; on the contrary, from conversation, I think the Commissioners always looked upon them as free schools, and that the master would be bound to take as a free scholar, any boy that presented himself as a day scholar.'" It appears, indeed, that the Commissioners sent round instructions to the masters, that they were bound to receive free scholars, but never took the trouble of enquiring whether their instructions had been attended to; and from the diminished number of free scholars in late years, it is evident that the masters require something more stringent than an instruction or a recommendation, to induce them to accept free scholars.

In 1788 there were 7 schools and 5 schoolhouses. This is so set down in the Report, and we presume the two schools which did not enjoy the accommodation of schoolhouses, were



put out to board and lodge with the masters. And there were 98 boarders; 75 day scholars; and 38 free scholars; total 211. In 1835 there were 118 boarders, 108 day scholars, and 24 free scholars; total 250. Thus while the pay scholars have rather increased, the number of free scholars has considerably diminished, during the last half century, within which period the population has about doubled, and the estates of course belonging to the royal schools considerably increased in value. In 1788 the rental was £3918; in 1835 £6470, in spite of bad management. The masters were very highly paid; the head-master of Enniskillen school having £500 a year, besides charging for boarders and pay day scholars, about the usual pension for a classical education at any other unendowed school. With respect to the management of the estates, "the original system," says the Report of the Select Committee, "led to enormous abuses. Leases were made at low rents, fines raised for the ostensible purpose of building school-houses, but in many cases for the immediate advantage, not of the scholars, but of the schoolmasters. The funds were thus, in a very great degree, transferred from public to private uses." Here, for example, are replies of Mr. Kyle, pregnant with meaning:—

" 'Previous to the 53rd of George III, the masters or the trustees were empowered to lease the land on taking fines?' 'They were.'— 'Was it in consequence of the abuses which attended this mode of arrangement that they were prohibited in future from taking them?' 'I suppose so; I believe that is a matter of public notoriety.'— 'Who were the trustees?' 'In some cases the primate and some other parties; but in many instances, I find by reports and different public documents, the fines were applied for the purpose of erecting and keeping up the schoolhouses.'— 'Were fines always brought into account?' 'I do not know; the trustees received and expended it as they thought proper.' "

Mr. D'Alton more explicitly states,—

"I believe there are instances of the lands having been leased very much to the prejudice of the charities; I would instance the school at Enniskillen, whose landed possessions, to the extent of 3338 acres, were leased to the brother of the master, at the comparatively inconsiderable rent of £800 per annum."

Mr. Kyle *thinks* that the charge for boarders in these royally endowed schools is a *little lower* than in other similar schools in Ireland for the same course of instruction, but the variation is very small. And who do our readers think mainly fill these schools and engross the greater share of the attention of masters endowed with £500 and £400 a year, "to support, maintain, and provide for free scholars"? The



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sons of the *resident gentry*. Nay, the very fact of the endowment, instead of facilitating the education of those classes for whose benefit it was intended, does actually either operate to their exclusion, or cause them to pay more than they otherwise would have paid but for the endowment. Such a gross and iniquitous perversion of the funds would scarcely be credible if we had not the fact distinctly vouched for by Mr. Kyle, the secretary :—

“ ‘ Is the payment made by the day scholars greater or less, or about the same, that day scholars pay at other schools giving the same amount of education ? ’ ‘ Day boys pay more at endowed schools and receive much less valuable instruction. *The masters, being independent, raise the fines to exclude those of a certain class, and the neighbourly gentry select the endowed schools for their sons, on account of their exclusive character.* They are thought to be more respectable than the schools kept by private individuals. ’ ”

And though the Board of Commissioners appointed under the 53rd of George III appear, in some degree, to have stemmed the tide of abuse, they have not manifested any peculiar energy in effecting reforms. Mr. Kyle is asked, “ ‘ Has the board taken any measures to increase the number of day scholars or free scholars ? ’ ‘ Not that I am aware of. ’ — ‘ Have they taken pains to ascertain why the number of free scholars is so small ? ’ ‘ Not that I know of. ’ ” The board sent round a polite circular to acquaint the masters that they were bound and ought to receive free scholars, but the board took no active measures, and the masters therefore took no active notice of them, but after the lapse of several years had fewer free scholars than before.

Notwithstanding the large admissions which, as we have already seen, fell from the lips of Mr. Kyle, his reply to the first of the following questions is rather an amusing instance of his disinclination to assert roundly, and positively, that anything was wrong, or anything capable of amendment in the existing system : “ ‘ Do you think the efficiency of the royal schools would be diminished by lowering the salary of the master ? ’ ‘ *I am not prepared to say the efficiency would be diminished.* ’ — ‘ On what grounds ? ’ ‘ Because I have seen that in many schools the emoluments arising from the school, and the benefits of the schools where there are no endowments, are sufficient remuneration to the masters. I know many excellent schools where there are no endowments. ’ — ‘ If the salary of the master were considerably lowered, a very considerable surplus would be obtained from most of the royal schools,

for the other purposes of education?" 'A very considerable surplus would, I should think.'—'Might not that surplus be advantageously applied in improving and extending education to the middle classes?' 'I think any surplus might, decidedly.'"

There are or have been a variety of other schools of less importance, or, at least, of a less national character, but maintained wholly or in part by the public money, respecting each of which a single word may be sufficient. The Blue Coat School and Hospital, founded by charter of 23rd of Charles II, "for the relief of poor children, and of aged, maimed, and impotent persons," whose rental amounted in 1788 to £1827, and in 1810 to £3983; for which were maintained and educated gratuitously, in the school department, 120 pupils. The Hibernian School, incorporated by 9th George III, in 1769, for the instruction of soldiers' children, and whose funds are derived partly from land and partly from parliamentary grants; from the latter source it had in 1826 received an aggregate of £240,356. The Hibernian Marine School, incorporated under 15th George III, 1771, for maintaining, educating, and apprenticing the children of decayed seamen, had an annual parliamentary grant of £400, in addition to its endowment. There were 150 children maintained and educated in 1788, 139 in 1809, and at present only twenty-three children. The schools of the *Association for the Suppression of Vice*, with this specious title, and with a profession of opening their schools to all religious persuasions, required their schoolmaster to be a Protestant, and the children to be instructed in the Catechism of the Church of England. Yet this exclusively Protestant society amongst a Catholic population, received £102,000 of the public money in the twenty-seven years ending with 1827, when the annual grant was very properly withdrawn. And the schools of the *Kildare Place Society*, respecting the proselytising tendency of which our general readers are already sufficiently informed; this society obtained altogether about £300,000 of the public money, commencing with a grant of £6000 in 1806, and graduating up to £30,000 in 1831.

Respecting schools of private foundation, by will, deed, act, or otherwise, such as Erasmus Smith's schools, &c., however exclusive, we say nothing, they are private preserves. There has been, however, a vast amount of property in land and money, which has been at different periods, and by a great variety of persons, given or bequeathed for the support of education in every part of the country. Mr. D'Alton has, with great

labour and perseverance arranged a curious and instructive *Tabular Digest of Charitable Funds designed for Education in Ireland, arranged according to the respective counties*, from the number and value of which we may reasonably infer, that Ireland would now have been as richly endowed with all the requisite means and appliances for popular education as any country in the world, if all these donations and bequests had been justly applied to the sacred purpose for which they were destined. Anxious not to exhaust the patience of our readers, we will select a *few* specimens, which will shew what advantage Ireland has derived from the charitable intentions of her various benefactors. The information is headed: 1. Locality; 2. Annual Income; 3. Acreable Possessions; 4. Defined Object; 5. Grantor; 6. Evidence thereof; 7. Observations. The six first columns generally teem like youth with pleasing anticipations, while the seventh usually sounds like the sad epitaph over an early grave. Thus, 1. Tullaim, county of Cavan; 2. £312; 4. School; 5. William Moore; 6. Will; 7. He left £2500 for this object. The interest is here calculated at £6 per cent. The amount has been all recovered, yet the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction in 1835 seems to suggest that but £50, late Irish currency, is appropriated to this school. Again, 1. Bangor, county of Down; 2. £20; 4. Charity School; 5. Lord Clanbrassil; 6. Will; 7. The Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations states, that neither this bequest, nor that mentioned at Killileagh, same county, are now paid, although charged by the will under which the estates of Lord Clanbrassil are enjoyed. 1. St. Andrew's, City of Dublin; 2. £184 : 12 : 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; 4. Thursday and Sunday Poor School; 5. Ralph Macklin; 6. Will, August 14, 1820; 7. He left the specific annuity of £200 Irish, yet the recent Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, states this bequest as in force only to the extent of £127 per annum. 1. Navan, county of Meath; 2. £600; 4. Free School; 5. Alderman Preston; 6. Will, 1686; 7. He granted estates, which were rented in 1806 at £1465 : 15s. per annum, for the support of this school, and of one at Ballyroan, in the Queen's County, to which latter county the balance is assigned. It is observed that the second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction states, the total rental of these schools as but £600 per annum. 1. Wicklow; 3. Eight acres; 6. Report of 1788; 7. This land adjoined the old castle of Wicklow, and was so given by the Lord Lieutenant in 1746. A school was kept there for three subsequent years, but I believe none since

1749. And the total annual amount of charitable funds *designed* for education in Ireland, as particularized in these tables, is £103,000. This is the whole yearly amount, as far as the industry of Mr. D'Alton has enabled him to ascertain it; but as this amount is brought to light mainly by the reports of the different Commissioners of Inquiry, we may fairly presume that there has been much more, which is now buried and lost beneath the accumulation of years and disuse; for Mr. D'Alton says, in reply to the question, "You think, however, that several particulars escaped the observation of the commissioners at the time?" 'I do not know whether I should use the word "escaped," and rather say they were suppressed by them. I think there has been a great deal of concealment as regards charitable bequests in Ireland.' "

And all this varied, and perhaps it may be thought somewhat tedious, narrative of the robbery of the poor, is but one page of Irish history,—in type, style, and meaning, of exact correspondence with most of the other pages of that darkened record. Here is a rich Church, the wealthiest in Christendom in proportion to the number of souls over whom it has the nominal cure, possessing funds which it is, by express acts of parliament directed to employ, in certain specific modes, for the free education of the poor Irish, without any religious distinction; and we see the ecclesiastics of this wealthy Church neglecting this solemn duty, frequently neglecting it altogether, always paying their prescribed contributions grudgingly, and, as far as in them lies, contracting instead of expanding the range of instruction; we observe, moreover, that all the witnesses agree, that the Irish peasantry and farmers are anxious for information, and apt in acquiring it: and then is obtruded before us the spectacle of the members of the above Church complaining of the ignorance of the poor Irish, of which they are themselves the guilty cause; and soliciting, with all the clamour and urgency of the most officious zeal, for subscriptions to Hibernian societies, in styles and titles abundant, for, in fact, money to help the established Irish clergy to educate their poor parishioners, for which very purpose they have for centuries had in their own hands ample means, and lacked only the inclination properly to apply them. Then again, we behold royal endowments, and parliamentary grants, given with no sparing hand, placed mainly in the control of that same established clergy, and dissipated by the most miserable mismanagement; accomplishing the education of some free scholars, whom, when we compare the vast means with the



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small result, it is actually ridiculous to number, and in fact only serving to make up a few more comfortable appointments for reverend adventurers.

The Church! probe every Irish evil to the bottom, and whatever other ingredients of mischief may be detected, the Church also is sure to be found rankling there. Nor is this to be wondered at when we reflect that its existence in that country has been a perfect anomaly, to which all those motives and reasons, by which the existence of such a body is usually defended, are totally inapplicable. It was made by the strong hand of the law for an unwilling people, instead of arising spontaneously out of the spiritual wants of a believing community, or, to use a homely but not inappropriate illustration, it was shaped exactly on the English pattern, without taking any measure of the Irish body, by which it was to be worn, and was then sent over to Ireland for the people there to fit themselves into it. Not springing, therefore, out of that proper cause, which would at the same time have furnished its ministers with proper employment, they became almost necessarily either idle and indifferent to everything but their own ease, or uselessly busied in angry reproaches against the poor Irish for not having discernment enough to appreciate their superior merits. No wonder that such men, without imputing any peculiar depravity to them, should not care much about the people who did not care anything about them. No wonder that such a body of clergy should not devote any portion of their income, or personally devote themselves to the education of the Irish. To a clergy chosen and beloved by the people, it would have been a corresponding labour of love, as well as of duty. To a clergy forced upon the people it was a task which they neither could nor would undertake:—laws were impotent to compel them.

But out of this narrative of the law and practice respecting education in Ireland arises an important reflection. Under the term *appropriation* it has been wished to apply certain superfluous portions of the wealth of the Irish Church establishment towards the general education of the Irish people. Against such an employment of any part of the ecclesiastical funds the friends of the clergy have advanced the *principle* of private property, — that parliament would no more be justified in applying any part of a clergyman's tithes to such a purpose, than it would in applying a portion of any landlord's rents, or of any fundholder's dividends, to the same purpose. Now it appears to us that the acts of

Henry and Elizabeth, which we have quoted, requiring the establishment by the clergy of parochial and diocesan schools, make it quite unnecessary, at the present day, to argue this principle. The legislature has already clearly and repeatedly asserted and acted upon this right of interference and appropriation, and for the very specific purpose of general education. The legislature has thus repeatedly and without the slightest idea or imputation of injustice, *appropriated* certain portions of the property of the Church to the general education of the people. And after the lapse of three hundred years, during which there has been manifested sufficient unwillingness to obey the law, without any pretence of disputing its sanction, it is now far too late to question either the right or the justice of such an appropriation.

But, perhaps, it may be said, that these acts were rather explanatory than enacting; that they explained what was the previous usage of the Church, rather than enacted any new application of its funds; that schools in every parish and in every diocese had previously been maintained by the Catholic clergy, and that parliament found it necessary soon after the change in religion and the induction of new incumbents, to explain what had been the habitual employment of ecclesiastical incomes. We admit this to be in great part true, but it does not at all tend to confirm the absolute right of the present holders, and, indeed, early ecclesiastical custom is, we apprehend, rather a dangerous authority for beneficed clergymen to appeal to. If it prove anything, it proves *too much*. Take it in either way—if according to the previously existing customs, and in denial of any right or justice in legislative interference,—then reduce *all* those ancient customs into practice, and amongst others, that, according to the assumed case, of educating the poor. But if that consequence be too dreadful, and you admit the justice of legislative appropriation of clerical funds to the purpose of education three hundred years ago, parliament has the same right and can exercise it with the same discretion at the present day. It would, in fact, be accomplishing a great deal, if parliament were now only to require a rigid fulfilment of its old enactments.

Mr. R. A. Blake, in reply to an enquiry of the Select Committee, “considers that £200,000 a year would amply provide for the elementary instruction of the people of Ireland.” The tables of Mr. D’Alton show an amount exceeding £100,000 a year from various endowments for the purpose of education; and though some part of these may,

under the specific direction of the donors, be of exclusive, partial, or special application, which should not be disturbed, there is no doubt that in by far the greater number of instances, and with respect to by far the greater portion of those funds, the intentions of the donors would be satisfactorily and, indeed, more efficiently fulfilled, if, wherever the expressed intention admitted it, the income of the donations were made subsidiary to the general purpose of common and national education. In addition to this, parliament should rigorously exact from each individual incumbent such an annual sum as might be the suitable stipend of a schoolmaster in each benefice; and should with equal strictness exact from the bishops and clergy such an annual contribution as might suffice for the maintenance of a diocesan or classical academy in each diocese. Whether it might appear the best mode of administering these funds, to have a distinct academy in each diocese, in each county, or in each of certain districts throughout the island, would be a matter for legislative determination. With the revenue fairly derivable from these sources, with the most improved management of the landed estates now devoted to the support of education, and with the system of local but voluntary taxation for the same object, which we shall shortly notice, there would be, comparatively, little remaining to be supplied by an annual parliamentary grant, in order to accomplish the great object of an adequate system of instruction for the entire people of Ireland.

The report of the Select Committee of which Mr. Wyse was the chairman, contains a most laborious condensation of the evidence given before them, and the clear outlines of a complete plan of National Education, commencing with infant schools, and proceeding through the elementary or parochial, the county or academic, the provincial or collegiate, course of instruction, with also appropriate establishments for acquiring the more peculiar knowledge of various arts and sciences which is requisite in the professions, and some other employments. For this valuable report and indeed for his incessant exertions in the cause of enlightened education, his country is under a deep obligation to Mr. Wyse. This report itself may be purchased for a mere trifle; it is not of great bulk, though it embraces information of the utmost variety, extent, and value, but admirably condensed into the most readable form, and its contents ought to be known to every Irishman. We can only communicate some of the most striking and immediately important of his suggestions, which ought without any delay to be carried into execution.

In order to create one central body for the superintendence of education throughout Ireland, both elementary and academical, it is recommended that the existing Board of Commissioners, under 53 George the Third, should be dissolved, and that in their lieu, a certain number of members should be added to the present board of National Education, such addition to form a distinct section of the board for the superintendence and management of *academical* education. The two sections of the board should then be entrusted with exactly correspondent authorities in regard to their own department of education, with precisely the same responsibilities, and with therefore every probability of efficient co-operation and accord. To accomplish this, an Act of Parliament would be necessary, which should (amongst other things,) give to each section of the board, the usual powers and privileges of a *corporation*, for purposes of obvious legal convenience, in the succession of property, and with such powers in regard to purchase and title of land requisite for schoolhouses, as are given to commissioners under the general inclosure act. That each section of the board should be constituted as the present board of National Education is, of a fixed number of persons, selected by government without any mere ex-officio members; and that at least one, if not more than one, commissioner of each section of the board, should have a fixed salary, as the only permanent way of securing regular efficiency. The two sections would have placed under their management and discretionary disposal, all those funds and estates now justly available towards either branch of education, and such additional grant as Parliament may consider to be each year necessary. As to the principle which should regulate the disposal of the money, it is admitted to be expedient that the extent of aid given by the board, should in some degree, depend upon the amount of local contribution. But at present that dependence of proportion appears to be too strictly uniform, and consequently the more ignorant and poor a district is, the more it stands in need of assistance, the more education is required, and the less chance is there of its being imparted. And the difficulty is not merely that of raising the required contribution of capital, but there is also the guarantee of individual security to be given for the future provision of the requisite local share of annual expenditure,—a circumstance which may be apt to throw the public school too much into the hands of influential individuals, and open the door to the usual evils of patronage; neither does it give the board

that easy and available security for continued payment, which they ought to possess. It is therefore proposed, not in abolition of, but in addition to, the present mode of application to the board for aid, that, whenever a school shall be deemed necessary in any particular locality, a public meeting of its inhabitants may be summoned by the requisition of a specific number of the county rate-payers, to be called a school meeting, which when so convened, shall have a power to determine the application for the building of a school to the board, the amount of salary to be paid to the teacher, the amount of school fee, and amount of current expenses, repairs, &c. &c. and to determine that the amount so ascertained, be levied in due proportion from the district in question, in the same way as the county-rate, or poor-rate, and be in due course handed over to the local committee. The advantages of this system are evident, both in the security it provides for regular future payment, and in its removing any ideal right which individuals might assume, of more than their due share of control.

Neither is it a novel arrangement, for not only are a variety of other objects of local convenience, such as roads, bridges, drainage, fever hospitals, lunatic asylums, &c. &c. provided for by a similar mode of local taxation, none of which are more important, or more apt for such regulations, than schools, but a plan very similar comes also recommended to us by another and older select committee, of the House of Commons, to whom in 1828 all the previous reports on the subject of Education in Ireland, were referred. They, after, as they state, the most anxious deliberation, recommended to parliament, amongst a variety of other arrangements in a great degree corresponding with those since carried into effect, or now proposed, "that it be competent to the commissioners to entertain any applications for the grant of aid to schools, coming either from individuals, charitable committees, or associations, or select vestries of parishes, assembled under provisions analogous to those of the tithe composition act. And that when a school has been built at their desire, vestries so assembled should have a power of assessing their respective parishes, for raising that portion of school expenditure which is required to be provided locally."

In case the inhabitants of a district neglected to convene such a meeting, the board ought to be empowered to intervene and make application to its inhabitants for such an assessment; and if the inhabitants then refused thus to sanction the application, it might as now originate from individuals.



The inhabitants, in the event of their application being successful, would again have to meet, to appoint a local committee, the right of voting for which should, it is suggested, be correlative with the obligation of paying the school assessment, which again should depend upon a certain amount of grand jury or poor-law rate. The details of holding meetings, making applications, voting assessments, &c. &c. would of course have to be defined in any legislative measure that may be adopted.

Whilst then the central board received and decided upon applications, and the amount of assistance to be in each instance granted, whilst they framed a code of regulations for general adoption, superintended the education or at least the completion of the education of teachers, the composition and supply of schoolbooks, the personal inspection of each of the schools by persons selected by them for that duty, and received periodical reports from the local committee of each school as to its particular condition, the local committee would, on the other hand, be able more efficiently to watch over the immediate management of the school, see that the building was kept in due order and repair, the teacher attentive to the children, the children punctual in their attendance; and the regulations of the board attended to, for which purposes weekly visitors should be appointed from the body of the committee. To the local committee would also be entrusted the disbursement of the school monies, rendering we presume a periodical account, both immediately to their constituents, and in their general report to the board. The teachers it is suggested should be paid partly, but the smaller portion, by a fixed salary, and the remainder by fees from the pupil; there being under this management two classes of scholars, viz. payers and non-payers; but if these fees were in each instance suitably regulated, it is presumed, from the prevalent feeling on this subject, that there would be comparatively few of the latter class of pupils. The fixed salary with a dwelling-house and garden, which it is proposed to have always annexed to the schoolhouse, would prevent the disagreeable consequences of the teacher being entirely dependent for his support on the children or their parents, while the prospect of increasing the number of fees, would form a sufficient stimulus to increased exertion. The board should also have authority to give gratuities to any of the teachers under special circumstances, and all of them should be entitled to superannuations, on claiming them, after 20 years' service, not exceeding two



thirds of the salary received while in actual service, and payable by the board.

It is also recommended, that the selection of the teacher should be left to the local committee, but that this selection should be made by them out of a list of those who had gone through the requisite course of normal instruction, and had passed a subsequent examination for the purpose of being included in the "list of candidates," to be annually published by the board.

That the power of removing the teacher should be lodged in the first instance with the local committee, on the complaint or with the sanction of the board. That the board should be empowered to exercise that power of removal, if the local committee declined it, but that in every instance, the accused should be fairly heard, and the charges proved before proceeding to censure, suspension, or removal. And that the board should also be allowed to recommend the promotion of deserving teachers from one school to another.

But beyond this elementary instruction for the whole body of the people, it is expedient for the state to facilitate the means of obtaining a more advanced or complete education, not only, as the committee suggests, to the middle classes, but also to those of the labouring class, who exhibit that degree of superior talent or zealous application, which shows that the individual owes to his country better service than the mere labour of his hands. Truly also do the Committee remark, that to a well regulated middle order, the state must mainly be indebted for its intellectual and moral progress. And that such a class is especially desirable at the present time in Ireland; but that a liberal, judicious, and appropriate system of education for the middle class, is the only means by which they may be enabled to acquire and maintain that proper position in society to which they are entitled, and by the maintenance of which, the community can be fully protected from the chances of internal disorder. Such a system is not likely to be provided as rapidly and extensively as may be required, by voluntary efforts; and it thus becomes the duty of the legislature to intervene, as in the case of the education of the poorer classes, in order to secure its blessings.

For this purpose it is recommended that the system of education which does at present exist in the diocesan, royal, and other classical schools of public foundation, should be extended and improved, so as to render it applicable to both commercial and classical education, and thus fit it to the

wants, at the same time, of both the middle and upper orders. Some of the witnesses apprehend, that such a combination would tend to drive away the higher classes; this does not seem to be a reasonable, and therefore we will hope not a probable consequence; but even if it were so, it would be better to drive away the wealthy, who can provide otherwise for their own education, than to exclude those who have no other means of obtaining adequate instruction.

The public schools, to which we have referred, should accordingly be modified where they exist, and where they do not exist, others should be established; so as, on the whole, to introduce a regular system of county academies; the state, through the appropriate section of the board, undertaking to purchase the ground, and build and outfit the academy, provided the Grand Jury assessed the county for the salaries of the masters and other expenses of maintenance.

Practical suggestions are made for consolidating the diocesan and royal schools, into and with this general system of county academies, by defining in what proportions the Bishops and Clergy of each diocese, and the Grand Jury of each County, should respectively contribute. With regard to administration, these academies would be placed under a central and local organization of management, corresponding, as closely as possible, with that already explained in regard to elementary schools. The board would have precisely the same regulating control, and the functions of the local committee might either be entrusted to the Grand Jury, or, if that were not thought advisable, inasmuch as that body, not being elective, does not possess a representative character, a County Board or County Council, might be elected not only for this, but for other matters of county finance and superintendence. Whenever an academy, in addition to those in operation, was required, it should be competent for the Grand Jury or County Council, to apply for its foundation to the board, who should be authorized to comply with such application; provided the local body, whether Grand Jury or County Council, made an assessment for the payment of the teachers and other current expenses of maintenance. On the other hand, the board might be authorized to originate the undertaking, by proposing an assessment on condition of its founding the academy.

The levy should be apportioned, as is the county rate, in parishes and districts; a large proportion, as in the case of poor-rate assessment, being required to be defrayed by persons having a beneficial interest, and should be collected and

paid over by the county collector, in the same way as any other county-rate.

The Grand Jury or County Council, should appoint an academy committee, and these should, in rotation, act as weekly, fortnightly, or monthly visitors.

The teachers would be selected and removed, and their salaries determined on the same principle as in the elementary schools, though of course upon a different scale; and, indeed, the board and the local bodies respectively, would, in both cases, have corresponding duties and authorities.

In order to a complete physical, intellectual, and religious education, various additional courses of instruction are necessary, some of which may be appropriate for all students, and others for those only having peculiar prospects of future employment in life. To reconcile the two, it seems most expedient to have one general course obligatory on all the students, with also a variety of special courses to be paid for separately, at the option of each pupil or his parents.

There does not appear to be any suggestion respecting the mode of conducting the religious education in these county academies, though it is expressly mentioned as a necessary part of the course. We venture to hope, that a satisfactory arrangement might be made with the proper ecclesiastical authorities of each religious denomination, to have appointed or approved of by them, in each academy, a teacher or *Professor of Religion*, with a stipend proportioned to the number of his scholars. There would then be a religious instructor for the students of each religious body; where they were sufficiently numerous for his remuneration, he would, probably, reside in the academy, where there were only a few students of any particular denomination, their religious instructor would probably be some clergyman, or other fit person, residing in the neighbourhood. These suggestions would, of course, require the most careful consideration in all their details, and, it is evident, that the power of choosing, and also of censuring or removing these distinct religious professors, must necessarily be vested, not in the board or local body, as in case of the other teachers, but in certain member or members of the ecclesiastical body of that religion of which he would be the professor; and this according to a previous arrangement which it would be necessary to make with each ecclesiastical body.

The Report also contains a recommendation for still farther carrying out the system of Education, by the establishment of *Provincial Colleges*, on principles corresponding with those

already applied to county academies, and which may, therefore, be sufficiently understood; and also for agricultural as well as various professional schools, for the study of the fine arts, and the more eminently useful of the physical sciences.

We are rejoiced to observe that Ireland is already manifesting that it appreciates the importance of the recommendations embodied in this Report. Let the meeting in county Cork, be followed by meetings in every other county in Ireland, and let petitions and urgent representations be addressed to Parliament and the Government, for an act containing the various authorities which are requisite for giving complete effect to the system.

It may, probably, be thought by some of those who have accompanied us thus far in our observations, that we are unwilling to commit ourselves by any opinion respecting the merits or demerits of that system of national education which is now in operation in Ireland. We have been actuated by no such feeling, but have thought it, at the present moment, more useful to present our readers with a digest of valuable information respecting matters forming a fundamental part of the general topic of Irish education, but which, we conceived, might not otherwise be likely to reach many of them, rather than occupy ourselves, just now, with additional remarks, or additional arguments on a particular question, of the which, if the public do not already understand the right and the wrong, it is not surely for lack of commentators.

We do not hesitate to assert, that if any money be expended by the State in the education of any part of the people, the Irish Catholics have a right to demand their fair proportion, to be expended in such a way, as may not, in the slightest degree, interfere with their religious opinions, or, if any please so to call it, with their religious prejudices. It is altogether beside the question to go into a course of argument, to prove that the Protestant belief, and the Protestant mode of teaching that belief, are better than the belief and mode of instruction adopted by the Catholics. The question is not which is right and which is wrong, because there is no neutral or competent tribunal for its arbitrement; but whether each has not an equal right to retain his own opinion, and to impart it to his children without fear or favour. If the Catholic has a right to demand that any money of the State, applied in promoting education, shall not in its application be made to favour Protestantism, equal neutrality may the Protestant require of the State, in regard to Catholicity. And the Catholic, therefore, cannot fairly

claim any right, privilege, or accommodation, which he is not prepared to see the Protestant also enjoying. This perfect equality and entire mutuality of rights, of privileges, (we claim no more, but we will not be content with less,) must be considered as the basis of any system of national education ; but it is peculiarly necessary to keep this principle in constant recollection, in a system where the children of different religions receive a certain portion of instruction together. This principle should be applied to every claim for the admission of any particular regulation or jurisdiction which has been, or may be, advanced by either party ; and if it will not bear the test, the claim is inadmissible.

If a Catholic demand the dismissal of a teacher, because, from a Catholic he has become a Protestant, equally may the Protestant demand the dismissal of a Protestant teacher, who should be converted to Catholicity. If a Catholic, in the reference to any particular version of Scripture, require the letter of his version to be adopted, the Protestant, with equal justice, may demand a literal adherence to his own version. Protestants and Catholics, in fine, may each, with equally ardent emulation, assert their respective right to have all the teachers, and all the inspectors, Protestant or Catholic, as the case may be, according to the religion of the applicants. If both prefer any such unfair claims, both cannot be satisfied, and neither ought to be. Catholics, in fact, need nothing but a fair and even stage ; give us that, and we will trust the result to the steady purity of our doctrines, and the more active zeal of our ministry. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.* Who ever saw her vanquished in a fair and equal encounter ? We consider it, in fact, a test of Catholic truth, and of a fearless reliance upon it, that, whilst the greater part of the Protestant Clergy in Ireland instinctively shrink from the rigid impartiality of the national system of education, the far greater part of the Catholic clergy have hailed its arrival amongst them with all the unsuspecting confidence of innocence and truth ; have availed themselves of its advantages so far as they extend ; and, at the point where it stops, have taken up and completed the necessary religious culture of the Catholic youth of Ireland. Should the Catholic clergy attempt to encroach upon the even boundary line of neutrality that has been laid down, it would not only deprive them of that glorious distinction to which we have referred, and expose them, also, to the suspicion of being alarmed for the issue of an equal encounter ; but, by putting the continuance of the system in jeopardy, would tend to deprive the

Catholic Church of that more complete developement and extension in Ireland, which would be the natural result of any general course of enlightened education, which should not, in the mode of its immediate acquirement, involve any unfair advantage to one religion or the other.

That it is expedient to try the system of joint literary and separate religious instruction in Ireland, we have the unanimous testimony of all the bishops, clergy, and distinguished individuals, both Protestant and Catholic, who have been examined, or who have reported upon the subject, during the last thirty years. That the principle, thus recommended by such a confluence of authorities, has been reduced into practice in an improper manner, or has, in its operation, developed any practical mischief, we have yet to learn. We are perfectly aware that it includes details of administration which require the watchful attention of the sentinels of our faith, in order to prevent abuses gradually insinuating themselves into the management. A board, differently constituted, for example, chosen by and acting under a government of a different character, might, if our watchfulness could, at any time, be lulled into a secure sleep, gradually slide into habits and regulations, which, while they still left, as in the Kildare Street system, the outward and public semblance of impartiality, might be pregnant with mischief. We know also that it has included details which have, on the adequate representation of a body of persons, entitled to attention, been modified; and if there be still any other details, which, in the opinion of any other body, entitled to equal attention, also require modification, we presume that any representations from such a body, would always obtain the attention of the board, and, if consistent with the general character of the system, their assent also.

We cannot conclude these remarks without adverting to the resolutions of the Catholic archbishops and bishops in Ireland, lately quoted by Dr. M'Hale in one of his letters, and to the peculiar circumstances under which those resolutions were passed, because a knowledge of those peculiar circumstances is, it seems to us, requisite, in order to apprehend rightly their application. In compliance with an Address from the House of Commons, a Commission had issued under the great seal, in 1824, for the purpose of enquiring into the state of Education in Ireland. The Commission was entrusted to five gentlemen, of whom Mr. Frankland Lewis was the chairman, Mr. Leslie Foster, a member, and Mr. Blake, the only Catholic



amongst them. In the course of their enquiries respecting the system of education which they should recommend, they had an interview, on 16th December, 1824, with Dr. Murray, and, subsequently, with the three other Catholic archbishops.

“ In this interview, they stated to Dr. Murray, that they were anxious to establish such a system as should unite children of all religious denominations in the same schools, except when it should become unavoidably necessary to separate them for the purpose of religious instruction. The Commissioners then stated, that they could not consider any system of education as deserving that name, which should not seek to lay the foundations of all moral obligation in religious instruction, and that, with respect to the religious instruction of Roman Catholics, they were anxious to ascertain the sentiments of Dr. Murray, and of the Roman Catholic clergy. They enquired, therefore, whether there would be any objection to common literary instruction being received by Roman Catholics, as well from a Protestant as a Roman Catholic master, and whether religious instruction could be given to the Roman Catholics by a Roman Catholic layman, approved of by the proper Roman Catholic pastor. Dr. Murray stated, that there could be no possible objection to Roman Catholics receiving literary instruction from a Protestant, nor to their receiving religious instruction from a Roman Catholic layman, approved of by the proper Roman Catholic pastor; and, he added, that the providing of proper persons for such purpose, would be a great relief to the Roman Catholic Clergy. The Commissioners then suggested, that schools might be established, in each of which there should be both a Protestant and Roman Catholic lay teacher, by whom education in common might be administered; so that the children, united in the same classes, should learn from the same masters, and use the same books: that, for the remuneration of such teachers, adequate means might be provided; that the Roman Catholic teacher might assist in the general literary instruction, and might give separate religious instruction to the Roman Catholic children, subject to the direction of their pastors; and that the school-room, for a reasonable portion of time, on one or two days in the week, might be appropriated exclusively to that object. In these suggestions for uniting Protestant and Roman Catholic children in literary, and separating them only for religious instruction, Dr. Murray expressed his concurrence.

“ The Commissioners then observed, that separate religious instruction should not commence, until the difference of religious belief should make it impossible for instruction any longer to be received in common; and they enquired whether it would be objected to on the part of the Roman Catholic Clergy, that the more advanced of the Protestant and Roman Catholic children should, at certain times during school hours, read portions of the Holy Scriptures together, and in the same classes, but out of their respective versions, subject to proper regulations, and in the presence of their respective Pro-



testant and Roman Catholic teachers, suggesting, at the same time, that opportunities might be afforded to the teachers of each persuasion, to explain to the children, separately, the portions so read?

“ Dr. Murray answered, that serious difficulties would exist in the way of such an arrangement, and, in lieu of it, he proposed, that the Holy Scriptures should be used only when the Roman Catholic children should be taken apart for the purpose of receiving religious instruction, and, he said, there could be no possible objection to the Roman Catholic children then reading, out of the sacred volume itself, the gospels and epistles of the week; he added, that no objection would be made to an harmony of the gospels being used in the general education which the children should receive in common, nor to a volume containing extracts from the Psalms, Proverbs, and the book of Ecclesiasticus; nor to a volume containing the history of the Creation, of the Deluge, of the Patriarchs, of Joseph, and of the deliverance of the Israelites, extracted from the old Testament; and that he was satisfied no difficulties, in arranging the details of such works, would arise on the part of the Roman Catholic Clergy.”

“ The Commissioners then stated, that they considered it of the utmost moment, that no books or catechisms should be admitted either in the course of the literary or religious instruction, containing matter calculated to excite contempt, hatred, or any uncharitable feeling in any class, towards persons of a different religious persuasion. To this Dr. Murray cordially assented.”

January 7, 1825.

“ The Commissioners having had an interview with the most Rev. Drs. Curtis, Murray, Kelly, and Laffan, the four Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the minute of 16th December, was read, and it was explained that the passage which related to the separate religious instruction of Roman Catholics, meant, that the proper Roman Catholic pastors should have the right of being present upon these occasions, and giving such religious instruction as they should think proper; and, that what was said of masters, applied also to mistresses; the Archbishops, who were not present on the 16th, expressed a wish to consider the matter until to-morrow.”

January 8th.

“ The Roman Catholic Archbishops mentioned above, having met the Commissioners this day, expressed their concurrence in the views already expressed by Dr. Murray.

✠ PATRICK CURTIS. D.D.

✠ OLIVER KELLY, D.D.

✠ ROBERT LAFFAN, D.D.

It was after these conferences between the Commissioners and the Catholic archbishops, that the Catholic archbishops and Bishops of Ireland met at the house of Dr. Murray, viz. on the 21st Jan. 1826, and passed the resolutions which have been recently quoted by Dr. M'Hale, in his letter on this subject; and, as these resolutions were shortly afterwards forwarded by

Dr. Murray to the above-mentioned Commissioners, we may presume that they had reference to the plan of education suggested by the Commissioners, in their conversation with the Catholic archbishops, of which we have quoted the minutes. That plan, as developed in that conversation, was, in several respects, different both as to administration and mode of instruction from that which is now in operation. Its administration was to be conducted, in its commencement at least, by the five Commissioners, only *one* of whom was a Catholic *layman* ; a board, therefore, not presenting in its composition such claims to the confidence of the Catholics of Ireland, as that which is now established, consisting of nine individuals, of whom three are Catholics, and one a distinguished Catholic prelate ; and wherein the sanction of *all* the members of the board is required to the extracts from Scripture *recommended* for use, “ in order to prevent the supposition that persons of one creed, might, by forming a majority of the board, send forth extracts not approved by those of another.”

Then, as to the mode of instruction, it was evidently in the contemplation of the Commissioners, as appears by the minutes of their conversation with Dr. Murray, to extend the joint instruction as far as possible into religion, so that separate religious instruction might not commence, “ until the difference of religious belief should make it impossible for instruction any longer to be received in common ;” and, it was also evidently the wish of the Commissioners, to introduce a rule, that “ the more advanced of the Protestant and Catholic children should, at certain times during school, read portions of the Holy Scriptures *together, and in the same classes*, but out of their respective versions, and in the presence of their respective Protestant and Catholic teachers.” These circumstances surely formed a peculiar reason, *then*, for certain rules respecting the religious tenets of the teacher superintending the joint instruction, which reason does not, to the same extent, prevail now, when the joint teaching may, if the patrons be so minded, be exclusively confined to literary or secular studies, even to the exclusion of those Scripture extracts, which are only recommended for use, and the *whole religious instruction* of the Catholic scholars be, therefore, communicated at a separate period, by or under the immediate direction of the Catholic pastor.

Whilst this sheet is under revision, we notice that the assembled Catholic Bishops of Ireland have this important subject under their consideration ; and we trust and believe that their decision will produce unanimity of feeling and action among Catholics respecting it.

ART. IV.—1. *Reminiscences of Rome; or, a Religious, Moral, and Literary View of the Eternal City; in a series of letters addressed to a friend in England.* By a member of the Arcadian Academy. London. 1838.

2. *Degli Instituti di Publica Carità e d'Istruzione Primaria in Roma; Saggio Storico e Statistico.* Di Monsig. D. Carlo Luigi Morichini, Romano, Vice-Presidenti dell' Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele. Roma. 1835.

“REMINISCENCES of Rome”! What a fertile theme! How hacknied, yet how new! how often tried, yet unexhausted! Teeming with interest for the poet, the artist, the antiquary,—but, above all, the moralist and the Christian!

Hundreds of volumes have been spent on the interesting remains of antiquity and the wonders of modern art which in Rome meet the visitor at every step. Chattard's work on the Vatican alone was a labour of sixteen years. The Forum, with its thousand difficulties, has, for time immemorial, engaged the active research of the most distinguished antiquarians—crossing each other at every step—building up and pulling down—weaving and unravelling the web of critical conjecture. The names of Nardini, Piranesi, Prunetti, Eustace, Gell, Bunsen, Nibby,\* are almost lost in the crowd of their co-labourers; and yet each furnishes something new—something which had escaped the vigilance of his predecessors. The brilliant sketches of *Corinne*, fervid and beautiful as they are, were but a feeble outline of the magnificent pictures,—now gorgeous, now gloomy, but ever displaying the master's hand, which the fitful pencil of *Childe Harold* has left as memorials of his pilgrimage,—and perhaps, after all, even he has done little more than unlock the exhaustless sources of beauty and sublimity to enrich the canvass of some future master!

And yet, notwithstanding the numberless portraits of this queen of cities, her fairest features have hitherto been distorted, or, at best, concealed, at least in those which have been exhibited to the British public. There are few readers to whom the monuments of her ancient glory are not familiar—few, who have not been wearied, even to nausea, by dissertations upon her specimens of art; and yet scarce one has heard of the numberless institutions, ancient and modern,

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\* See *Dublin Review*, No. x. Art. 1.

which the charity and faith of Rome have founded—memorials of the true spirit of her calumniated and insulted religion. The Pantheon and the Coliseum—the gallery of the Vatican, and the frescos of the Sistine chapel, have been described a thousand and a thousand times. But none, or scarce one, has been found to spend a word on the unpretending usefulness of the asylum of S. Maria in Acquiro, or the truly Roman munificence of the Ospizio di S. Michele. *Classical Tours* we have had in abundance; but, as yet, no “circumnavigation of charity.” The great philanthropist himself—the immortal Howard—has done very inadequate justice to the charitable institutions of Rome; and if one of the other tourists advert to the subject for a moment in passing, it is to indulge in unseemly levity with regard to the Penitentiary della Croce;\* or to sneer at the ministers of religion officiating in the hospitals, “between two rows of wretches, whom their pious noise would not suffer to die in peace.” †

For ourselves, while we dwell with wonder and delight upon the charmed page of *Childe Harold*, following the pilgrim through the tangled ruins of Rome—gazing upon the pageant of past days, which his magic pen calls up amid them once more—listening in amazement to the mingled moral and misanthropy, sublime even in its excess, with which he contemplates the characters and events of other times—we cannot, even in the excess of our wondering admiration, suppress the regret that Christian—Catholic—Rome has not found some poetic pilgrim, who could catch up the sacred spirit which animates all her institutions of to-day, as it hallows the remains of early faith—speaking to the memory in the crumbling monuments of her martyrs—to the imagina-

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\* *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*. We have no hesitation in assigning to this work—the production of a lady—the bad eminence, among the flimsy, but insolent, repositories of slander against Catholics, which have been given to the public of later years, under the form of travels. The impostures of priestcraft are its standing materials. The sale of indulgences and of pardons for sin—the worship of images—the adoration of the Virgin, &c., are put forward with as much cool perseverance as if they had never been disclaimed. In one short note the *authoress* (*proh pudor!*) anticipates all the filth and all the falsehood of Exeter Hall. As a specimen of her regard for the appearance of probability, we subjoin the following passage on the Inquisition: “Great were the disputes which were waged in the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Romish Church, about the *superior orthodoxy of great or little coats or frocks* for the Capuchins, which ended in all those who persisted in wearing the little ones being denounced as *heretics, and burned accordingly!!* We have the names of upwards of a hundred who were burned by the Inquisition for this cause; and are told by a grave historian that the list might be increased to a thousand” !!!—vol. ii. p. 324-5.

† *Forsyth's Remarks on Italy*, p. 6.

tion, in the expressive magnificence of her ceremonies—to the heart, in the active benevolence of her hospitals, her orphan institutions, her charitable confraternities! Such a poet would see “the Niobe of nations” warmed into new life by that fervent charity which is now her spirit—no longer

“Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe—”

her children multiplied beyond the sands of the sea—her crown brighter than the diadem of the Cæsars—ennobled by victories, holier far than those recorded by “the trebly hundred triumphs”—consecrated by recollections prouder than are recalled by the names of Scipio or Cæsar, by the glories of the monarchy, the republic, or the empire of Rome. And if, to use the words of Montalembert, “he saw the traces of tears in her eyes, and the wrinkles of grief upon her brow; she would appear more worthy, therefore, of veneration and homage, from those who have been children of sorrow like herself!” Oh! this is a fairer and holier picture of the loveliness of the Eternal City—possessing an interest more deep, more enduring, than the noblest relics of pagan piety, or pagan pride!

“Tanto più la vedrem, quanto più vale  
Sempiterna bellezza che mortale!”

’Tis in this light Rome is contemplated in the unpretending but very interesting volume before us.

“Do not expect from me,” says the author, “any learned disquisitions concerning the ancient and modern edifices; or a critical nomenclature of the statues and paintings which adorn her splendid halls and princely villas: for I am oftener to be found within the walls of some fast-decaying church, or moss-grown cloister, than in the museum or picture gallery. . . . Be content with the desultory observations of a solitary Catholic pilgrim, in the nineteenth century, upon the beautifully moral and religious features of this queen of cities; as they will not, I trust, to you appear altogether devoid of novelty or interest.”—pp. 1-2.

The volume, which is in the form of letters from a member of the Arcadian Academy, is obviously the production of a young and enthusiastic, though unpractised, writer; and, if it possess not the graces of composition which distinguish many of its rivals in the same field, there is a spirit in its very simplicity which makes us forget the writer in the engrossing interest of the new matter which he brings before us; and we may safely promise, that, to use his own modest language, there are few to whom the details “will appear altogether devoid of novelty or interest.”

For the present, we must confine ourselves to an account of the charitable institutions; and, to say truth, we can promise, within the limits of a single article, but a very imperfect outline of their object, extent, and resources. What Mr. Eustace says of Italy generally, is especially true of Rome :

“ No country exhibits more splendid examples of public benevolence, or furnishes more affecting instances of private charity. She has the honourable advantage of surpassing all the kingdoms of Europe in the number and magnificence of her charitable foundations. To describe these in detail would require a separate work of considerable extent: and it will be sufficient to inform the reader that there is no disease of body, no distress of mind, no visitation of Providence, to which the human form is liable, from its first appearance till its final deposition in the grave, which is not relieved with tenderness, and provided for, if beyond relief, with a prodigality of charity seldom witnessed elsewhere.”\*

This is literally true of the charities of Rome. It would be impossible to name a want for which provision has not been made. To protect helpless infancy and provide for decrepid age—to shield the innocent from temptation, and bring back the fallen from crime—to spare the blushes of ingenuous and shrinking poverty—to assist the tottering exertions of struggling merit, and repair the broken fortunes of honest, but unsuccessful, industry—to afford consolation and relief to the sick, the prisoner and the dying, and secure the honours and advantages of Christian burial for the dead,—such are the leading objects—branching out into a thousand details, of the comprehensive, the truly Catholic charity of Rome.

The work of Camillo Fanucci† upon this interesting subject, and the more recent compilation of Carlo Piazza‡ are seldom met with, and, indeed, however valuable as to the early history, of course can throw no light upon the present circumstances of the Roman institutions. But in the valuable work of Monsig. Morichini, the reader will find a full and satisfactory, though concise, account of them all. We shall use it as a text-book in the present article.

But before proceeding farther, we have a duty to perform, the discharge of which, however dull and uninteresting, we feel due to that cause of truth and justice to which our pages are devoted. The enemies of Catholicity have long held undisputed possession of the field of literature in England; and have used their time so industriously, that there is scarce

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\* *Classical Tour*, tom. iv. pp. 249-50. † Roma, 1601. ‡ Ibid. 1698.



one of its departments upon which a Catholic can enter without removing a mass of prejudice from his path. Anomalous as it may appear, it is so, even where, as in the present instance, the subject is charity. There is a class of writers in every department of literature, who, with Mr. Dugald Stewart, can imagine nothing good, save what bears the stamp of the Reformation; and who, like the cowardly or dishonest spies in the promised land, when they venture among the institutions of Catholicity, can see nothing but horrors. With such men it is a favourite charge, so often repeated, that it is now perhaps believed, that Europe owes all of good that she possesses—all her civilization—all her enlightenment—to this idol of their blind and exclusive adoration; and that the origin of all, or almost all, her charitable institutions—all her schemes of social improvement—is to be dated from that period. The charge is a serious one; because it would imply that the spirit of charity had been dormant or extinguished; and, while our hand is upon the subject of charity as connected with Rome, we need scarcely apologize for devoting a page or two to its examination.

Practical charity has ever been a distinguishing character of Christianity. In the earliest ages, as soon as the faithful obtained a footing in society, which enabled them to develop the working principles of their faith, the zeal and tenderness with which they discharged its offices drew upon them the eyes of the wondering pagans, to whom the theory was as novel as the practice. Hospitals, houses of refuge for worn and decrepid slaves, foundling asylums for the number of exposed children, were raised and endowed in every Church; and, when it is recollected, that, with the single exception of the free-schools founded by Trajan, there is no record of any public establishment among the pagans analogous to the charitable foundations of Christianity, we need not wonder to find the emperor Julian\* attributing the spread of Christianity to the zealous exertions of its members in the cause of benevolence and humanity. St. Epiphanius says, that the bishops everywhere founded retreats, “in which to place the maimed and the infirm, and supply them with the necessaries of life;”† and in the time of St. Augustine, the usage was old and long established.‡ But in the darkness and irreligion of the Middle

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\* Ep. 49, ad Arsacium Pontificem Galatiæ.

† Hær. lib. iii. Hær. 75, No. 1, p. 905. Paris, 1622.

‡ Aug. tom. iii. p. 538. Bened. Ed.



Age it is pretended this Christian spirit was forgotten; the pious foundations of early religion were converted to the interested uses of avaricious and hypocritical Churchmen; “the monastic institutions with which they were connected became the abodes of idleness, and were contaminated by extravagance and debauchery;”<sup>\*</sup> until the better spirit of reform, restoring the purity of early faith, brought back also the watchful tenderness of early charity.

A general vindication of this misrepresented age, would be foreign to our present purpose, as, under any circumstances, it is incompatible with our limits. A pittance of justice, tardy indeed and imperfect, has been rendered by a few recent continental writers, even of the Protestant party; and our own literature now furnishes, in Mr. Digby’s learned and valuable work, the “*Mores Catholici*,” rich and ample materials for the refutation of this, and the thousand other calumnies which so long enjoyed unquestioned currency.

In the examination of the present charge, we shall confine ourselves to the three or four centuries which preceded the Reformation; for in this period is the scene of the accusation laid; nor is it pretended that the Reformation originated, but simply that it revived, a spirit once active, which had been forgotten amid the corruption of those ages. Were we disposed to discuss the general question, running through the several countries of Europe, we might point to England, where the extent of charities connected with the religious houses, may be gathered from the enormous poor-rate, the acknowledged consequence of their suppression,<sup>†</sup> to the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, which connects the charities of the present day with the times of Charlemagne; to Spain, where at Seville alone, the revenues for the foundations for the poor, in the sixteenth century, exceeded seven millions of reals,<sup>‡</sup> (£70,000.) But our business is with the institutions of Rome; and in truth, in selecting the period named above, the reader will perceive that we labour at a great disadvantage. When it is recollected, that, during these centuries, Rome, torn by the contentions of the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, was the scene of civil dissension, revolution and bloodshed—that for seventy unhappy years, the popes having fixed their residence at Avignon, the eye of the pastor was withdrawn from

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<sup>\*</sup> *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, v. 12, p. 122.

<sup>†</sup> Blackstone, B. I. c. ix. §. vi. also B. iv. c. xxxiii. §. iv.

<sup>‡</sup> Biblioteca Española, Económico-Política, por D. Juan Sempere y Guarinos, Madrid, 1801.

immediate superintendence—it might scarcely be matter of surprise, that the call of charity should have been forgotten in the struggles of faction; and the distractions of party should have drawn away the public mind from the care of the peaceful offices of religion. What therefore will be the surprise of the reader, particularly if notions have been formed by the prejudiced standards of English literature, to trace, during this troubled and revolutionary period, the origin of the following munificent institutions, a long but not uninteresting catalogue?

1. *Archiospedale di S. Spirito* in Sassia, founded by Innocent the Third, in 1198. It is still extant. Howard speaks of it in the highest terms. At his first visit it contained 1015 patients, at his second 1103.

2. In connexion with this hospital, the *Pia Casa degli Espasti* was founded by the same Innocent. It is still in existence, and will be described hereafter. The institution having suffered considerably during the residence of the popes at Avignon, was built on a more splendid scale by Sixtus the Fourth, 1471.

3. *Archiospedale del S. S. Salvatore*, founded by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, in 1216. It is still extant.

4. *Archiospedale di S. Giacomo* in Augusta, founded in 1338, in pursuance of the will of the same munificent and charitable Cardinal. It was intended for surgical cases, and is used for the same purposes at the present day.

5. *S. Maria*, in Portico, founded towards the middle of the 11th century, during the disputed pontificate of Gregory the Sixth.

6. *S. Maria delle Grazie*, built in 1118, during the short reign of Gelasius the Second.

7. *S. Maria della Consolazione*, built in the reign of Calixtus the Third, about 1455. The revenues of these three were united by Alexander the Sixth, under the last title. It is still in a flourishing condition, capable of receiving 156 surgical cases.

8. *S. Maria dell' Orto*, founded by the joint exertions of thirteen confraternities of trades or professions, in 1258.

9. *S. Rocco*, built during the jubilee of 1500. It was originally intended for general purposes; but has since been converted into a lying-in hospital.

Besides these institutions, which were strictly public, there was a number of more private hospitals, for particular countries, or the members of particular trades or professions.

10. An hospital for Flemings, founded at a very early date. It was rebuilt by Robert Count of Flanders, in 1094.

11. *S. Maria di Monserrato*, opened for natives of the Spanish provinces, in the reign of Clement the Sixth, 1350.

12. *S. Giacomo* in Augusta, established during the jubilee of 1450, by a Spanish prelate, for the use of pilgrims of his own country. It is remarkable as having been the residence of St. Ignatius of Loyola, at his visit to Rome, when he meditated the formation of his illustrious order.

13. *S. Lorenzo*, in Miranda, built in the same year, 1450, by Cardinal Astorgio.

14. *S. S. Ambrogio e Carlo*, founded by some charitable Lombards, for the use of their poor countrymen, during the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth, about 1470. This name however, appears to have been given at a later period.

15. *S. Girolamo*, for Sclavonians, built in 1470.

16. *S. Luigi*, for French pilgrims; founded in 1478. It is still devoted to the same pious use.

17. *S. Maria dell' Anima*, established by a charitable Fleming, during the jubilee of 1500, for the use of German pilgrims. The name of the founder was Giovanni di Pietro.

18. *S. Maria* in Loreto, founded during the same year, 1500, by the confraternity of bakers, for the sick or disabled members of their trade. They employed the celebrated architect Bramante, in the erection of the church attached to the establishment. The hospital is still standing, and receives 14 patients.

19. *S. Stefano*, founded in 1528, by Clement the Seventh. As if to satisfy the world that neither clime nor colour guided the undistinguishing Catholic charity of Rome, it was opened by that benevolent but too short-lived pontiff, for the reception of Moors and Abyssinians.

In this enumeration we have abstained from particularizing a number of confraternities, pious associations, for purposes of charity and religion, which annually devoted large sums of money to the promotion of its holiest offices. One of these, founded at Rome in 1264, at the instance of St. Bonaventure, had for its object the redemption of captives from the Moors; others proposed to secure for the humbler classes legal protection and advice against the oppressions of the rich and powerful; some, as that of *S. Giovanni Decollato*, undertook the care of prisoners, and the preparation of criminals for death; others, as those of the *Gonfalone*, of *S. S. Annunziata*, of *S. Concezione*, of *S. Girolamo*, the instruction and

endowment of young females, whom the poverty or baseness of their friends might expose to danger. Most of these are still in existence; all were founded before the close of the fifteenth century; and were under the direction of religion in their progress, as well as in their origin. If to these we add the office of Almoner Apostolic, which has existed since the seventh century, to catch up, as it were, those cases of distress which may escape the multiplied vigilance of the other institutions, we need not fear to challenge, in the name of this calumniated city, even during times reputed its worst, a comparison with the most prosperous and enlightened communities of our own days, with all their boasted advantages of civilization and improvement.

But enough of this. Our apology for this dull, but we feel not unsatisfactory, disquisition, must be the injustice of the prejudice which calls it forth. We turn with pleasure to the interesting volumes upon our table.

On the hospitals it is unnecessary to dwell. From the description of one or two, the character of all may be collected.

“*L'Archiospedale di San Spirito* in Sassia, is the first in extent and celebrity of the Roman hospitals; and occupies the site of the old Saxon school, or asylum built by King Ina, for the reception of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, in the eighth century. Towards the end of the twelfth century, long after the destruction of the Saxon establishment by fire, during the conflagration of Brigo, which Raffaele has immortalized on the walls of the Vatican, another hospital was erected on the same spot for more general purposes, by Innocent the Third. The same pontiff also erected the adjoining church. This church however was again rebuilt by Paul the Third, according to a new architectural design of San Gallo, in the year 1558. The hospital also was, in great measure, rebuilt by Sixtus the Fourth, in the fifteenth century. Innocent the Eighth, Paul the Third, Gregory the Thirteenth, and Benedict the Fourteenth, successively made considerable additions to the building. Pius the Sixth also constructed a new wing on the opposite side of the street. The principal wing of this hospital stands on the right bank of the Tiber; and notwithstanding the motley and irregular plans adopted in the structure of its different compartments, it presents withal, in the *ensemble*, a not unmajestic appearance.

“The twelve wards of the hospital are capable of containing 3000 beds; though not above half that number are usually required.

In all Catholic countries, hospitals for the sick are con-

structed so as to allow the patient in each bed to see the chapel, or altar of his ward, wherein mass is daily celebrated. Thus the bed-ridden have the consolation to assist at the august rites of their holy religion, until the last moment of their lives.

The altar, situate in the centre of the principal ward of San Spirito, is much admired as a beautiful object of art. It was designed by the Vitruvius of Italy, Palladio, while a student, and is said to be the only specimen of his architectural style extant in Rome. The altar piece in the same ward, representing the patience of Job, covered with ulcers, upon his dunghill, was painted by Carlo Maratta. The principal ward, whereof the walls are adorned with frescos, paintings, and inscriptions, allusive to some of the pontifical and imperial benefactors of the hospital, also contains a fine organ, which is occasionally played for the recreation of the sick.

“In *San Spirito* every sick person of the male sex, whatever be his age, country, or religion, is received without recommendation among the patients. As soon as he recovers his health sufficiently, he is sent off to the Trinity hospital for convalescents.”—*Reminiscences*, pp. 179-80-81.

The following anecdote is not unworthy of the brightest days of Christian piety. “A remarkable instance occurred, to my recollection, during the pontificate of Leo the Twelfth. This pontiff, so noted for his vigilance over the conduct of his ministers, in every department of public administration, used to enquire into every disorder, and listen to every complaint. Suspecting that all was not right in San Spirito, His Holiness, followed by a few confidential attendants in disguise, unexpectedly made his appearance at the hospital about two hours after midnight, on the 25th June, 1825. The Pope, while hastily examining the different wards, perceived that one of the poor patients was nearly at the point of death, without a single resident clergyman being in attendance, as in duty bound, at all hours of the day and night, to administer the sacraments to the dying. His Holiness, in consequence, immediately dispatched one of his own chaplains for the viaticum, and in the meantime placed himself alongside the dying man, to hear his confession, and to impart to him those consolations which religion alone is capable of affording to the Christian spirit in his last agonizing struggle with the devil, the world, and the flesh. Ere long the news of so unexpected a visitor's arrival had spread with the rapidity of lightning, and you may imagine better than I can describe, the stir which it made

among the healthy and slumbering guardians of the hospital. The zealous Pontiff, however, did not desist from his pious undertaking, until he had comforted the departing soul with the bread of eternal life.”—pp. 183-4.

The revenues of the hospital considerably exceed 100,000 Roman crowns. “Six head physicians and four surgeons visit the patients twice a day, independently of as many ‘sostetute,’ or assistant physicians, and about one hundred servants, constantly residing on the spot.

“The medium number of patients annually received into the hospital of S. Spirito, is calculated by Morichini at 12,000.\* For the spiritual assistance of the sick, besides the canons and chaplains resident in the hospital, all the monastic communities of Rome are obliged to send, by turns, two priests of their order to minister to the ghostly wants of the infirm. Many of the lay confraternities also, as I remarked in a former letter, come on Sundays with presents and sweetmeats for the sick, in this, as well as the other public hospitals, and endeavour to comfort and console the desponding and friendless, to the best of their power.”—pp. 182-3.

In connexion with this hospital is the Spedale della SS. Trinità, for convalescents, to which the patients are transferred, as soon as they are able to bear the fatigue of removal. It was founded “about the middle of the sixteenth century, by St. Philip Neri. Later, Pope Clement the Twelfth made considerable additions to the building, which contains refectories and dormitories for the accommodation of about 1000 guests at a time. . . . The number of convalescents annually received into the Trinity Hospital, is about 15,000, whereof, at present, military invalids form a no small portion. For the maintenance of the latter, the government pays to the hospital for each invalid, at the rate of fourteen bajacchi, or sevenpence, per diem. The hospital is also endowed with property valued at 18,000 crowns per annum, which is vested in the hands of trustees, appointed by the arch-confraternity, “della SS. Trinità de’ Pelegrini e Convalescenti,”—a charitable society already noticed in one of my former letters.”—p. 189.

The delicacy with which the patients are treated in the lying-in hospital of S. Rocco, might be copied, with great advantage, in some of our own, to say the least, far less considerable establishments.

“The Archiospedale di S. Rocco, was originally founded for feverous patients of both sexes, by a charitable confrater-

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\* In the year 1832, the number was 15,524.

nity, during the jubilee of the year 1500. Later, Cardinal Salviati endowed it for the reception of poor lying-in women. Since the year 1770, it has been exclusively devoted to the use of the latter. In this hospital, which is exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction, the greatest secrecy is observed . . . No questions are ever put respecting the name, country, or condition, of the pregnant women who apply for admission, and they are allowed to keep their faces covered with a veil, in order not to be recognised, if they think proper, even by the servants of the hospital. The children born here, are usually sent, immediately after birth, with a sign given by the mother, to the large foundling asylum at S. Spirito.

“As no names are ever asked for or given, the entries are registered merely by numbers. During ten years, according to Morichini’s calculation, of nearly two thousand patients who were admitted into this establishment, not more than twelve died in child-bed, although surgical operations are found to be necessary, in cases of difficulty, for about five in every hundred.”—pp. 194-5.

The total number of hospitals in Rome, is twenty-two\*—some open to the sick without any distinction, save that of sex,† others intended for the members of particular trades, or the natives of particular countries. In the management of all, the visitor will observe the same liberality—the same tender and delicate solicitude for the feelings, no less than the health of the patient. No question as to the circumstances of the applicant—no demand for a recommendation from governor or subscriber—the doors of S. Spirito are open to every one who needs relief,—Roman or foreigner,—Catholic or unbeliever. Every want, spiritual and temporal, is relieved; and though it be a trifling, it is no unequivocal, mark of the tenderness with which they are treated, that, opposite one of the great hospitals, which looks upon a crowded thoroughfare, a chain is drawn across the street at night, to secure the rest of the patients from disturbance. Not content with the perfunctory, and often unfeeling, attendance of a paid servant, the hospitals are served, in addition, by confraternities of humble and devout Christians, of either sex, as the case may be, with whom the duty is a labour of love; “who devote themselves voluntarily to that laborious and disgusting task; and perform it with a tenderness and delicacy, which personal attachment, or the still

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\* Morichini, prefaz. pp. 11-12.

† SS. Salvatore is exclusively for females.



more active and disinterested principle of Christian charity, is alone capable of inspiring.\* And, that no want may be unprovided—no source of consolation left untried—the sick and friendless stranger is received in an hospital of his own nation—attended by his own countrymen—visited by clergy and religious of his own people—where he feels that he is not quite an outcast; and, in the consoling attentions of those, who remind him of the home he loves, is beguiled into a momentary forgetfulness of the fear that he must close his eyes in a foreign land.

The hospitals, however, munificent as are their arrangements, form but a small section of the charities of Rome. Upon these, therefore, we shall not dwell, nor shall we stay to describe the lunatic-asylums, the houses of industry, the houses of correction, the penitentiaries, nor the numberless orphan-institutions, because, although there is scarce one of these, which has not something peculiar in its management, still, in their general features, they are common to the principal towns of our own country.

The second part of M. Morichini's work is devoted to a class of asylums, called *Ospizi*, which, in their object, and their management, are more interesting, and more peculiar. Among these, two—the *Pia casa degli Esposti in S. Spirito*, and the *Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele*, are the most remarkable.

The Foundling-hospital of San Spirito is by far the most ancient in Europe, having been opened by Innocent III, in 1198. The number of children which it maintains, amounts to nearly 2,000.† The infants, as in the foundling-hospitals at home, are sent out to nurse. But, after the age of six or seven, unless, as frequently occurs, adopted by the nurses, who contract an affection for them, they are all brought up in the establishment. The young men, besides receiving the rudiments of a solid education, are instructed in some useful trade; and, at the age of twenty-one, are placed at their own disposal, if not provided with situations; receiving a sum of money sufficient to purchase the necessary implements of their trade. The females, on the contrary, are kept under the protection of the institution, until they marry, or devote themselves to a religious life. They receive from the funds of the house, a dowry of one hundred Roman crowns. There is something of primitive simplicity about the manner in which the foundling is admitted to the hospital.

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\* Eustace, torn. iv. pp. 152-3.

† Morichini. pp. 97-8.

“ Beside the entrance is a revolving cylinder, large enough to admit of an infant’s being placed upon a mattress which is within. A bell, which tinkles at the slightest motion of the cylinder, gives notice of its having been deposited ; and the youth, whose turn it is to have charge of the watch, instantly hastens to carry it to the nursery. More commonly, however, the infant, instead of being placed in the cylinder, is carried direct to the office ; where the officer, who takes the child, returns a written certificate of its having been deposited. If the bearer have no difficulty, as to the name and parentage, all these are registered ; otherwise, simply the year, month, day, and hour, are noted. The mistress of the nursery examines the infant carefully, to discover whether there be any papers, or particular marks, as coins, ribbons, medals, &c., which might lead to its recognition ; all these are carefully noted. If there be not a certificate of baptism, the child is baptized, conditionally, in the church attached to the hospital.”—*Morichini*, p. 88.

The Ospizio Apostolico di San Michele, in its first institution, was an emanation of the active and enterprising mind of Sixtus the Fifth, though, since his time, it has undergone great alterations. It is a vast establishment, comprising almost every possible object of charitable benevolence—affording to the aged and infirm, comfort and repose in their declining years—to the young and friendless, security against the manifold dangers incidental to their youth and destitution. We would gladly translate the full, and extremely interesting history of the establishment given (p. 102-120) by Morichini, who is its vice-president. But we must be content with the brief and imperfect account which we find in Letter the Eleventh of the *Reminiscences*.

“ Among the numerous institutions for ameliorating both the moral and physical condition of the Roman poor, none stands more pre-eminent than the Ospizio Apostolico di San Michele, situate near Ripa Grande, on the banks of the Tiber. In this vast establishment, nearly 1000 individuals, both old and young, of both sexes, are maintained. The Ospizio is divided into four grand sections. In the first, about one hundred and twenty old men are received ; and the second is appropriated for the reception of a greater number of poor aged females. . . In the third division, two hundred and fifty boys receive an excellent religious and moral education ; besides being brought up to some useful trade or profession ; such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, weavers, sculptors, painters, &c. Those who display a particular taste for the fine arts, are also instructed in profane and sacred history, chemistry, anatomy, architecture, engraving, tapestry-weaving, &c. The studio of this last-named branch of art, cultivated here, is founded on the model of the Gobelin establishment at Paris, and is, I believe, the only one existing in Italy.”

The Ospizio di S. Michele is possessed of a museum and a printing-office. From the latter, some fine editions of standard works occasionally appear.\* The former contains an extensive collection of antique models, medals, cameos, engravings, &c. Here, as well as in the different factories of the establishment, an annual exhibition takes place of all the objects of industry and art, executed by the Alumni during the preceding year. The Pope himself, in order to encourage and reward the meritorious, not unfrequently honours the Ospizio with a visit on these occasions. . . .

“ The fourth division of St. Michael’s Hospital is allotted to an asylum for two hundred and forty poor girls, who are gratuitously instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, weaving, music, and other useful domestic arts, becoming their condition in life.”

The children, of both sexes, are admitted into the Ospizio about the age of ten; and are maintained until the age of twenty. The young men are then considered capable of providing for themselves; and receive, at their departure, a sum of money sufficient to purchase the necessary implements of their trade or profession. The young women are kept in the asylum, until suitable situations, or husbands, are provided for them, and then they become entitled to a present of one hundred crowns, as a wedding portion.

The children, as soon as they arise, and assemble for prayer, every morning, sing together that beautiful and appropriate Psalm, “ *Laudate Pueri Dominum.*” Among other practices of piety, it is customary for the whole establishment to perform a series of religious exercises upon the most important truths of religion, during a spiritual retreat of several days, as a preparation for worthily approaching the sacraments at Easter. In fine, the spiritual and temporal wants of the poor are here attended to in a liberal manner, worthy of Rome, the centre of Christianity.

“ Pope Innocent the Twelfth, if not the founder, may, perhaps, be considered as the principal benefactor of the Ospizio di San Michele. He it was who united the four communities under one roof, which, with the additions that have been since made by Clement the Eleventh, and Pius the Sixth, now covers an area of about half a mile in circumference. The same Pope, it is said, visited the Ospizio no less than sixty-four times during his Pontificate; and, on one of these occasions, he left a donation of 100,000 crowns. His munificent example has been recently imitated by his present Holiness, Gregory the Sixteenth.”—pp. 198-203.

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\* The work of M. Morichini is a highly creditable specimen of their skill.

The boys educated in the third division of San Michele are orphans, principally the children of Roman parents. There are three other establishments in the city for the same benevolent purpose: S. Maria in Acquiro, La Madonna degli Angeli, and Tata Giovanni. The origin of the last-named is somewhat remarkable.

“It was first opened by a poor unlettered bricklayer, named Giovanni Borgi, towards the end of the last century. Tata, in Italian, is synonymous with the well-known familiar denomination which children in England give to their parents; and as these poor outcasts naturally looked up to this kind individual, who had preserved them from misery and starvation, as their father, they always designated him as such; so that Daddy John is, in plain English, the literal translation of Tata Giovanni, the appellation whereby this Roman asylum for orphans is now publicly known.”—pp. 210-11.

The division set apart for the young female orphans of San Michele, is called the Conservatorio di S. Giovanni. It is one of a numerous and truly admirable class of institutions, which have long been in existence at Rome, and are almost peculiar, even in principle, to that city—asylums of female honour, where the young and friendless are shielded from the wiles of the destroyer, and are formed to the early knowledge of love and virtue. How many hundreds of those wretched daughters of shame, who throng the streets of our cities, would have been preserved from misery and crime, if some such friendly institution had opened its saving doors to receive them in their hour of trial! The following will furnish some idea of their nature and management:—

“The Conservatorio della Divina Provvidenza, although not the most ancient, is, however, one of the largest and most respectable of these institutions. It was first founded in the year 1674, by a Roman priest, named Papaceti, near the Benedictine Nunnery of Tor di Specchi. Pope Clement the Tenth, shortly after, transferred this conservatory to a more ample and commodious residence, adjoining the Church of S. Orsola, at Ripetta, on the banks of the Tiber. At one time about two hundred poor girls were gratuitously educated and maintained in this establishment, though at present, I believe, the *alumnæ* do not exceed half that number. The profit of their labour is all their own. The regular inmates wear a uniform dress, consisting of a black serge gown, with a shawl, bonnet, and veil of the same colour. Whenever they walk out, they are obliged to go in parties, of five at least, together. If they wish to quit the asylum, in order to get married, or become nuns, they receive for their dowry a present of one hundred crowns.”—pp. 214-15.

The number of young females to whom the benefits of this and eleven similar institutions, are extended, may appear incredible.

“ Fourteen hundred is the average number of marriages that occur in Rome during the year ; and of these not less than 1,100 receive a pecuniary subsidy from some pious foundation or other. One hundred crowns is now the maximum awarded at one time, though, in favour of some candidates, dowries are allowed to accumulate to the amount of five hundred crowns. The sum total distributed in this way, before the French revolutionary government interfered, annually amounted to 160,000 crowns ! For the special purpose before-mentioned, the Arch-confraternity della Santissima Annunziata, was also instituted by the wealthy Cardinal Torrecremeta in 1460. Leo the Tenth was a great benefactor to this institution ; and Urban the Seventh made it, by his last will, sole heir to his private property.

“ Formerly, on Lady Day, this society alone endowed 400 young women, to each of whom it gave the sum of sixty crowns, with a suit of clothes and a pair of sandals. At present, however, owing to its revenues having been greatly reduced in the late political vicissitudes, the “ Annunziata ” cannot annually provide for more than about 100 candidates. It is usual to conduct the latter in procession to the Dominican Church di S. Maria sopra Minerva, whither the Pope goes in state, on the 25th of March, the festival of the Annunciation, and from his throne distributes to each candidate a purse containing the customary jointure.”—pp. 59-60.

But our sheets are filling fast ; and we must be content with a very few additional extracts. Within the last few years a plan of charitable loans has been introduced into many of the towns of Ireland, professedly upon the model of the Monte di Pietà at Rome. It is a foundation of great antiquity ; and it may surprise the declaimers against the Middle Age, “ the most melancholy blank, which occurs from the first dawn of civilization, in the intellectual and moral history of the human race,”\* to find one of its familiar institutions adopted with success, after an interval of centuries, in this age of social improvement.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, the system spread itself generally through the Papal states. The first Monte seems to have been founded at Perugia. But that at Orvieto received the Papal sanction in 1464, and that at Viterbo in 1471. We find it, a few years later, in other parts of Italy,

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\* Diss. on the progress of Moral and Metaphysical Science. Pref. to *Encyc. Brit.* by Dugald Stewart, p. 14.

in Savona, Cesena and Bologna. The benevolent object was to protect the poor from the merciless and arbitrary extortions of money lenders; supplying them gratuitously with small loans; and for larger sums requiring only so much interest, as barely sufficed to pay the expenses of the establishment. The present Monte di Pietà in Rome was founded by Father Giovanni Calvo, and solemnly sanctioned by Paul the Third in 1539.

“ Its funds and magazines were gradually increased and enlarged by the munificence of Gregory the Thirteenth, Sixtus the Fifth, Clement the Eighth, and other Pontiffs, under whose auspices the Roman Monte di Pietà attained to an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Notwithstanding the severe losses it has sustained during the late revolutionary vicissitudes, the Monte di Pietà has still a capital of several millions. On depositing furniture, wearing apparel, or any other pledge, small sums are lent, to the amount of four crowns; for larger sums, about two per cent. interest is exacted. The certificates must be renewed, at present, after the expiration of seven months; otherwise the unredeemed pledges are publicly sold by auction, in the presence of deputies appointed for the purpose. The surplus, however, if any remains, is reserved for the proprietor, who may claim it at any future period. Upon these securities it is calculated that about 250,000 crowns are constantly kept in circulation among the poor of the city.”—pp. 218-19.

We have already alluded to the office of Almoner Apostolic. It is an admirable supplement to the fixed and certain provision secured by the public institutions.

“ This office has existed ever since the seventh century, when it was established by Pope Conon, who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 680. Besides supporting elementary schools for both sexes, in different wards of the city, medicaments and medical advice are gratuitously provided by the Papal Almonry for bashful paupers, who are ashamed to apply to the public hospitals for relief. The almoner, who keeps a list of this class of persons, appoints deputies to see them properly attended at their own homes.”—pp. 177-8.

“ The city is divided into eleven sections, called *visite*. Each section comprises two, three, four, or five parishes. Eleven pious and charitable ecclesiastics preside over the sections, and are called visitors. There are ten surgeons and eleven physicians in the service of the Almonry; one surgeon having two of the wards under his charge. There is, besides, a medical inspector, whose duty it is to see that the treatment is properly regulated, and to examine the medicines. There are, besides, three lithotomists, and ten dispensaries in the different sections, two of these being supplied by one dispensary.”—*Morichini*, p. 80.



The amount of alms distributed by his Holiness, which has been reduced fully one-half since the French invasion, is still calculated at 50,000 crowns. On the anniversary of his coronation, and on the principal festivals, there is a distribution of alms to the poor, at the Vatican palace. In quoting from Evelyn a description of one of these distributions, which occurred in 1643, Lady Morgan,\* with her characteristically flip-pant inaccuracy, rates the *mezzo-grosso* at half a farthing, *exactly one-tenth* of its real value!

A long and extremely interesting chapter (the 4th) of the "Reminiscences," is devoted to the Roman confraternities. There is something truly Christian in these pious and humble associations, which level all distinctions of rank, merging completely the personal character of the individual in the common relation of servant of God and of religion. The unreflecting traveller may pass them by, the bigot may indulge a sneer at them, as part of the superstition which he visits only to despise, but to the Catholic pilgrim they are fraught with interest. The origin of many still in existence is lost in remote antiquity. The members of the *Archi-Confraternità della Morte*, in Rome, are identified in spirit with the pious men, who, in the days of Constantine, remembering the example of Tobias, formed themselves into a society for the purpose of burying the dead, with all the honours and solemnities of religion.†

The spirit of pious association has ever been characteristic of the Catholic religion; and to the holy emulation in the practice of piety, the truly Christian rivalry in the offices of virtue, the ever active enterprise in the cause of charity and benevolence, which it never failed to excite and to keep alive, society, civil as well as religious, is indebted for many of its fairest and most valued institutions. It would be difficult to imagine any office of charity which has not been undertaken by these admirable associations. Many of them, as we have seen, visit and serve the sick in the several hospitals throughout the city; others undertake the care of the prisons and the penitentiaries; some have the especial charge of those who are condemned for capital crimes; others the relief of poor debtors, and the pious duty of arranging their difficulties; one seeks out and relieves the modest wants of those who "to dig are unable; to beg, ashamed;" another provides gratuitous legal advice, and advocacy for those who are unable to prosecute their just rights, or defend themselves from unjust aggression. And in

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\* Lady Morgan's *Italy*, v. ii, p. 391.

† Baronius, *Tom. iii.* 399, ad annum 336.



all, it is impossible not to be struck by that tender and delicate consideration for the feelings of the unhappy, which should ever be the handmaid of charity, without which commiseration is mockery, alms-deeds insult or ostentation. What, for example, could be more truly kind and more delicately compassionate than the plan adopted by the members of the S.S. Apostoli? "To facilitate the means of timid poverty making itself known, without suffering unnecessary humiliation, in some of the central churches of the city may be found a species of letter-box, wherein those who stand in need of assistance insert a written statement of their case, as well as their address. Once a week, a select committee is appointed to open this box, and deputies are then sent to examine into, and relieve the wants of the suppliants." What a contrast with the unfeeling coarseness of our English workhouse; or the parade of our "poor-shops," and our lady visitants!

The fourth part of M. Morichini's work regards those institutions, in which the best and most lasting charity is dispensed—the blessing of a moral and religious education. It would be impossible to go into the details of the several departments. The general system is susceptible of improvement, in some particulars, which are pointed out with great judgment by M. Morichini. But the reader may form his own notions of the care and efficiency with which education is conducted at Rome, from the fact, that there are within the city no less than 372 primary or elementary schools! The public competition for the prize of catechetical knowledge, is an extremely interesting exhibition; the reader will find the account at pp. 58-9.

Such is an outline, brief of necessity, and unsatisfactory as to details, of the works of charity in the centre of Catholic unity—engines of incalculable power in the moral and religious improvement of society, not the offspring of a passing necessity, or an impulse of transient benevolence, but a portion of a steady and systematic scheme, whose silent and unostentatious machinery has been executing its work for centuries, that work of love, which our Redeemer came upon earth to teach mankind. Institutions elsewhere unknown, have been long familiar here. Plans of benevolence, which have just been set in operation in these countries, at Rome have had their utility tested by the trying experience of centuries. The Monte di Pietà, here but of one or two years standing, at Rome dates from the fifteenth century. "Asylums for the houseless poor," affording shelter during the night to the otherwise unprovided, have been introduced with great advantage, for

the last winter or two, in Glasgow, and perhaps one or two of the larger cities. At Rome, they have been open (S. Galla, and S. Luigi,) for nearly two hundred years. "Rome," says Morichini, "the centre of that holy religion which inspires charity, gave to Europe the first and brightest examples of its practice; and, while the latter was almost entirely wrapt in darkness and barbarism, Rome established retreats for the indigent sick, asylums for the widow and the maiden, institutions for the wretched orphan and foundling; demonstrating by facts that civilization is the daughter of Evangelical virtue. It was a pontiff who, in the twelfth century, opened the first foundling asylum; a pontiff instituted, at the Ospizio Apostolico, the first school of arts; the popes, in fine, first taught the world, by their public works, that to the able-bodied poor, the best charity is employment."

Ages have passed away, revolution has followed revolution, the political relations of Rome have been altered, almost reversed; but her moral and religious character is unchanged. Here still is she the mistress of nations, here alone do we fail to recognize the truth of the pathetic lamentation:—

"Non è più come era prima!"

She has laid up a patrimony for the poor to which there is no parallel elsewhere; and, although the political revolutions have diminished it to a great extent, the revenues of charity still mount above 764,000 Roman crowns.\* A truly surprising sum, if we consider all the circumstances; the diminished revenues of the Pontiff, the scanty resources of the impoverished nobility, the absence or stagnation of commerce, and, perhaps more than all, the rude rapacity of revolutionary France.

———"Fatal have her Saturnalia been  
To freedom's cause in every age and clime!"

But the amount of money expended would be a very sordid standard by which to estimate the charity of a people. It is the spirit, the genius, of the system we prize; not the cold political calculations of a selfish economy, but the generous outpourings of Christian charity, warm from the heart, teaching the benefactor to forget that he confers the favour, and soothing the sufferer by the consoling thought that it is a brother, not a superior, who ministers to his sorrows.

And yet this is the people whose character we have, from infancy, been taught to regard as frivolous and heartless!

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\* Morichini, Prefazione, xxxviii.

whose religion, we are told, is but idle pomp and ceremonial ! This is the country, which the British tourist visits but to calumniate, whose hospitality he courts but to betray ! This is the city, whose character Lord Byron, with all his vaunted liberality, was content to describe at second-hand as “once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lying sunk in sloth, ignorance and poverty, enslaved to the most cruel, as well as the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition, and religious imposture.”\*

But let this pass. On the contemptible illiberality of those who purvey for the prejudices of the reading public in England, we have already spoken ;† nor shall we trust ourselves to speak again. Fully satisfied with this plain statement of the truth, we leave it to produce its own impression. In opposition to their pages of sweeping declamation, their paragraphs of wholesale slander, we place the simple facts recorded above, interesting to all, to the Protestant as well as the Catholic, to every lover of his kind.

Nor is its language equivocal. “As to hospitals, lazaretti, and other charitable institutions,” says a German and a Protestant,‡ “it must be owned that the Protestant countries cannot come in competition with those of the Romish persuasion.” By this decision we must stand. If the religion which teaches this, be “idle pomp and vain ceremonial,” if the humble but ardent men who give their lives to its cause, be the “miserable drones of an execrable superstition,”§ if the charitable care of institutions bequeathed by the benevolence of their fathers be “superstition,” and the piety which animates them all, “religious imposture,” then alas ! we must plead guilty for our fellow-religionists in Italy ; “for the traveller who contemplates the unwearied exertions of so many individuals, united for such noble purposes, will be obliged to acknowledge, that in no country has charity assumed so many forms, or tried so many arts to discover and assuage the complicated varieties of human misery.”||

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\* Childe Harold, Canto iv. Stanza cviii. note.

† Vol. i. 460.

‡ Keysler, Band i. s. 336.

§ Childe Harold, Canto iii. Stanza c. note.

|| Eustace iv. 254. ;

ART. V.—1. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* Vols. 15 to 40. New Series. London. 1833-38.

2. *The Mirror of Parliament.* Edited by John Henry Barrow, Esq. Vols. 18 to 36. London. 1833-38.

**I**N a former number we offered some comments on the present state of oratory in the hereditary branch of the Legislature, and we proceed at once to fulfil the promise we there made, of considering the oratorical merits of the members of the House of Commons—the great school for British eloquence. Here many of the orators now in the Upper House achieved their first success; here have been witnessed the greatest efforts of the most eloquent men of an age now passed; here Burke, and Pitt, and Fox, and Wyndham, and Sheridan, shone pre-eminent; and here, after the Union, Grattan—fit representative of a “nation of orators”—maintained the undisputed station, which he had acquired in the parliament of his native isle; nor will the force of Irish eloquence cease to be felt, whilst the debates in the Imperial Parliament are participated in by an O’Connell and a Shiel.

The natural consequence of a popular representative assembly is an abundance of oratorical attempts; many are the trials, few are the triumphs. The first attempt is generally decisive; although some members, like single-speech Hamilton, rest contented with a successful début; whilst others, like Sheridan and Mr. Robinson (now Lord Ripon) overcome, by study and perseverance, a partial failure; and ultimately attain, if not eminence, at least a good station, among parliamentary debaters. After all, however, the proportion of public speakers in the Lower House is not large, the majority of the members, following Scribe’s delicate advice to prudent dramatic authors,\* maintain within the walls a not unbecoming silence.

How pleasant would be a chapter on parliamentary failures; how curious would it be to mark the difference between the anticipations formed of new members and their subsequent efforts; how interesting to discover the reasons why persons

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\* “Auteurs, qui voulez au Parnasse  
 Briller au nombre des élus,  
 Pour avoir la première place  
 Pour voir vos rivaux confondus;  
 Pour que des plumes indiscrètes  
 Ne puissent trouver le moyen  
 De critiquer ce que vous faites,  
 Ne faites rien;  
 Auteurs prudents, ne faites rien.”

entering the House with high characters for eloquence, have not fulfilled the expectation of their friends ; how entertaining to note the variance between the pompous announcements, which ushered in a D'Israeli or a Borthwick, and the opinions now formed of their powers ! But such an inquiry would be foreign to our purpose.

As in the Lords so in the House of Commons, the leaders of the two great parties which divide the State are deficient in many of the qualities that are necessary for the formation of a perfect orator. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell are both cunning of fence, and quick in detecting the weak parts of an adversary's argument ; each is a ready debater and a good scholar, but each wants imagination ; in each there is little force, and in neither can we discover keen wit and beautiful metaphor, or perfect power of declamation coupled with argument.

Sir ROBERT PEEL is, perhaps, one of the most perfect debaters that ever sat in Parliament or ever led a party ; he thoroughly understands the peculiar prejudices and passions of the audience whom he addresses, and his whole aim seems to be to work upon those passions, not by an appeal to their reason or by aid of their intellect, but by means of their prejudices ; he essays not an appearance of argument, except such as accords with the preconceived notions of a vast portion of his hearers ; his chief object is not to convince by the force of his argument and the soundness of his deductions, but to find for his followers plausible reasons for their conduct ; and in this he is eminently successful. It is probably the consequence of the possession and great cultivation of these inferior qualities, that we find the absence of those higher powers in which he is deficient. For enlarged and statesmanlike views, in vain may we search his addresses ; amidst the war of words, with difficulty can we pick out a general principle. He expends his strength in endeavouring to break down or fritter away the outworks of his opponents' positions, and not unfrequently leaves the stronghold untouched, and even unapproached ; rarely do we find him establishing or maintaining with common dexterity an independent position. Well read, however, in history, and possessing much acquaintance with classical literature, he applies his knowledge in such a manner as may best suit his purpose for the moment, and he expresses himself chastely, often elegantly. At the same time, no man can deliver common-place observations with a more pompous or a more absurdly laughable air ; he practises also all the clap-traps to which the most

inferior speaker has recourse, to draw down upon his efforts the approving cheers of his backers, and appears contented if he elicit their applauses, although he may not carry along with him the feelings of the House, and though he cause not one person to doubt his foregone conclusions. Occasionally he makes some attempt at wit, but so uncongenial is this to his nature, and so little master of this style is he, that he provokes only ridicule. This failing was particularly marked in the debate on the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill, on 8th February 1837, when, speaking of the Marquis of Normanby's exercise of the royal prerogative of mercy, during his tour in Ireland, in releasing several prisoners, Sir Robert Peel enumerated the only precedents for such a course with which he was acquainted. Having referred to George the Fourth's visit to Scotland, when similar releases were made, Sir Robert proceeded thus absurdly :

“ There is one other precedent, by-the-bye, which I can remember, and perhaps the noble lord may recollect it. It is a dramatic one. It is in a farce well-known to honourable members, by the name of ‘ *Tom Thumb*.’ If I recollect rightly, and I hope the right hon. baronet, who quotes so well the works of ‘ *Janus Vitanus*,’ will correct me if I am wrong in my quotation (though it is not from a classical authority)—if I recollect rightly, the King and Lord Grizzle appear upon the stage, and the King says, ‘ Rebellion now is dead ; I’ll go to breakfast,’ and in order to illustrate the auspicious event, he immediately adds, ‘ Open the prison doors—turn the captives out, and let our treasurer advance a guinea to pay their several debts.’ ”

Sir Robert Peel, however, though not unfrequently ridiculous himself, is peculiarly happy in ridiculing the failures of other members. Nearly all his opponents quail beneath the infliction, and he almost overwhelms them by his sneers at their labours and by the merriment which he excites at their expense. Thus happy was he, when he described Mr. Ward during one of his Appropriation speeches : “ I watched the course of the hon. member, and saw him, with great pain to himself, oppressed no doubt with the weight of his own arguments, floundering, with Bacon in one hand, and four or five equal authorities in the other, in the middle of that bog, from which he never emerged whilst I remained in the House ;” again, when he said of Mr. Poulter, “ If gentlemen will come down to discuss questions in this House, loaded (as the member for Shaftesbury professed himself to be) with all the hoarded wisdom that has been accumulating from the time of

Noah to the very moment, by the clock, when they themselves rise to speak, they must expect to meet the fate which has befallen the hon. member for St. Alban's, and to be engulfed in the same bog." In some few debates, also, Sir Robert Peel is animated, entertaining, and eloquent, but even then he scarcely rises beyond this point. His best speech was delivered on 2d April 1835, whilst he still held office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in opposition to Lord John Russell's Irish Church resolutions, which, on being carried, turned out the ministry. We cannot illustrate the good parts of Sir Robert's style better, than by quoting this speech. Having described three courses which might be pursued to settle this *veraxa questio*, Sir Robert continued:

"What is the fourth course? The course which the noble lord, the member for Devonshire, proposes, the fatal course of superadding to religious dissensions the dissensions of conflicting pecuniary interests—of leaving nothing settled—of establishing nothing with respect to the amount of an assumed surplus—of laying down no principle by which either the amount or application of that surplus can be determined—of contenting yourselves (and this you call a permanent settlement of the question!) with asserting an unprofitable right to apply an imaginary surplus to an unexplained purpose. I should have thought the wit of man could have devised nothing more effectual than this, for adding to the confusion which prevails in Ireland. But I was mistaken. You have not only adopted the mischievous course, but you have yourselves proved the folly of it. You have proposed one plan and argued for another. You have attempted to prove that you ought to destroy the predominance of the Church, and you leave it, with curtailed revenue indeed, but with preponderance untouched. You shrink from acting on your own principles; you forget your own arguments; you invite us to take up a position, which those arguments prove to be untenable. You tell the people of Ireland, not only that you will not determine the amount of the excess of the revenues of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, but also that you cannot indicate by what test it shall be decided. You leave it dependent on the will of any government—you leave it dependent on the discretion of any man; all you say, is, that if there be a surplus, about which you are not certain, you will apply it to an object which you will not explain. Your attempts to modify your own resolution, and diminish its danger, only throw in new elements of confusion. If Protestantism increase, you reserve the right to make additional provision for the Protestant establishment; that is to say, you tell the Roman-catholics that they shall have a direct pecuniary interest in preventing the increase of that party, which has (in the words of hon. members opposite) exercised tyranny over them; that they shall have now an



opportunity of revenging themselves for their past wrongs, by preventing the spread of that religion, through the extension of which their share in the public spoil shall be diminished. Surely Ireland is convulsed enough already—

‘ There hot and cold, and moist and dry,  
Contend alike for mastery.’

“ But,” (turning towards Lord J. Russell) “ you throw chaos in ! You, who professed yourself unable to determine the question until you got farther information—you, who appointed commissioners, not to inquire into statistical details merely, but expressly into the bearings of the Church establishment in Ireland, upon the religious and moral welfare of the country, you would not wait till you received the report of your own commissioners—until you could arrange your own plans—until you could conduct the people of Ireland to the peaceable settlement of the question, by producing, not an indefinite principle to be applied on a remote and uncertain contingency, but a matured plan, affixing limits to the application of your principle and enforcing its just execution. And for what is this done ? For the mere purpose of embarrassing a government ; of throwing an impediment in the way, not of the final adoption, for that might be justifiable, but of the calm discussion of a measure proposed with the sanction of the Crown.”

Equally energetic was he, when he answered the objection that had been urged against the largeness of the incomes of the Protestant clergy, compared with the amount for which the Catholic clergy, in a country abounding in Catholics, perform more arduous duties ; but the peroration to the same speech is all that we can farther quote ; it is by no means inferior in force and warmth to the opening sentences.

“ You may insist on your present resolution—you may succeed in forcing it upon us : I shall not have to wish you joy of your triumph. It may probably enable you to embarrass the future progress of the administration ; it may be the token of approaching victory ; but still do not be too confident. Let me, in the moment of your pride, in the buoyancy of your expectations, usurp the functions of that unpalatable, but not unfriendly office, which in former times was assigned to a slave, but which may be assumed by a free-man without derogation from his character. You boast that you exercise complete control over the executive government of the country ; but let me whisper in your ear, that though triumphant here, the power that you exercise does not act without these walls with that intensity with which it operates within. The duty I have voluntarily assumed, compels me to place before a triumphant conqueror the vanity of human wishes and the instability of mortal triumphs : but yet I must not shrink from it ; and I tell you, that notwithstanding your vaunted majorities, you do not control public opinion.

Yes, there is a public opinion, which exists independently of elective franchises, which votes cannot inspire—which majorities cannot control, but which is an essential instrument of executive government; it will yield obedience to law; but if there be not confidence in the decisions of this House, law itself will lose half its authority; that public opinion will impose on you the necessity of taking a direct and open course; the people of England will not sanction attempts to throw unfair obstacles in the way of the executive government; they would sanction a direct vote of want of confidence, so far at least as to consider it a legitimate and constitutional act of hostility. Why have you not the manliness to propose it? Why do you implore me to undertake the settlement of this question on your principles? You are confident in your strength: let me ask you, are you competent to undertake the government? If you are, undertake it. If you are not, why do you embarrass us?

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, although somewhat behind his chief opponent in the mere powers of debate, is his superior in earnestness, in sincerity, in grace, and in freedom of manner, and in the stores of general information upon which he can readily draw; at times, also, he can give the most happy replies to great abuse, and can, with a sentence, demolish some of the finest drawn arguments and the longest tirades. Particularly fortunate was he, when, provoked by Sir Francis Burdett, who had contemptuously talked of the cant of patriotism, he replied, in words somewhat old, but not the less apposite, that “if the cant of patriotism were disgusting, its recant was infinitely more so.” His speeches possess many of the excellencies, and some of the faults, inherent to the compositions of a self-educated man: they are all tasteful performances, the diction is scholar-like, we never discover in them an offensive expression, and we find a simplicity of language, which, coupled with an impressiveness in the delivery, secures the attention of his hearers. The general coldness of his Lordship’s manner, however, detracts much from his power as a speaker; he is cool himself, and he fails to impart warmth to his audience; but, on some occasions, even this defect is overcome; by the pressure of debate, he becomes impassioned and powerful, and fully realizes our expectations of a parliamentary leader. And, as in the British senate, “while the influence of individual speeches is trifling, the influence of the entire eloquence of a leading speaker is very considerable,” Lord John Russell, by his clear statement of the details of important measures, and by his frequent enunciation of great principles in appropriate language, carries with him the full feeling of the house; and many of his perorations enlist the sympathies of that assembly, and

endure on the minds of his hearers. Possessed of this high quality was his memorable speech on the introduction of the Reform Bill; and equally good was the peroration to his speech in 1837, on introducing the Irish Municipal Reform Bill, when, after stating that Lord Lyndhurst had, in 1828, said, in reference to the Catholic claims, “you must not yield to threats; you must not yield to intimidation,” he thus proceeded:

“Well, the intimidation was made more plain; the threat was made a little louder; and what was then the conduct of those who had said they would not yield to intimidation? Why, that very unqualified, unconditional submission, which, they said, the threat of the year before had induced them not to yield. If that ministry had been in the situation of the traveller in the fable, and the wind had not succeeded in taking off his cloak, he would not have allowed the sun the easy victory, which it is fabled to have obtained. Well, Sir, but what is the lesson taught by this fact? What is the lesson that has been taught to the people of Ireland? Are these things without mark? What happened in the course of the last year and the year before? We have heard lately of the formation of the National Association; as long as this Municipal Corporation Bill was passing last session through the House of Commons, the people of Ireland confided in the legislature. There was no attempt to intimidate, there were no National Associations formed by his Majesty’s subjects there. It was after the measure had been lost, it was after their prayers had been rejected, and rejected not with calm reasoning, but with insult, that this association was formed, and its meetings held. Can we wonder at such things? Can we wonder that that, which had been found successful on former occasions, was resorted to on this? And can I suggest a remedy? Would it be, think you, that this association, composed of several Peers of Parliament, composed of many members of the House of Commons, composed of one third of Protestants—would it be, that this association, so composed, should be suppressed? Would that be your remedy? No, Sir, your remedy is to treat Ireland as you treat England, and as you treat Scotland. While then, Sir, I regret the existence of that association, I cannot say that there has not been a plausible motive for its formation, nor can I say that there is not an easy way for its suppression. It is that easy way which I ask you now to take. I tell you not—I should deceive you if I did—that this Corporation Bill is to be all in all, the panacea for the evils of Ireland; and many and manifold are those evils, and many and manifold must be the remedies, which the legislature, which the executive, which the magistracy, which persons of property in that country, must apply to them. But I tell you this, that if you pass this Bill largely and liberally, it will be taken as an evidence of the spirit in which you are disposed to legislate, and there will be less difficulty in, and no repugnance to, your future legislation. It is a measure of which the principles are known; it

will apply a remedy which has been already tried; it will give rights to men whom you have no pretence for distrusting. I think, Sir, it was said of a great character of antiquity, "That which Themistocles has proposed would be very profitable to Athens, but it would be very unjust." Now I propose to you a measure which will be eminently profitable. It will be profitable, in giving to you the hearts and affections of the people of Ireland; it will be profitable to you in promoting the riches and welfare of the towns; it will be profitable to you in tending to produce greater order, a better administration of the law, and a more general confidence in your government. But, while it has all these advantages of profit, while it has all these motives of expediency, I especially recommend it to the House—I especially recommend it to Parliament—on this ground, that I believe it to be just."

Successful alike, in his oratory at the bar, in the senate, and before assembled thousands of his fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen, exhibiting an almost solitary instance of eminence in the various modifications of style, necessary for his different audiences, Mr. O'CONNELL occupies one of the highest stations among modern orators. He is, as Hazlitt so well remarked of Lord Belhaven, full of that eloquence, which consists in telling your mind freely, and which carries the hearer along with it, because you never seem to doubt for a moment of his sympathy, or that he does not take as great an interest in the question as you do. There is no captious reserve; no surly independence; no affected indifference; no fear of exposing himself to ridicule, by giving loose to his feelings; but everything seems spoken with a full heart, sensible of the value of the cause it espouses, and only fearful of failing in expressions of zeal towards it, or in the respect that is due to it. The arts by which he captivates and enchains the attention of large bodies of men in open assemblies,\* appealing, in one striking opening sentence, to the better feelings of his hearers, and thus, at the very outset, enlisting their sympathies; the ready wit, and almost matchless powers of entertainment, and the endless variety of anecdote, which ensure, with the multitude, his popularity as a public speaker, are comparatively useless,

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\* In addressing a large meeting, Mr. O'Connell gives full play to his impassioned imagination; he feels none of the restraint, which the conventional state of English society imposes upon public parliamentary speakers; and he fully realises Cicero's description; "The listening multitude is charmed and captivated by the force of his eloquence, and feels a pleasure, which is not to be resisted... The whole audience is either flushed with joy, or overwhelmed with grief;—it smiles or weeps;—it loves or hates;—it scorns or envies;—and, in short, is alternately seized with the various emotions of pity, shame, remorse, resentment, wonder, hope, and fear, according as it is influenced by the language, the sentiments, and the action of the speaker."

when addressed to the members of the House of Commons; and, although in the House his peculiar powers are somewhat checked, yet, even in the Commons, he maintains his well-earned reputation as an orator, and he there succeeds by the bold manliness of his statements, the occasional humour with which he lightens his remarks, the conciseness of his phrases, the frequent closeness of his reasoning, the general strength of his argument, the warmth and breadth, and, withal, deep tones of his colouring, and the withering nature of his irony. The whole course of his eloquence, as well in Parliament as out of doors, is rapid and sonorous, and whenever he speaks, he bends, or sways, or alarms, or soothes, at pleasure, the passions of his hearers. He is, in fact, master of the eloquence “which sometimes tears up all before it like a whirlwind, and, at other times, steals imperceptibly upon the senses, and probes to the bottom of the heart,—eloquence, which engrafts opinions that are new, and eradicates the old.” There is a peculiarity in the construction of his sentences, that adds much to the effect, which, as a speaker, he uniformly produces. They are formed of the fewest possible words, they are the most condensed that we can fancy, and there appears in them neither a redundant expression, nor a misplaced term; these sentences, thus easily, though, to appearance, elaborately formed, are flung off with an ease and a volubility surprising to those who have never previously listened to him, and each follows its predecessor with a rapidity, showing that their composition requires not an effort.—“It is,” as he observed in the debate on the address (26th February, 1835) “quite consistent with the genius and disposition of his country, to mix merriment with woe; the sound of laughter is often heard, while the soul is wrung with bitter anguish, and the tear of sorrow dims the cheek;” and, in accordance with this national characteristic, in the midst of his most intense and soul-stirring statements of the sorrows of his country, he occasionally gives vent to the most ludicrous remarks: as when, in the same speech, to which we have already referred, he thus laughably described the desertion of Lord Stanley and his followers from the ranks of the reformers:

“What are we to call the section of the House over which the noble Lord (Stanley) presides? It is not a party;—that he denies; it is not a faction;—that would be a harsher title. I will give it a name.—We ought to call it ‘the Tail.’ How delightful would it be to see it walking in St. James’s-street to-morrow,—to see the noble Lord strutting proudly with his sequents behind him, with a smile passing over his countenance,—something like, as Curran said, “a silver plate on a coffin,” while the right honorable member for

Cumberland (Sir James Graham) made one of its lustiest links—not held by the Cockermouth crutch, but supported by his detestation of all coalition. Yes, Sir, this is the ludicrous combination of supports by which the right honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel) is this night saved. How is he to be saved? By the Tories? Oh! no! By the Whigs! Oh! no! the genuine Whigs have not gone over yet. Whatever becomes of speculation for places, where no negotiation has as yet been entered into—whatever becomes of future prospects, of difficulties got over and subdued, of kindness thrown out and courtesies offered, and protection held over these unfortunate orphans—the ministers as we call them—whatever becomes of their party, the true Whig, the true Reformer, the true friend of liberty, will stand firm; and I doubt much that the right honourable baronet's protection, with that of his noble friend, the noble lord, and the sequents, which he may carry with him, will avail those over whom it is extended:—

‘Down thy hill, romantic Ashbourne, glides  
The Derby Dilly, with its six insides!’

Nor was he less amusing, when on the 23rd July in the same year, he thus delivered himself with regard to Mr. Walter, the then member for Berkshire.

“We have also received a lecture on charity by one of the members for Berkshire, whom I do not now see. Oh! I perceive that the honourable member has moved over the way; I congratulate him on his change of place,—he is in his proper hemisphere,—he is now in his proper element. Whilst here on this side of the House, the honourable member reminded me of

‘The last rose of summer  
Left blooming alone;  
All its lovely companions  
Were faded and gone!’”

But his best effort was at the close of the last session, (on 30th July) on the discussion of the annual grant to Maynooth College, when Colonels Sibthorp, Percival, and Verner, having successively risen and delivered themselves of their usual quantity of bigotry or twaddle, Mr. O’Connell convulsed the house with laughter, by thus parodying Dryden’s well known lines on Milton:

“Three Colonels in three distant counties born,  
Did Lincoln, Sligo, and Armagh adorn.  
The first in gravity of face surpass’d;  
Sobriety the next; in grace the last.  
The force of Nature could no farther go;  
To beard the first she shaved the other two.”\*

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\* The well known lines are

“Three poets, in three distant ages born,  
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn;



In graphic and heart-rending descriptions of scenes, whether of weal or woe, Mr. O'Connell surpasses all competitors. Like a great master, with a few broad touches he dashes in at once not only an outline, but a finished sketch of the subject which he seeks to paint. He wastes no time in working up mere details, he overcharges not the grand conception by petty pencillings; a few efforts, and the whole scene is most vividly pictured to the imagination. In this delightful manner did he describe the never ceasing, ever ready labours of the Catholic priest, the friend and the adviser of every member of his fold, now counselling him in prosperity, now consoling him in affliction; and in spite of loathsome pestilence, still bending over the bed of the dying man, and performing the last sad offices of his religion, enduring still, till the disembodied soul shall leave its mundane tenement, and the pious peasant, with appeased mind, shall have quietly sunk into his last deep sleep. Equally soul-stirring was he in the debate on the Irish-tithe bill, on the 20th March 1835, when he thus depicted the scenes of blood which had been perpetrated at Rathcormac.

“The tithe bills were continued; laws passed, with some cessation from time to time, but the innate sense of injustice, the conviction of wrong, arising from the payment of a sinecure Protestant Clergy by a Catholic population, overturned the boundaries of law; broke asunder the parchment chains of the acts of parliament; the dungeons were filled, the convict ship was crowded, even the scaffold was reared, and blood has been shed in oceans, but shed in vain. Is it not time to put an end to such scenes of atrocity? Blood is flowing still; even now is not Rathcormac red with human gore? I do not mean to canvass the merits of this melancholy event, which is under process of legal inquiry; but two Magistrates, who are implicated in the matter, have presided over the investigation. A poor woman has been examined. Have honourable members read her statement? The mother was with her child in the morning. After the affray she went out to look for her son. The first body she turned over she shouted for joy. Why? Because human blood had been spilled? Because the life of a human being had been sacrificed? Ah! no; but because it happened not to have been her son. She had a similar shout of joy, looking in the countenance of the second murdered man; but the third was her son; from that moment her eyeballs became as coals of fire, and she did not shed a

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The first in loftiness of thought surpass'd;  
The next, in majesty; in both the last.  
The force of Nature could no farther go;  
To make a third, she join'd the former two.”



single tear. That woman's tears have not yet begun to flow. When is she to have redress? She is to have no redress, and the cause of her woe, the grand evil, is still to remain to Ireland. We are still to follow up the old course, giving new acts of parliament, but no new principle, no new spirit unknown to our predecessors and leaving all the evils of the tithe system substantially untouched and in full operation. What does it signify whether the designation be tithe or tithe composition, or land tax or rent charge; magical as names are supposed to be, will that verbal magic do away with the intolerable, interminable injustice of the impost so obnoxious in itself?"

Again and again has he described in equally powerful terms the natural advantages—the sunny hills, and the green fertile valleys—of his beloved country. We have already alluded to the withering nature of his irony, and we can find few better instances of this, added to the natural readiness with which, on any interruption, he can completely turn the tables on his opponents, and render yet more strong what was already too powerful for them, than in his remarks on 2nd April 1835, when speaking of the Clergy of the Established Church, he said:—

"I should not have trespassed upon the House at all if it had not been urged, that as Protestants you are bound to continue this system, because, if you had only had for active curates men of popular manners, and, above all things 'men of nerve,' you would soon have had your Protestants ready made to your hands, and your curates fit for your gorgeous hierarchy. A curious compliment is this, by the way, to the by-gone clergy. You want active curates it seems; and you have been for three hundred years, before you fished up these 'men of nerve' recommended to you by the noble lord (Stanley). You now forget the services of those who have passed away; but who, during their times, were constantly eulogized as men of the most exemplary piety. They were never spoken of in parliament but in terms of the most outrageous eulogy, as men of the greatest benevolence and charity; who, possessed only of £10,000 or £14,000 a year, spent, perhaps, £70 or £80 in the decoration of the Church. They were immediately lauded as the very models of piety, charity, and clerical perfection ('Oh! oh!' and 'Question')—Well then, they were not."

And again, in the debate on the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill, July 31, 1835, when alluding to the present holders of municipal offices, he said:—

"The recorder imagines that we shall not be able to obtain respectable mayors under the new system. Now, sir, I shall be glad to know how this is managed under the old? We have always wealthy and respectable mayors. In the City of Dublin, for instance, the entire board of aldermen, from whom the Lord Mayor is elected,

is composed of wealthy and respectable men—no doubt there are some highly respectable men among them—some highly respectable baronets—but are there not some hotel keepers?—Some exceedingly wealthy aldermen no doubt—some who never—oh! never—went through the Bankrupt-court!”

Or still later, when in the discussion on the Bishoprick of Quebec, on the 27th of July last, Mr. O’Connell thus severely dealt with Dr. Phillpotts, and made most efficient use of the interruption which he met with from the Tory benches:—

“I will just remind them (the opposition) that a right reverend prelate, in what is significantly called ‘another place,’ has announced his determination to resist an Act of Parliament, not only by passive means, but with all the excommunicating powers which belong to him. And why shall not a humble layman like myself share in the piety of the sanctified Bishop of Exeter? (Cries of ‘Order’ and cheers.)—Well, if the honourable gentlemen opposite like, I am wrong. ’Twas not the bishop of Exeter’s speech that I saw in the newspapers. ’Twas a libel that was published on that most meek and gentle prelate, — on him, who is, above all, so little addicted to calumny.”

SIR WILLIAM FOLLETT appears to us to be entitled to a high rank among the orators of the lower House, so far as oratory as an art alone is to be estimated. He is deficient in none of the higher qualities which are indispensable in a perfect speaker; and although he wants the manly vigour and searching irony of Mr. O’Connell, the eloquent denunciations and the captivating appeals to the feelings, which distinguish Lord Stanley, and the tropes and metaphors and images of Mr. Shiel, yet he is eminent for the chasteness and purity of his language, for the logical deduction of his arguments from his facts, and for the convincing nature of his statements. Many, if not all, the qualities which in a former number\* we noted as marking the eloquence of Lord Lyndhurst, are possessed by Sir William Follett. He has the same power of lucid arrangement, and of submitting great and complicated questions most palpably to the senses—the same consummate skill of descending to the minutest particulars without encumbering his hearers or himself—and the same consecutive and well regulated induction of facts, with even greater closeness of reasoning. At times, however, he delivers himself of the merest sophistry; and, as in the debate on the Spottiswoode Election Subscription, trusts to this alone, passing unobserved

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\* See vol. v. p. 451.

or unreplyed to, to make good an untenable position. In his choice of language he is "singularly select, felicitous, and appropriate: his action is easy and graceful, and his whole manner very engaging and very sensible." Like the Marquis of Lansdowne, he readily discovers upon all occasions what is the real point in debate, and where the stress of the argument lies; and he knows full well how to press every argument to the right place. He never rises, even after the most tedious statements, or the most lengthened discussion, without so judiciously selecting the main points, and putting them so carefully, and yet so simply, in a new light, that they seem to have lost none of their freshness by their frequent use; and we proceed with him, statement by statement, from the beginning to the end—we agree with him in almost every proposition, in nearly every conclusion; our utmost attention can scarcely detect a fallacy, even though that fallacy may pervade the whole address, and vitiate the deduction; and we arrive at last with the speaker, almost in spite of ourselves, at a conclusion differing, perhaps, most widely from our preconceived opinions. To use again the words of Hazlitt: "There is no affectation of wit—no studied ornament—no display of fancied superiority. The speaker's whole heart and soul are in his subject; he is full of it—his mind seems as it were to surround and penetrate every part of it." In fact, Sir Wm. Follett, in his parliamentary orations, appears not as the talented advocate, but rather in the light of a skilful judge, selecting from the mass of evidence the chief topics for consideration; and then by the clearness and precision of his statements, and the entertaining nature of his remarks, leading his audience, as jurors, imperceptibly, but surely, to a verdict, for which his own mind has been all along prepared. Of him, in the senate, it may with great justice be said, "*Nihil tetigit, quod non ornavit.*" The very nature and beauty of his matter and his manner, render it impossible for us to do them justice by selecting any portions of his addresses, and we must therefore content ourselves with the bare statement of their general tone and effect.

Inferior to the honourable member for Dublin and to Sir William Follett, but still entitled to be styled an orator, stands LORD STANLEY. Till the last session, an acerbity of tone, a virulence of manner, and unbecoming displays of temper, have marked the noble lord's public speeches, whether delivered as a member of the government, or from the opposition benches; and these bad qualities alone have prevented

his taking that station among modern orators, to which he, last session, by the correction of former faults, proved himself to be worthy. As a debater he has always been formidable; his readiness of perception, the quickness with which he seizes the weakest parts in the arguments of his opponents, his happy method of returning taunts levelled against himself, and the general elegance of his language, added to the fluency with which he delivers himself, have long rendered him a valuable acquisition in the discussions of the House.\* In his appeals to the feelings he is most powerful; and in his complete overthrow of the particular opponent whom he selects for attack, he is unequalled. After his best manner was the following sneer at the continuance in office of Lord Palmerston, delivered last session, in the Debate on Sir William Molesworth's motion:—

“My honourable friend has not only referred to the proceedings of the Committee of 1828, but has gone back also to a much earlier period, and has introduced into the debate what is not now under consideration, and what forms no part of the present issue—a condemnation of the conduct of preceding administrations. It is not for me to defend the acts of any administration preceding that of 1830. I have certainly heard something from the noble lord, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of the inconsistency of persons joining those who differ from them in political opinion. I have heard also my noble friend lay down a position which does great credit to his ingenuity, inasmuch as it would never have entered into the brain of any other man. The noble lord has supposed that it is the intention of honourable gentlemen on this side of the House to form a government by a coalition between the right honourable baronet, the member for Leeds, and my right honourable friend near me, the member for Tamworth. Now, I know not whether my noble friend has any intention of forming part of that administration, but if he does not, my noble friend will perhaps allow me to remind him that for a much longer period than that to which my memory can

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\* In reference to Lord Stanley's debating powers, it has been with much justice remarked: “We are too apt to imagine that the brilliant orator, the parliamentary leader, must also combine the qualities of the legislator—the more especially if he unite with the gifts of eloquence, the acquisition of knowledge, and the habits of business. But this is too often not the case. St. John seems in some subordinate respects to bear resemblance to the ablest debater that the aristocracy of this day exhibits in the House of Commons—Lord Stanley. Of course the degrees of intellect are very different. Nor, while Lord Stanley is exempt from the vicious irregularities, can he pretend to the same marvellous combination of endowments; but so far as remarkable abilities for debate, great aptitude in the mastery of official details, ready display of all resources, a warm, indiscreet, haughty, and impetuous temper, which produces momentary effects by permanent sacrifices, are concerned, we may trace a certain affinity of gifts and peculiarities; and the living orator is a proof of how little legislative success may be combined with the greatest debating powers.”—*London & Westminster Review*, vol. v. p. 298.

go back, it will be the only administration which my noble friend has not joined."

The great characteristic of Lord Stanley's oratory is the effect which it immediately produces on his audience. He wastes no time in dealing with the petty points which have arisen; after a few cutting remarks on the general bearing of the arguments advanced by his opponents, he rushes at once into the immediate part of the subject, and in an easy and fluent exposition of his own views, answers *seriatim* all the stronger portions of his adversaries' statements. An earnest and impassioned delivery, well managed modulations of his voice, and an unrestrained and graceful action, add force to his orations; and he succeeds in drawing along with him the feelings and the sympathies of his fellow-members. His best effort during the last session was his speech in the Pension List debate, on December 9, 1837. In it were exhibited all the elegancies of his language, the cogency of his reasoning, the efficacy of his sarcasm, and, indeed, the general beauties of his style. Its effect was exceeded only by the address of Mr. Harvey, to which we shall presently refer. After eloquently commencing by expressing his surprise at seeing ministers supporting a motion which they had hitherto opposed, he proceeded to quote the opinions of Mr. Burke, and of the ministers themselves, delivered in former debates, against the motion. He then grappled with the argument of the analogy between the principles on which the Pension List was founded and those on which the Poor Law Amendment Act was based, declaring that it was calculated, by the most plausible sophistry to create the most mischievous feelings in the country—to draw unfounded and invidious distinctions between the rich and poor—and to lead to the supposition of degradation to the poor and of excess on the part of the rich; and having disposed of these parts of the case against him, he concluded with the following beautifully conceived and as well delivered peroration:

"The honourable and learned member for Southwark has hinted to us the course of examination which he would pursue. He tells us, first, that among the names of those on the pension list, there are several hundreds who receive below the amount of £45 a year, misinterpreting the powerful speech of my honourable friend behind me: and he sneers at the feelings of honourable and right honourable gentlemen who would accept such paltry sums. And the honourable and learned member would then ask of these persons, whether they have no near relation who can support them; whether

they receive their pensions from mere necessity ; whether they have for instance no wealthy relative basking in the sunny clime of Malta, who can afford them assistance ; whether they have no friends to keep them off the parish ; and lastly he says, that having made these inquiries, he would look with kindly favour upon those who came before his tribunal ; but after by your vote this night, subjecting these parties to this delicate cross-examination of the honourable and learned member for Southwark, you will, on the presentation of the report of your committee, bring them before the House of Commons, and in the face of the country, to maintain their right to what they have ever considered their undoubted inheritance ; and unless they can prove that they are without father, that they are without mother, that they are without brother, that they are without sister, and without any relation of any kind ; or at least, as the honourable and learned gentlemen who reproaches me for sneering says, unless they are without any legitimate claim on any person, unless they are very wanderers on the face of the earth ; they are to be subjected to condemnation : and to this condition, to this investigation, and to this trial, is to be subjected every person who has any claim to the gratitude of the public. When the honourable and learned gentleman hinted at this debasing enquiry, not debasing to the person subjected to it, but to the party making it, I could not suppress my feeling of disgust at such a proposition. I have been taunted with possessing an unbecoming pride of ancestry, and with an indecent arrogance of station. I hope, sir, that I am not fairly open to either of these imputations ; but whether I were moving in the highest or stood in the lowest rank of society, I should consider myself as degraded and disgraced, if it had entered into my imagination to have subjected any of my fellow-creatures, rich or poor, high or low, to such a degrading inquiry. Let us remember that many a faithful servant of the public has been cheered in his last hours, after a life of labour and responsibility, for which he has been poorly recompensed, and has closed his eyes in peace, secure, under the sanction of his Sovereign, of Parliament, and of the law, that those whom he has left behind would not, after all his toil, be left entirely destitute ; that for his services, which had perhaps hurried his dissolution, a remuneration would be bestowed on those whom he valued more than himself. If, sir, such a person have closed his eyes in confidence that his wife will not be entirely destitute, that his children will not be beggars, how would his peace of mind have been shaken, how would his last hours have been disturbed, if he believed that, through any technical form, any minister of the Crown would be found who would propose, or any Parliament which would sanction, the appointment of a committee on the claims of his widow or his orphan, or that they would ever be subjected to an examination or cross-examination before such a tribunal. I know, sir, that a committee will be appointed. I know that they will have before them persons of all ages and of both sexes ; that



they will demand of them an explanation which will not be given; that they will pry into family circumstances which many must be anxious to conceal; and I know, sir, that many persons who have been provided with little more than the mere necessities of life, and who can scarcely exist with the help of a paltry £50 pension in that decent competency which their birth, their education, and their former station, have entitled them to expect, rather than subject themselves to such a degrading inquiry, will throw themselves upon some scarcely richer relative, will part with those few comforts to which they have a right to look, and will go back to not disgraceful poverty. But what, sir, will be thought of the justice of Parliament which shall compel them to do this? How shall we answer for adding to the bitterness of their declining years by depriving them of their small allowance, without any knowledge of the facts of their case? How many a veteran who has faithfully served his country, and honourably earned a higher reward than a paltry pension, when he is called upon to recount his services, and to justify the honour conferred upon him, will (perhaps I shall be taunted as my honourable friend the member for North Wiltshire was, the other night, with quoting Shakespeare, though I cannot hope to rival him in the felicity of his quotation) how many a veteran brought forward in this way to support his claim will say with the haughty *Coriolanus*, with a feeling of proud and high-minded, perhaps misguided indignation, though he may have bled in your cause:—

‘ It is a part  
That I shall blush in acting—  
To brag unto them. Thus I did, and thus;  
Show them the unaching scars, which I should hide,  
As if I had received them for the hire  
Of their breath only.’

It is not, however, among the rich and great alone, but among the poor also, that the degradation will be keenly felt, of being called from the retirement in which they have lived in comparative comfort, of being dragged before the tribunal which you now propose to constitute, to give before your committee a detail of the pecuniary remuneration which has been bestowed upon them in gratitude for the services, which they have rendered to their country. It is you who grant this committee, and on you must rest the responsibility of departing from the pledges, which you have given.”

If the powers of irony are almost perfect in Mr. O’Connell, a free use of sarcasm distinguishes the speeches of Mr. SHIEL. The Greeks themselves acknowledged, says Cicero, that the chief beauty of composition results from the frequent use of those translatitious forms of expression, which they called tropes, and of those various ornaments of language and sentiment, which they called figures. It is surprising, however, with what profusion, and with what variety they are all applied



by the honourable member for Tipperary, and with them he enlivens and embellishes his style. In his speeches we can seldom find an expression, which is either harsh, unnatural, abject, or far-fetched; and yet so far from confining himself to the ordinary mode of speaking, he abounds in the use of metaphors, but adopting only such as completely suit the place in which they are employed. Of pointed, of playful, of attic wit, of commanding eloquence, he is also master; the hearer is carried away by the torrent of his beautiful imagery, and by the flowery sweetness of his language, "*ex ejus lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio*;" but he is wanting in those closely argumentative, and logical powers, which are essentially the qualities of the orators whom we have just noticed. After some of his finest exordiums also, he sometimes descends to mere bathos; and there is a latinized inversion of the words in his sentences, which, added to the extreme quickness of his delivery, renders his speeches less effective than those of many of his competitors.\* Against the chief opponents of the policy which he recommends, (particularly Sir James Graham and Lord Stanley) he delights to direct his sarcasm, and well does he succeed. Witness the following example, in his speech on the Irish Church, delivered on 31st March 1835:—

"In another this would be considered a misrepresentation, but it can only be regarded as a misconception on the part of a gentleman of the strong religious feeling of the right honourable baronet (Sir James Graham.) By the bye, these religious people, these gentlemen who are in the odour of sanctity, become at times formidably zealous. If they are in reality as meek as doves, they bear some resemblance to that animal whose wisdom men are enjoined to imitate; if you differ from them, they at once exhibit the proverbial spirit of theological animosity—their former associates become little better than a convocation of thimble-riggers, and they see nothing but a mere legislative shoplifter in Lord Grey."

And again on the same subject, in his speech on 2nd August 1836, when he included in his attack Sir James Graham, the Bishop of Exeter, and Lord Lyndhurst:—

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\* These circumstances militate against the accuracy and beauty of his reported speeches. It is almost impossible for the most expert and dexterous reporter to follow him, and although he occasionally assists by committing his delivered orations to paper, yet no man can revive at pleasure the ardour of his passions; and when that has once subsided, the fire and pathos of his language are extinguished. And as was said of Servius Galba, "when he speaks he is so much animated with the force of his abilities, and his natural warmth and impetuosity, that his language is rapid, bold and striking; but afterwards, when he takes up his pen, and his passion has sunk into a calm, his elocution becomes dull and languid;" thus it not unfrequently happens that some of the best portions of his speeches are never read by the public.

“The right honourable baronet, (Sir James Graham) adverted to the state of popular feeling in Cumberland. I know little of Cumberland, except from the impression produced there in 1831, by the right honourable baronet himself; and the applause which attended a very remarkable speech of his, and which appeared to me to furnish a striking evidence of the state of public feeling in that county. The right honourable baronet on that occasion called Sir James Scarlett his “once valued friend,” but added that he had become a “recreant Whig.” These are the only indications, which I have of the state of feeling in Cumberland; but they appear to me to be sufficient to enable us to form a tolerably correct estimate of that county. The right honourable baronet is in one particular entitled to my thanks; he does not coincide with the Bishop of Exeter in his formidable imputation. He relieves us, on the contrary, from the charge of perjury. It has been the good-fortune of the right honourable baronet, to take a very different view from the Bishop of Exeter, on points of theory and practice; in practice, I say, so far as his own conduct, or even so far as the conduct of Roman Catholics is concerned. In 1830, the right honourable baronet gave notice of a motion, denouncing the bishop for holding the living (of Stanhope I think,) *in commendam*, and now he repudiates as unchristian, that charitable ecclesiastic’s imputation of perjury, cast upon his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. This does him credit. The right hon. baronet adverted to the speech of the member for Tamworth, in which that right honourable gentleman declared, that if the pillars of the church must at last be shaken, he at least would not concur in their concussion, nor be accessory to their prostration. Sir, I do not desire to overthrow the pillars of the church; I wish to take down the golden dome at top, in order to prevent its fall from burying all beneath its ruins.”

And again, in the same speech:

“There is only one man, who could, without any danger to his character, convert this Alien Act into a bill for the naturalization of the Irish people; his associates, although they have availed themselves of his talents, cannot venture to act in conformity with his ethics. It may be said that the settlement of the tithe question is of paramount importance to every other. True. But what reasonable man can regard the measure of the Lords as the settlement of the question? The aliens—the seven millions of aliens and perjurers—will scarcely be reconciled to this measure, by the share which Lord Lyndhurst and the Bishop of Exeter have had in its production. The conjunction of this honest lawyer and this Christian ecclesiastic, is not a little curious. I remember a striking speech against Catholic emancipation, made by Sir John Copley as Master of the Rolls, which Mr. Canning more than intimated was derived from a notorious pamphlet of the day. Mr. Canning exclaimed:

‘ Dear Tom, this brown jug, which now foams with mild ale,  
Out of which, I thus drink to sweet Kate of the vale,  
Was once Toby Philpotts.’

Is it not an odd coincidence that Copley and Philpotts—the one metamorphosed into my Lord Lyndhurst—and the other into the most reverend father in God, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, should be still politically associated—and that the former should denounce us as aliens, and the latter should involve a whole nation in one comprehensive and flagitious imputation ?”

He was not less severe on Lord Stanley in his speech on the Municipal Corporation Bill (22d Feb. 1837.) His peculiar elegance of expression, and force in stating particular points, were well exhibited in the same speech ; and much beauty and splendour of imagery were displayed in the peroration, when, after stating that the word ‘alien,’ was, indeed, a galling one, he thus continued :

“ But there is a man—an illustrious one—who, I think, when that most offensive expression was employed in reference to so large a portion of the Irish nation, ought to have interposed and reprehended the nobleman who had the presumption to give it utterance in his presence. Was he—was Arthur Duke of Wellington—in the House of Lords, and did he not start up and exclaim ‘ Hold ! I have seen the aliens do their duty ?’ The Duke of Wellington is not, I am inclined to believe, a man of an excitable temperament. His mind is of a cast too martial to be easily moved ; but, notwithstanding his habitual inflexibility, I cannot help thinking that when he heard his Roman Catholic countrymen (for we are his countrymen) designated by a phrase as offensive, as the abundant vocabulary of his eloquent confederate could supply—I cannot help thinking that he ought to have recollected the many fields of fight in which we have been contributors to his renown. Yes, sir, the battles, sieges, fortresses that he has passed, ought to have brought back upon him—he ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement in which he displayed that military genius, which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom our armies are filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparelled successes have been crowned. Whose were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before ? What desperate valour climbed the steep and filled the moats of Badajos ? All—all his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory—Vimiera, Badajos, Salamanca, Albuera, Toulouse, and last of all, the greatest—tell me, for you were there,—I appeal to the gallant soldier before me (Sir H. Hardinge,) from whose opinions I differ, but who bears, I know, a ge-

nerous heart in an intrepid breast; tell me, for you must needs remember on that day, when the destinies of mankind were trembling on the balance—while death fell in showers upon them—when the artillery of France, levelled with a precision of the most deadly science, played upon them—when her legions, incited by the voice, and inspired by the example, of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset—tell me, if, for an instant, when, to hesitate for that instant was to be lost, the “aliens” blenched? And when at length the moment for the last and decisive movement had arrived, and the valour which had so long been wisely checked, was at length let loose—when with words familiar but immortal, the great captain exclaimed, “up lads, and at them,”—tell me, if Catholic Ireland, with less heroic valour than the natives of this, your own glorious isle, precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, flowed in the same stream—on the same field. When the still morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together—in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited;—the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust,—the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril—in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate? and shall we be told as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?”

Mr. D. W. HARVEY, with a great command and most felicitous choice of words, a perspicuous method of statement, a free use of the keenest satire, much attention to the employment of the best rounded periods, considerable readiness in debate, and an excellence in his delivery, never fails to delight, to amuse, and to instruct those, who listen to him. There is, however, occasionally a coarseness about his manner and style, and a carelessness in his pronunciation, which detract somewhat from his efficiency; and as he never condescends to pander to the prejudices of his audience, and, indeed, too often forgets what the most competent of all authorities teaches us, that the taste of an audience has always governed and directed the eloquence of the speaker, (for all who wish to be applauded consult the character and the inclinations of those who hear them, and carefully form and accommodate themselves to their particular humours and dispositions) Mr. Harvey does not always succeed in obtaining that attention, to which his powers as an orator undoubtedly entitle him,—for he possesses invention, disposition, elocution, and memory. One of the most convincing, and, at the same time, one of the most amusing of his speeches, was that on the Pension List, to which we have already referred. Nearly every portion of this speech marks

the vast ability of Mr. Harvey as an orator. Did our space allow, we would quote largely from various parts of it, as a proof of his ability; but as this is impossible, we must content ourselves with extracting only the following description of the treatment of the widow by the churchwarden, which was not only most apposite to his argument, but was inimitably conceived, and ought to endure as long as a taste for racy natural description exists.

“What is the principle upon which the Poor Law Act proceeds? That no men or women shall be allowed to live upon the labours of others, whose strength or years enable them to labour for themselves, or whose relations are in a condition to extend to them that support which nature requires and kind and proper feelings prompt. Upon what principle then do those gentlemen, who are so anxious to maintain these pensions—I will not say, who are benefitted by them—upon what principle do you defend them? I ask you to apply the same rule to these pensioners, that you apply to your parochial pensioners. And here let me advert to a remark made by the right honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel). He says: ‘Looking over this list, I see there have been eleven prime ministers, eight of whom have been gathered to their final account, three of whom only remain: will you call upon a person who had the grant of an annuity or a pension made to him during the life of either of the eight ministers, who have ceased to exist, to explain and justify the circumstances of that grant?’ Now, let us carry this analogy a little farther. A poor woman who has been receiving two shillings a week, shall be told by the guardians that she can no longer have this relief, and is asked under what circumstances it was originally granted to her? ‘Oh,’ says she, ‘it was granted to me twenty years ago by old Brown the churchwarden; I was at his funeral twenty years ago. Lord love you, do not deprive me of it.’ What do the guardians say to this? ‘You were very lucky in having such a churchwarden as Mr. Brown; there is a different race now; we must have some little conversation with you, my good old lady; you look strong and hearty; can’t you go out to charing?’—‘Why,’ says she, ‘I do sometimes go out a charing; now and then I get sixpence a day, and once or twice I have got a shilling.’ ‘Don’t you think if you were to go a little more about the parish you could contrive to get more? You must learn to be more active, to be more industrious; you must seek to maintain yourself; our anxiety is to infuse into your mind the moral, the high sense of the eternal principles of justice. But you say that you are frequently afflicted, and that you find it impossible, except when the weather is very fine, to go out charing, even for the few times you speak of. Have you not got a son or a daughter?’—‘Yes, thank God,’ says the poor old creature, ‘I have a son and a daughter.’ ‘Are they your own children?’ (That is a question I shall not put in the committee.) ‘Are they your own?’—‘Lord love you, sir,

whose do you think they are?' 'Well then, what is your son?'—'Oh, he is a boy, and as good a boy, though I say it, as any mother ever had.' 'And what does he earn?'—'Fifteen shillings a week.' 'And what does your daughter do?'—'She is married.' 'Has she any children?'—'Yes; two pretty babes.' 'And what is her husband?'—'A journeyman carpenter.' 'And what does he earn?'—'Why, when he is at full work, he earns a matter of five-and-twenty shillings a week.' Then, exclaims the indignant guardian, with wonder in his eye, and stern displeasure on his brow, 'why, my good woman, how can you have the impudence to come here, and ask for the continuance of the relief that old Brown gave you, when you have a boy and a girl, of whom you are so justly proud, the one earning fifteen shillings a week, and the other having a husband who gets five-and-twenty shillings a week? Get away, you hussey!' Such would be the predicament of many of these pensioners if we were to inquire into the real circumstances of their case. I will venture to say there are many men and women upon this list, who, if asked as to their relatives, and what was meant by their having attached to their names the appellations of 'honourable' and 'right honourable,' of 'lady,' 'dowager,' and 'dame,' after recovering from the first surprise occasioned by the impudence of the inquiry, would tell you that they had a long line of ancestry, who had their origin with the Plantagenets, and those who came over from 'Faery Land.' Yes, they would tell you that there was no monarch, from Harold to the present day, with whom they were not in some way connected. Some of them would be so proud of their superior blood—of having in their veins none but the best blood—that I very much doubt whether they would not be disposed to carry their pretensions even farther than the ancient and noble house of Stanley. And if you inquire farther—if you say to these persons, 'If such be your connexions, while their titles live, have they survived their inheritances?' what would be the reply? Assuming the attitude, and speaking in the tones of injured dignity, they would say, 'No, sir, the noble lord or the noble duke, who is my relation, is rolling in wealth, has the largest estates in the county where I dwell, commands the representation of that county, and has two Conservatives at this time in the House of Commons.' Are we, then, to be told by those who passed the Poor Law Amendment Act, to improve the condition and give a high moral tone to the labouring community—are we to be told that the only example you are prepared to set to the humbler classes, for whose welfare, moral and physical, you have so carefully, so wisely, so generously provided—are we to be told, I say, that the only example you are prepared to set them of your virtue and sincerity, is to make them (the poor and humble) labour on for the maintenance and support of these your relatives and friends?"

During the last few sessions, LORD PALMERSTON has taken little part in the general discussions of the House; he has



principally confined himself to debates arising out of the state of our foreign relations, and having immediate reference to that department of the government over which he presides. On these occasions he is invariably neat, concise, and impressive; but they offer no opportunity for the display of those higher features of oratory with which, on other questions, he formerly delighted the House. The chief merit of his speeches consists in a lucid arrangement and condensed statement of details, general closeness of reasoning, an impressive and forcible enunciation of principles, and an unrestricted use of the ornaments of language, accompanied by easy gesture. Sometimes he is impassioned and energetic; but he seeks more to convince by close and sound argument than to subdue by declamation—to persuade rather than to overcome—to appeal to the reason rather than to move the passions. In all his speeches we find the outpourings of a refined and cultivated yet vigorous mind, which can grapple with all the intricacies of the subject in debate, and discard with facility all that is superfluous or inappropriate; there is nothing that can offend the most polished hearer, but there is at the same time no false delicacy—no shrinking from the bold statement of important though unpalatable truths—no neglect in enforcing the strong parts of his case. He exhibits a firm reliance on the correctness of his positions, and a perfect conviction of the force of his reasoning. There is no straining after effect, and still there is a fit use of those rhetorical arts, which assist a keen and dexterous debater. Departing from his usual course, Lord Palmerston undertook the defence of the government on the 6th of March last, against Sir William Molesworth's vote of censure on Lord Glenelg, and well was the task performed. On rising, he stated that he appeared to defend the government, because, though one member was selected for attack, yet as the measures of every department were submitted to the consideration of the cabinet, the cabinet were responsible for the outlines of the policy pursued; and then, having commented on the singularity of such an attack proceeding from such a quarter, and having ridiculed the honourable baronet's want of success in the execution of his design, he proceeded to compare Sir William's present professions of disregard for the existence of the ministry with his declaration in a recent speech in Cornwall, regretting that their majority was disappearing; and then his lordship continued:—



“Do honourable members suppose that the government can or will continue to administer the affairs of the country if one of its members be declared to be unfit to hold that high trust? Why, if they could be so base and dishonourable, this House would not permit them to take such a course. No House of Commons would allow a government to stand if it could consent to one of their number becoming a scape-goat to carry off the censure of this House. I will say that the honourable baronet has acted unfairly by Lord Glenelg, in making a motion against him which ought to have been made against the government as a body. There is nothing in either the public or personal character of Lord Glenelg, that can afford the slightest excuse for so ungenerous and unhandsome an attack. He is a man whose talents are admitted by all, the tendency of whose principles is well known, and whose public services are entitled to much gratitude. He has been the supporter of liberal principles in whatever department of the government it has been his lot to fill. When in Ireland, he was, as he has ever shown himself in this House, the advocate of the claims of the then oppressed Roman Catholics; and that was at a time when the advocacy of the Catholic claims was not the road to political advantages. When at the Board of Trade, first as vice-president, and subsequently as president, he was a steady supporter of those liberal principles of political economy which were advocated by his eminent predecessor, Mr. Huskisson; who thereby brought down on himself the unmerited obloquy and malignant attacks of bigoted prejudice. Lord Glenelg, during the period he was President of the Board of Trade, was the framer and carrier through Parliament of that great measure which remodelled the government of our mighty empire in the East, and opened to the industry of the people of this country the commerce of that vast district, peopled by 100,000,000 of human beings. And if that measure shall, as I trust it will, lead in future times to the establishment of an extensive commerce, when history shall record the fact, and the light of truth shall be spread wide over those distant regions, it will be a matter of marvel, that in the lifetime of the noble lord, who was the framer and passer of that measure, there was found in this House and in the ultra liberal section of this House, a man who could propose to Parliament the adoption of a motion, declaring the noble lord incompetent to conduct the administration of the colonial empire of this kingdom.”

Lord Palmerston next answered *seriatim* the specific charges brought against Lord Glenelg in the affairs of each colony, and declared that the instances quoted by Sir William Molesworth, so far from justifying the motion, must be taken as evidence against it; and he thus eloquently added:—

“Does the honourable baronet propose, as it is almost to be inferred he does, from something that dropped from him in the course of his speech, wherein he said it did not follow that because the present

government was removed, the honourable gentlemen opposite were to come into office,—does the honourable baronet mean—I presume he does not—that it is possible *he* may be required to steer the vessel of the state? Why, that might be thrown out as a sort of jeer, no doubt, but then the honourable baronet has followers. I do not know their number, and I have yet a point or two to settle with them, for some of his doctrines of colonial policy were not quite such as are entertained by some of the honourable gentlemen who will vote with him to-night. I am, however, sure the honourable baronet did not wish the House to suppose, that if his motion were carried, he was ready to take on himself the conduct of the affairs of the country. The honourable gentlemen opposite, then, would be, they must be, the parties who are to succeed the existing government; and that being so, I will ask the House whether, in the present state of the country, whether, with reference to the affairs of Canada or Ireland, they will have a chance of conducting the public business with advantage to the country, or with credit to themselves. As regards Canada, I am sure it will be admitted that things may be done by the present government, which will not be accepted equally well from some of the honourable gentlemen opposite. It is true that the revolt is put down, but much remains for us to do to establish tranquillity and content in the provinces: and I do not think that persons who are disposed to take the views which the honourable gentlemen before me are in the habit of taking, will be as able as I and my honourable colleagues were to bring the affairs of these colonies to a satisfactory arrangement. But do you imagine that you can govern Ireland? Must this House believe that those honourable gentlemen could carry on the affairs of this country, with Ireland in a state of discontent, and which is now in peace and tranquillity (cries of ‘Oh, oh!’)? Are we to pacify Ireland by a system of administration which marks its course and carries on its government by ‘the Kentish fires’? Perhaps the honourable baronet looks to a mixed administration; to that which is called on the Continent a government of *fusion*. Perhaps the honourable baronet may think that, when he has triumphed, he and the right honourable baronet, the member for Tamworth, may meet upon the field of victory and then divide the spoil—or, possibly, my noble friend, the member for North Lancashire, may be associated with them, to make up the triumvirate. But what curious sacrifices must not the members of this triumvirate be called upon to make, for on no principle can they act together! The honourable baronet would be obliged to surrender Ireland to orange domination. The right honourable baronet, and my noble friend the member for North Lancashire, would have to give up their opposition to the ballot-box, and to abandon Canada to the tender mercies of Mr. Papineau, and his ally Mr. Mackenzie. How then are those parties to act? Canada and Ireland are alike to be abandoned, for the sake of following in Westminster the example of Marylebone. For the sake of securing a union of the two extremes we are to declare

ourselves against the only question upon which men can act with fairness and justice to the two countries."

These are all the instances of oratory in the lower House, to which we need particularly refer. The quotations which we have given, will show the various excellences of the speakers. It must not be supposed, however, notwithstanding the scantiness of the number included in our list, that there is any deficiency in either House of efficient or eloquent debaters: many whose names have for years been familiar to the public in the daily reports, would add weight to any deliberative or debating assembly; still there are such grave faults in their style, and such defects in their manner, that they have not attained the highest rank of public speakers, and cannot be classed with the masters of the art of oratory.

Among the members of the lower House, not included in our previous remarks, there are several rising men, whose recent efforts bid fair to entitle them at no remote period to a station among the best public speakers. At the head of this body stands LORD HOWICK. He possesses much of the attic taste of his father; there is, perhaps, greater earnestness of manner and a more impassioned delivery, although he is rather impetuous and sometimes indiscreet; but, like Earl Grey, "he is complete master of the hearer's confidence in his good faith. You may question his views, but never the profound sincerity of his convictions;" his speeches on the Negro Apprenticeship question and on the Irish tithe bill were distinguished alike for the soundness of their views and the graces of the delivery. LORD MORPETH is an improving speaker and a valuable debater, but he is too florid and flippant; he produces an effect upon his hearers, but there is little in his addresses, which any man might not say "who was willing to indulge in the same strain of academic description." We have doubts whether the style of SIR E. L. BULWER is yet perfectly formed, but three or four of his recent speeches have displayed considerable oratorical skill. There is a great disadvantage to which a person is subjected who has been long in parliament without eminent success as a speaker: there is a strong disposition to underrate his powers and to depreciate his exertions; under these disadvantages Sir E. Bulwer labours, and his deafness necessarily detracts somewhat from his efficiency; yet he has made such good progress, that if he were to apply himself wholly to public speaking, there is little doubt of his complete success. He has studied in the best schools of ancient oratory, and without being a mere imitator he brings

to each speech a rich fund of ancient lore, of modern knowledge, and of general acquirements; he uses plainly expressed and convincing arguments; he has a ready flow of language; and his action is pleasing and appropriate, though at times he flings his arms too much abroad, and employs a somewhat affected inclination of the body. Most effectively did he, in the debate on the Spottiswoode election subscription, direct his invective against the renegade radical Burdett; in the Canada debate his eloquent eulogy of the character of Lord Durham, and his sarcasm at the coquetry of Lord Brougham with all the parties, were most powerful; but his classical acquirements and force of argument were best shown in the debate on the ballot. SIR GEORGE GREY not unfrequently distinguishes himself; there is much matter in his speeches, carefully digested and well arranged for the purposes of his argument; yet he exhibits all the faults of a mere lawyer; he is lengthy, rapid, and often frivolous; his addresses appear to be a mere endless flux of words, delivered without warmth, and in the most monotonous tones, so that he fails to delight or to move the passions of his hearers. Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, who is by far the most promising member on his side of the House, exhibits many of the same faults, coupled with much of the love for that school-boyish display and declamation which distinguishes Lord Morpeth. As an advocate rather than as a statesman Mr. Gladstone best succeeds. He is clear and eloquent; he can reject at pleasure every tittle of evidence which bears in the least against his statements; and he can with facility make the worse appear the better reason. In this consisted the chief excellence of his undoubtedly able speech against Sir George Strickland's motion for the immediate termination of negro apprenticeship. In the person of Mr. M. J. O'CONNELL the liberal members for Ireland can find a rapidly improving speaker. He exhibits nice discrimination in the selection of his language, a ready mode of determining what ought to be said, and in what order it will best advance his argument, and a clear insight into the weakness of his opponent's position; but at present he is deficient in some of those graces of manner and in that complete management of the voice, which are necessary to give full effect to the best conceived and most polished address. His speech on Lord Maidstone's motion was distinguished by great good taste, and powerful argument; and that on the third reading of the Irish tithe bill, especially in the part where he referred to the names so well known in connexion with Irish tithes—the Le Poer

Trenches and the Beresfords—called forth from his hearers frequent and well-merited plaudits. Nor must we here omit to mention the names of Mr. C. P. VILLIERS and of Mr. C. BULLER. The former is a sound thinker, a clear logician, and most indefatigable in his endeavours to bring an immense weight of evidence to bear upon all the questions in which he takes part: the latter is a ready and dexterous speaker, and an able and valuable, though sometimes an indiscreet debater.

That all the persons, whom we have lastly enumerated, will in the future realize the hopes that are now formed of them, is scarcely to be anticipated, but that all by study and exertion may advance their position is undeniable; and to use the words of the first of Roman orators,\* “*Par est omnes omnia experiri, qui res magnas, et magno opere expetendas concupiverunt. Quòd si quem aut natura sua, aut illa præstantis ingenii vis fortè deficiet, aut minus instructus erit magnarum artium disciplinis: teneat tamen eum cursum, quem poterit. Prima enim sequentem, honestum est in secundis, tertiisque consistere.*”

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ART. VI.—1. *Il Seminario Ecclesiastico, o gli otto Giorni a Santo Eusebio in Roma, opera del Dottore Agostino Theiner.* Translated from the German into Italian, by G. Mazio. Rome, 1834.

2. *The origin, object, and influence, of Ecclesiastical Seminaries considered, in a discourse delivered in the church of St. Mary's College, New Oscott, on occasion of the solemn dedication of the College and Church, May 31, 1838.* By the Rev. H. Weedall, D.D. Birmingham, 1838.

**D**R. Augustine Theiner belongs to that distinguished class of scholars of modern Germany, who setting at defiance the taunts of the world, and even the shafts of adverse fortune, have rendered illustrious testimony to the power of truth as well as to their own sincerity, by their conversion to the Catholic religion. But amid many bright pictures which the conversion of Theiner possesses in common with those more celebrated of Stolberg, Schlegel, and Adam Müller, it has one of more peculiar interest and instruction, for Theiner did not merely forsake error to embrace truth, but he retraced his

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\* Cicero, Ad M. Brutum Orator, 4.

steps to that path which he had voluntarily and formally abandoned. Born in the Catholic faith and brought up therein, during his youth, at the dawn of manhood he fell away, seduced by the unbridled speculations of a young mind plunging with eagerness into the dangerous novelties and unrestrained pursuits of the German universities. Nor was it long before the spirit of rebellion broke out into open hostility against his mother Church. For in a treatise on the celibacy of the clergy, which he published at the age of twenty-four, he attacked with the powerful and imposing weapon of a vast erudition, supplied by indefatigable industry, the Catholic discipline upon this point. He even joined in a conspiracy with his brother Anthony and several ecclesiastics, unworthy of the name, to force the Church to adopt a change in that article of discipline; but their intrigues were happily defeated. In consequence of this circumstance, as well as from his religious notions becoming daily more and more unsettled, he, at last, commenced his "travels in search of a religion." As the state of his mind during these is depicted with admirable candour in a letter prefixed to the work, of which we propose to present an analysis in the course of this article, and the progress of a soul extricating itself from error, and drawn by successive attractions towards the truth, is portrayed with much force and accuracy, it may not be uninteresting to accompany him for awhile in his wanderings, before he passed the threshold of that sanctuary wherein he recovered peace and tranquillity, retracted his errors, and laid upon the altar of faith the peace-offering of humble gratitude. For, it is a circumstance which adds to the interesting character of the work we are about to notice, that he earnestly entreated and obtained from his spiritual director, permission that its composition might be enjoined him as a sacramental penance. And however some may smile at what haply they may designate an overheated fanaticism, *we* rather admire the beautiful simplicity and rectitude of feeling, which prompted the request, and have produced so able a vindication of our religion, in a matter wherein she has been so unjustly calumniated and vilified. Assuredly it is a proud distinction, which the Catholic Church enjoys, that she invariably finds hearty and zealous advocates, and often her most eloquent defenders, among those who have been converted to her doctrines; whereas the few seceders to Protestantism, who verily seem to seek her less for her own sake, than for the latitude and liberty she affords, rather court obscurity and "hide their diminished heads," save in one or more unen-



viable instances of a dubious or rather all too unequivocal character.

The first country in which Theiner took a survey of Protestantism, was England. Of its results, we will allow himself to speak.

“ British *egoism* has perfected the individualizing character of the proud protestant spirit, even as the patriarch of reform foresaw and bitterly complained would prove the case. In the multitudinous sectarian swarms which have issued from protestantism in England, there is found the apt commentary on that passage where Luther admirably paints the fruits of his own performance.\* . . I am forcibly reminded of St. Augustine's description of more ancient separatists, especially the Donatists of his own time.† As Professor Marheinecke of Berlin, insists, protestantism has utterly debased the sacerdotal character, and religion, from being degraded into a slave of state, has come to be regarded as a human institution and a mere imposture. . . The Anglican High-Church seems to outward appearance the most firmly and solidly fixed of all the thousand churches, which, like so many islands floating in an ocean of strange opinions, have no contact or connexion, save that of error, and at the first burst of the thundercloud, sink below the waves as easily as they emerged. Yet what does that church herself more than conceal her shameful nakedness beneath the disgraced and tattered garb of the ancient hierarchy? In her position with respect to the other protestant societies, she may be regarded as the great ecclesiastical bank of London, where bold speculators, with ever increasing dishonour and remorse of conscience, traffic with holy things until the not far distant moment shall arrive, when this church will be involved in the common bankruptcy of protestantism. . . In no country has protestantism more completely lost its historical importance, than in England. It is there reduced to a pure article of convention, a mere holiday fashion, of which the mercantile interest of Britain is as tenacious as of those of the week-days. Well for her that she yet preserves this last remnant of moral force.‡

These remarks present a picture, which whatever may be thought of the colouring, is certainly delineated by a bold and sagacious observer. It is a scene of which the representation is at present passing before our eyes. They who are endeavouring to patch up the liturgy, and who would even if possible swell out again the emaciated form of faith, into the round proportions of health, give proof that they feel this chilling destitution of the Anglican church. They are fain to collect even the shreds of that vesture they so *inadvertently* cast away

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\* Opp. ed. Wittemberg, 1573, part v. p. 5, 6, *ibid.* p. 75.

† De Symbolo, c. 30.

‡ Letter to Mochler, prefixed to the “Seminario,” pp. 6, 8, 9, 10.



when the hey-day of youthful pride had not forethought to provide for the frost and wrinkles of a premature old age. Far be it from us to visit such an attempt with bitterness or morose censure. We witness more in sorrow than in anger the attacks made upon *our* rights; and if we vindicate *our indefeasible claims*, still gladly unto those that would strip us of our coat, would we let go a share of our cloak also, that one and both might repose under the capacious mantle of the Catholic church. It is impossible for us, also, not to look forward to the crisis which Theiner contemplates, and which we trust will terminate "in a happy consummation," though to our protestant brethren it presents the aspect of danger, and is as such foreseen and deprecated.

"Before the days of change,  
By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust  
Ensuing danger, as by proof we see  
The water swell before a boisterous storm."

Of the picture of buying and selling in the temple, we shall forbear to speak; but we may venture to term our author happy in his illustration of that observance of the sabbath, which so strictly enforces the letter, while it takes no care to nourish the spirit of the precept; as well as not to reprove his boldness, in designating as a mere slave of state, an institution bound up so closely with the political system that its very existence lies at the mercy of an Act of Parliament.

From England, Theiner passed into the Low Countries, where meeting with dissatisfaction similar to what he had experienced in England, he soon quitted them for France. Here, in spite of the great revolution with its sweeping train of evils, he found the catholic religion still firmly rooted in the heart of the people. The clergy, by their exemplary piety, their noble conduct during the ravages of the cholera, their harmony and subordination, their admirable training in the seminaries, and their enterprising and fruitful missions excited his admiration. He applied himself to study the morality and doctrine of the great French divines of the seventeenth century; by a dispassionate examination of whose works he became almost reconciled to his conscience and the church. A sore struggle of doubts, suspicions, and uncertainty occupied his mind, which at last fell into a state of total inertness, for which he gives this reason, that he had been constantly exercising his individual judgment as the sole principle of belief—the fatal principle on which Luther based his reformation—while, with a strange inconsistency, he struck at its vitality by

denying free will. Of this error, he was at length dispossessed by the perusal of his favourite author Fenelon; and his mind being thus prepared, offered no opposition to the dogma of the Church upon the Eucharist. Notwithstanding, however, the light and even conviction which a passage of Erasmus upon this subject, (Ep. 847) brought to his mind, such was still the force of habitual prejudices, that he was at one time on the point of joining one of the societies of visionary fanatics, being deluded by a semblance of spirituality and piety, which appeared to promise him that peace and expansion of heart which he could not yet bring himself to regain in the bosom of Catholicity. In this temper of mind, he addressed to his friend Moehler, a letter, in which for the first time for many years, he opened his feelings to a Catholic priest. The reply of that estimable man, an answer on which Theiner suspended his determination, came at length, full of candour, sympathy, and affectionate solicitude. It operated like a strengthening cordial upon his resolutions. He now turned all his efforts to effect the desired reconciliation. He gave alms, and even solicited the suffrages of those he relieved. At Orleans, he had thoughts of entering a seminary, with the view of resuming those studies which had been interrupted when he went to the university, for it appears he always entertained a design of embracing the ecclesiastical state. Monsignor Brumald de Beauregard, dissuaded him from this project, and recommended him to go to Rome. To Rome? he would as soon seek the wilds of Siberia. To Rome? where his kind friends persuaded him that a lodging in the Castle of St. Angelo awaited him; as they pretended his portrait had been already sent thither, by two Jesuit spies of his Holiness! To Rome, however, after a considerable struggle, he made up his mind to go; and after some wavering and delay at Marseilles, committing himself to that Providence which had conducted the work of his conversion so far, and to the protection of Her, by whom (to use his own words) the vessel of humanity was guided into the harbour of salvation, he effected his safe arrival. By singular coincidence, he was lodged in the very apartment in which Schlosser of Frankfort, after his conversion to catholicity, breathed his last. He had been attended during his illness by Father Kohlman, of the Society of Jesus. Moved partly by the interest this circumstance awakened in him, partly by mere curiosity, he sought the residence of Kohlman, in whom he was at last happy enough to find a man to whom he could open his mind without reserve. By his advice, he was in-

duced to make a retreat of eight days at St. Eusebius, (the house for retreats conducted by the Society of Jesus in Rome,) which suggested the second title of his book, and was there received back again into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He describes the consolation he then experienced in terms of impassioned eloquence. At St. Eusebius, where he was at last able to bring to a conclusion the work of his conversion, he conceived the design of writing a history of ecclesiastical seminaries, and communicated the project first to Father Morel, and then to Kohlman. Thus originated the work before us, which is a learned performance, and contains a triumphant vindication of the principles and discipline of the Church, regarding education. Its execution reflects the greatest credit upon its indefatigable author, who is well known to the learned world, by many works of erudition, especially upon the subject of the Canon Law.

The "*Seminario Ecclesiastico*," treats of the origin, institution, and progress of seminaries, and is divided into three parts. As traces of these institutions begin to be discoverable about the fourth century, the first part comprises their history, from that time till the reign of Charlemagne. The second describes their progress from that eventful era in the history of literature and of mankind, to the epoch of the council of Trent; from which last period, the remaining portion brings down their history to the present day.

"There is nothing," says Benedict XIV, "which so much contributes to the welfare of the state, as the right education of youth. By such means only can the state hope to provide herself with proper rulers and ministers.\* Deeply convinced of this truth, the Church, when the troublous times of persecution had subsided, lost no time in establishing episcopal schools, in which youthful clerics, destined to become rulers and ministers of the faithful, might be trained up in piety and learning, and so gradually advanced in the hierarchy.

"For the first three hundred years of her eventful career," as Dr. Weedall observes, "no systematic preparation, indeed, could be made for the sacred ministry. Her theology was, *to die*, rather than *to dispute*. Her seminaries were the solitude of the desert, the catacombs, the caverns of the earth. The mere profession of Christianity was evidence of sincerity. Priests and bishops were either confessors or martyrs, and saint and Christian were convertible terms. But when kings, and princes, and nobles, walked into the church, then

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\* De Synod, Djoc. v. c. ii.

walked in also the spirit of the world. That spirit, which had been declared so opposite to Christ's spirit, shed a noxious influence over the Christian character. It touched not, perhaps, the faith, but it cankered the morals of the people, and in random spots, which before had been uniformly bright, it tarnished even the virgin gold of the sanctuary.

“The Church was quickly alive to these symptoms of decline. Holy bishops reviewed their extensive flocks, and finding that peace was more enervating than persecution, and that the world at large was not well suited to form pastors and apostles, they summoned their young Levites from amongst the tribes, enclosed them within their episcopal residences, there trained them on the purest models, and taught them the sublime science of the saints, and the sweet simplicity of the gospel. They lived familiarly with their young ecclesiastics, as Jesus Christ with his apostles, and became their masters and patterns in the ways of a spiritual life. This was the origin in the Church of the *Regular Clerks*, or of clerics living by rule in community; and from the houses of St. Basil in the east, and St. Martin in the west, there went forth colonies of holy and learned bishops, who both propagated religion themselves, and spread the scheme of its propagation very widely through the land. St. Eusebius of Vercelli, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, adopted and improved the wise suggestions. They gave system and rule to the institution, they particularly revived the apostolic practice of having all things in common, which formed the basis, indeed, of the monastic orders, and devised those admirable rules of study, discipline, and prayer, that created a host of apostolic pastors, of learned and zealous bishops, of incomparable doctors and champions of the faith, who shed lustre and sanctity and glory over the Churches of Africa, of Italy, of Spain, and Gaul, during the larger portion of ten centuries.”—pp. 12-13.

To this we may add that *seminaries*, by which we understand institutions for clerical education *generally*, were, indeed, inherent in the Church's constitution, being among those germs, which, existing in her fruitful bosom, are unfolded gradually to the light as the wants of her children and the circumstances of the times require. The gifts of prophecy, of tongues, and of miracles, through which the apostles were enabled to propagate the Church in the first instance *supernaturally*, were not transmitted as ordinary instruments to their successors, after she was established. Wherever, indeed, the gospel is preached in idolatrous countries, as by St. Francis Xavier in India, these gifts are often literally revived, because the Church is there in fact in the same state in which it was when the apostles enjoyed these gifts. But the order of Providence seems to be, that the Church once established, should

be committed to the influence of those laws to which, like other societies, she is subject. Hence arose the necessity of fitting the priesthood to become the depositories of the faith, the teachers of the faithful, and the ministers of the sacraments, by the ordinary means of human instruction. Their duty it was also, not only to combat the internal foes of the Church, and to oppose every heresy as it sprung up, but also, before every thing else in the order of time, to resist the pressure of paganism from without. The heathens did not relinquish their religion without a struggle, and though they waged against Christianity a warfare of blood, yet they did not disdain to use the weapons of learning and argument, for they were too wise not to perceive that physical violence may contend with, but can never overcome moral force. Perhaps this opposition which Christianity met with from paganism occasioned the earliest developement of that germ, the progress of which in after ages it is our object to trace; since the first Christian schools seem to have been established to withstand the aggressions of pagan philosophy.

“The learned institutions,” says Theiner, “of which Asiatic Greece especially could boast, and which were the more eagerly frequented by the heathens, because, adhering tenaciously to the ancient traditions of paganism, they were regarded as the sole bulwark by which not merely the honour but the very existence of idolatry could be maintained against the growing ascendancy of Christianity, naturally excited in the Christians a desire of nourishing by similar institutes the spirit of their faith. Hence arose at Alexandria, the most cultivated and flourishing city of those times, the catechetical schools, in which the Christian and pagan doctrines were respectively upheld; so that Alexandria became the head-quarters of either worship, and was the fruitful seminary of many illustrious doctors of the Church.”—p. 66.

Here the sublime genius of Origen gathered strength to soar, and here Athanasius, ably seconded by his monks, gained many a palm in the cause of Christianity. Hence, too, arose the schools of Edessa and of Nisibis, of which the former, during its brief existence, for it was destroyed by the emperor Zeno at the instigation of Nestorius and the wretched Theodorus, of Mopsuestia, reached so high a degree of fame as to be called the *Academy of Persia*; and the latter gave to the Church many illustrious ornaments and defenders.

From the mass of innumerable facts which the research of our author has collected, we select those only which appear most interesting. They will serve also to confirm our view of the

support and encouragement which the Church has always given to these establishments, which, as we have seen, developed themselves at an early period, and which have ever since been fostered with peculiar care. But for the form which about the fifth century they began to assume, and which they retained with more or fewer modifications until the Council of Trent reduced them to a uniform and permanent system, we are indebted to the great St. Augustine. He had scarcely received ordination, as his biographer, Possidonius, informs us, before he turned his thoughts to perfecting the monastic life. From the Bishop Valerius, who had ordained him, he obtained a small piece of ground, on which he built a kind of convent, and lived with a certain number of clerical companions in retirement, study, and religious exercises. This society, as Theiner observes, was not so much a monastic institute as a seminary in which the clergy might cultivate the spirit of their calling, and acquire the sciences useful to the Church. The system of rules which St. Augustine explained, in his discourse, *De vita et moribus Clericorum*, is often recurred to by bishops and councils in after times, as a model for the establishments which they founded or recommended. In fact, it embodied the elements of that system which was finally perfected by the Council of Trent. St. Augustine's institute was imitated by the most zealous among the African bishops, Possidius, Novatus, Benenatus, and Severus.

When the Arian persecution drove the bishops and the clergy of Africa into Italy and Gaul, they carried with them this favourite institution of their illustrious doctor, and planted it in a foreign soil, where it soon enriched the Church with abundant fruit. It gave birth to the monastery of Fulgentius at Cagliari, whose decisions on theological points were sought after from all parts, and received as of the highest authority. In Sicily, at Milan, and in other parts, similar establishments arose.† At Rome, schools of Christian education must have existed from the very earliest times, since we learn that St. Felician, towards the close of the second century, was educated at a school, over which Victor, the Archdeacon, and successor of Pope Eleutherius, presided,‡ and about the year 410 St. Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, was brought up at one of them.§ But on this point the testimony of St. Leo, who flourished in 440, is so striking, that we here subjoin it.

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\* See also the letters of St. Aug. xx., 14-9.

† So at least it would seem from an obscure passage of Ennodius, epig. 16.

‡ "Acta S. Feliciani," ad. 24 Jan., ap. Bolland. § "Vita ejus ad 19 Jan. 44.



“*Meritâ sanctorum patrum*,” he writes to the African bishops, “*venerabiles sanctiones, cum de sacerdotum electione loquerentur, eos demum idôneos sacris administrationibus censuerunt, quorum omnis ætas à puerilibus exordiis usque ad proVectiores annos ut unicuique testimonium prior vita præberet.*” St. Benedict, the Cassian of the west, who succeeded in transplanting to a less genial clime the monastic institute which had sprung up in the east, considerably promoted the erection of seminaries. “Similar regulations” (to those of St. Augustine) as Dr. Baines observes, “were adopted in the sixth century by the great St. Gregory, who established in his own house on the Celian hill a seminary for the education of the Roman clergy, whence he afterwards deputed those zealous and holy men, who became the converters of our Saxon ancestors and the apostles of England.”\* With Christianity, England received the benefit of these institutions; for when the apostle of our country applied to St. Gregory for a rule of life for the clergy, that pontiff sent him the rules of St. Augustine, according to which his own seminary was directed.† Learning in consequence soon flourished to such an extent in England, that, as Bede testifies, (lib. iv. c. 11) the Latin and Greek languages became as familiar to our Saxon ancestors as their vernacular tongue. A system of uniform discipline was introduced among the clergy by Theodore and Adrian, who were sent into Britain by Pope Vitalian. The schools of Lindisfarne and York rose to celebrity under the auspices of the holy bishops Aidan and Elbert. From Alcuin we learn the extensive scheme of education followed in the latter, for it comprised, besides the usual branches of sacred study, astronomy, botany, natural history, physical and mathematical science.‡ In Ireland also, which was distinguished for its enthusiastic devotion to learning and the hospitable reception it gave to foreign students resorting thither, schools appear to have existed in the counties of Wexford, East Meath, and Down, as early as the sixth century.§ The Saxon monarchs, Oswald and Sigebert, were zealous as patrons of ecclesiastical learning. The latter, on his return from France, where he had received baptism, founded several schools on the model of those which he had seen in that country. For in France, the institute of St. Augustine must have

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\* “Address on the opening of St. Paul’s College, Prior Park.” See *antea*, vol. ii. p. 605.

† Epis. lib. xi. ep. 64. Bede i. c. 27.

‡ Alcuin de Pontif. Eborac.

§ Bede iii. c. 27.



been adopted at a very early period, since St. Gregory of Tours\* relates, that in his time most of the bishops had established in their respective dioceses the *mensa canonicorum*, an expression which must be deemed equivalent to the *monasterium canonicorum*, or seminary of St. Augustine.† It is sufficient merely to mention the institute of St. Hilary, bishop of Arles, and that of St. Martin of Tours, extolled by Sulpicius.‡ Neither were Spain and Germany unprovided with similar schools; the latter country was indebted to England for learning as well as for the faith, and continued for some time thence to receive its teachers. St. Boniface, in the year 762, assisted by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, who promulgated a rule of life for the clergy, exactly corresponding with that set forth by the fourth Council of Toledo, as we shall have occasion to mention, placed the ecclesiastical schools of Germany on a permanent basis. Much earlier the Church had manifested an anxiety for the promotion of education among the clergy, by the voice of her councils. There is a canon of the Council of Nicea which seems to prescribe the erection of seminaries, but not being of those twenty, which the learned are agreed to admit as genuine, and which have been received by the universal Church, it cannot here be adduced.§ But the second Council of Toledo, held in 531, (c. 1.), decrees their institution as follows:—"Concerning those whom the will of their parents has dedicated to the clerical office from their infancy, we appoint that immediately on being admitted to the tonsure, or advanced to the office of lector, they shall receive their education from competent persons in the house attached to the Church, and under the eyes of the bishop."|| The fourth Council of Toledo, in the year 633, (c. 24), con-

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\* "Hist. Franc." iv. c. 46.

† "Volui habere in ista domo episcopi mecum monasterium canonicorum." Serm de morib. eccles.

‡ Vita S. Martini, c. x.

§ The canons of this council were translated from Arabic into Latin, and published first by Francis Turrianus and afterwards by Abraham Ecchellensis. In the canon alluded to in the text, which is the fifty-fifth in the former edition and the fifty-ninth in the latter, the choir bishops are enjoined "to appoint ministers and distribute them through the churches and monasteries, and to provide that they may be instructed in order to render them capable of adequately supplying the wants of other monasteries and churches; upon which words the annotator (ap. Labbé, tom. ii. p. 307) makes the following comment:—"Cernitur in hoc canone ratio quædam seminarii ministrorum ecclesiæ seu vestigium quoddam seminariorum quæ nuper secundum decretum Synodi Tridentinæ instituta sunt." But, as has been observed, this canon is rejected as spurious. See Bened. xiv. de Synod. Dioeces, lib. v. c. 11, and Institut. Eccl. 59.

Collec. Hard. tom. ii. col. 1139.

firms the enactment of the last-mentioned council.\* It moreover distinguishes two kinds of seminaries; a larger seminary in the bishop's own house for the priests, bishops, and subdeacons; and a minor seminary for the inferior clergy, in the house adjoining the Church, under the care and constant superintendence of a person of approved sanctity and mature age. It dwells on the necessity of this measure, from the proneness of youth to licentiousness, when not subjected to restraint. Another council, held in 529, requires not merely a seminary to be established in each diocese, but in every parish priest's house, declaring such to be the salutary custom observed throughout all Italy.† If seminaries are less frequently mentioned in the acts of later councils, it is because they had then been more generally established; not merely in the episcopal residences, but also in the monasteries, as we shall have occasion to observe.

Having traced the growth of seminaries from their earliest commencement till they had reached a flourishing condition in the eighth century, our author passes to the era of Charlemagne. Hitherto we have beheld these institutions springing up in quiet seclusion beneath the vigilant care of zealous bishops, or propagated through the earnest efforts and wise ordinances of councils. We shall now have to contemplate them as entering into connexion with the political system, imparting and receiving a mutual support, surrounded with the splendour of imperial patronage, and through the assiduous cultivation of wealth and power, attaining rapidly to maturity. Nor is it difficult to perceive, that at a period when the peace and well-being of the Church depended on the protection which the zeal and piety of the sovereign afforded her in the midst of the petty warfare with which Europe was then distracted, and the inroads of the lawless hordes that threatened to plunge religion and social order into one common night of barbarism, that the support of the temporal power was indispensable to secure the existence of seminaries as well as of every other ecclesiastical institution.

“For though it may be naturally supposed that schools and ecclesiastical seminaries, which we have seen, in the foregoing period, attain to such a high degree of perfection, were not likely to disappear in an age which was daily growing more and more favourable to the Church, still, in order that these establishments might acquire a present, and secure a future, stability, and be enabled to

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\* Ap. Gratian. can. i, 12, quæ est. i.

† Conc. Vasens. Coll. Hard. tom. ii. col. 1105.

impart their benefits to the state no less than to the Church, it was absolutely necessary that a more powerful protector than any they had hitherto enjoyed should patronize their welfare ; and this protector they found in Charlemagne. That emperor rightly considered that a solid education, based upon religion, formed the staunchest support of the state, and, at the same time, the surest bond by which she could be enabled to blend the heterogeneous elements of which his vast empire was composed into one harmonious assemblage, tending to a common end ; and therefore he wisely distributed his time, between the material, if we may be allowed the expression, and the intellectual government of his kingdom. On his return from his glorious campaigns, we behold him at one time taking counsel with his paladins, concerning the least important as well as the gravest matters of state ; and at another, seated in the midst of a circle of venerable bishops, drawn together by the Holy Spirit, conferring with them and aiding them to devise measures for the improvement of the Christian people. He was careful also to direct their attention to the fountain-head from which the main support of their plans was to be derived,—to Rome, the centre of Christianity, whence teachers might be sent to deliver the word of God in its genuine purity. Upon the model which this sacred city presented, he was desirous of moulding, not merely the internal constitution, but likewise the outward features of the Church in his dominions. He thought he could not reap a nobler harvest of glory than by bringing with him from Rome, men, who like Alcuin, were skilled in the ancient languages, and instructed in the discipline of the Church, in order to communicate to France and Germany the literary and spiritual culture which then adorned Italy. On his return for the third time from Rome, he was accompanied by a chosen band of scholars, and published (787) his celebrated constitution, *De scholis per singula episcopia et monasteria instituendis*,\* which soon became a fundamental law of his empire.”—p. 97.

Charlemagne not only placed the sciences in their legitimate sphere, by rendering them subservient to religion, but was himself a diligent cultivator of learning. The sacred books, the fathers, and the decrees of the Councils, formed his favourite study, especially when, by dividing the cares of government with his son, he was enabled to devote more time to these pursuits. He transcribed copies of the Bible in Greek, Latin, and even Syriac.† He on all occasions zealously revived and promoted ecclesiastical discipline. Here it may not be improper to observe, that, although

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\* Capitul. Reg. Franc. ap. Steph. Baluz, tom. i. p. 201 sqq. Paris, 1677.

“ Mabillon Annal. Ord.” S. Bened. lib. xxv. 63.

† Eginhard, Vita. Carol. ap. Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 277.

Charlemagne extended over the Church his protecting influence, mindful of the maxim of St. Leo, that power is conferred on monarchs not merely for the government of the world, but principally for the safeguard of the Church, he knew how to draw an accurate distinction between the temporal and the spiritual authority, and was far from usurping any control over the Church in those things which exclusively appertain to her jurisdiction. Accordingly, in his Capitulary of 789, he thus addresses the bishops: "We have thought proper *to solicit your prudent endeavours*, shepherds of Christ's Church, leaders of his flock, and bright luminaries of the world. . . . Let no one," he subjoins, "deem this our admonition *unwarrantably presumptuous*, but rather judge it in the spirit of charity." The constitution of 787, which was republished almost verbatim, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789, provided for the establishment of large schools, both for the religious and secular clergy, from which the laity, and especially nobles, were not to be excluded; so that the benefit of learning was rendered universal. The monastic schools, at this period, our author observes, appear to have retained their ancient character of seminaries for the secular clergy, and in them it was considered that the ecclesiastical spirit was best imbibed. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, tells us that he was brought up in the Monastery of St. Denis, where he wore the clerical habit (*habitus canonicorum*); and being ordained priest, passed to the court of Louis the Pious.\* On this point, however, it is necessary to state, that Benedict XIV,† after Mabillon has proved that two distinct institutes for education existed in the monasteries, the one of internal, or claustral schools, into which the secular clergy were never admitted, for monks and oblates;‡ the other, of external, or canonical schools, for seculars. Gerard Du Bois makes the same distinction: "Schools were first instituted for the instruction of the clergy, whence scholars generally came to be denominated *clerks*; and, for the same object, their erection is enjoined by royal constitutions and decrees of councils, two places being assigned for them, the bishop's residence and the monasteries, the latter for the monks, the former for the clergy."§ Moreover, in the assembly of French bishops at

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\* Hincmar Opp. tom. ii. p. 304. Paris, 1645. † De Synod, lib. v. c. 11.

‡ The *oblats* were persons, who were not bound by religious vows, but had given up their entire property to a monastery, and, residing therein, enjoyed the privileges of its members.

§ Hist. Eccl. Paris, lib. ii. c. 7.

Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, (c. 42) it was enacted, that no secular cleric should be admitted into a monastery to reside there, unless with the intention of becoming a monk; and, in c. 45, it is decreed that no schools should exist within the walls of a monastery, save for such as enjoyed the monastic privilege.\* The University of Osnabruck, founded by Charlemagne, (804) was, in fact, a species of ecclesiastical seminary. It may be farther adduced, as a proof that seminaries had not yet lost their original character, that the Fathers of the third Council of Tours repeat the substance of the twenty-third canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, already quoted, respecting the obligation of the clergy to reside for some time in the episcopal palace, with a view of manifesting that their manners and deportment were unexceptionable.† The constitutions of Charlemagne were ordered to be observed and to be put into execution, by the Council of Châlons-sur-Saône; in order, say the Fathers of the Council, “that fitting and capable ministers of the Lord may be provided, who may be worthy to be called the salt of the earth, and be so far versed in science, as to be qualified to confound not merely the several teachers of error, but Antichrist himself.”‡ Louis the Pious, successor of Charlemagne, in the national Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, made the rule of life, introduced by Chrodogang, a universal law, by which act he gave stability to the enactments of his predecessor, and placed the system of ecclesiastical education upon a uniform and lasting foundation. This institute, enlarged and revised, was also wisely incorporated, by the Fathers of the Council, with St. Augustine’s Discourse, already mentioned, as well as with the twenty-third canon of the Council of Toledo.”§ Louis had copies made of these ordinances, and distributed among the principal prelates of his kingdom, that they might be reduced to effect as speedily as possible. In a capitulary, issued in 823, he exhorts the bishops carefully to maintain the existing schools, and establish others; and so anxious was he for the advancement of learning within the seminaries, that he expressed a wish that parish priests should bring to the diocesan synods a few of their most promising clerics, who might give public proof of their attainments. The institution of clerks (*canonici*) by Chrodogang, is not to be confounded

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\* Coll. Harduin. tom. iv. col. 1231.

† Can. 12 and 32 ap. Mansi Collect. ampliss. Concil. to. xiv. p. 85 sqq.

‡ Can. 13. Mansi, tom. xiv. p. 94.

§ Cap. 35, 112, 113, ap. Hartzheim Conc. Germ. tom. i. 4 sqq.

either with that of canons, as a regular order, or of chapters, which were of a nature and scope entirely different; and a proof that it comprised the whole secular clergy, is afforded by the capitulary published shortly after the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, wherein only three orders in the Church are enumerated,—the canons, monks, and laity. The seminary, also, established at Munster by St. Liudgar, who was certainly not a monk, is called by his biographer, *monasterium canonicorum*. Under the reign of Louis, there arose a kind of institution somewhat different from the preceding, and partaking more of the character of the universities, to the establishment of which it undoubtedly led the way. These were public schools, which the synod of Paris, assembled in 826, earnestly solicited the Emperor to open in at least three places in the kingdom: “In order,” said these fathers to the Emperor, “that your exertions, and those of your father, in the cause of learning, may not lose their efficacy through neglect. From such establishments, we have an assured hope that the Church will derive utility and honour, and your majesty a large accession of fame.”\* Already there existed, from the time of Charlemagne, a school of this kind in the imperial palace, called, for this reason, *Schola Palatina*, which was much frequented and renowned. There St. Radbod studied, and thither crowds resorted, less with the view of attaining the high ecclesiastical dignities to which it entitled them, than through a sincere love of the sciences which it so admirably taught.† What effect the request of the Synod produced, there are no authorities to testify, but it is probable it occasioned the erection of the schools of Tours, of Lyons, and of Fulda, which flourished shortly after. Italy, and the Church in general, owed much to the zeal of Pope Eugenius II, who, in a canon of the Council of Rome, (826) approved in a particular manner the constitutions of Charlemagne and his successor.‡ There were present at this council, seventy-seven Italian bishops, by whom its acts were subscribed; and Tiraboschi and Affò justly consider that the canon above-mentioned greatly accelerated and promoted the erection of seminaries throughout Italy.§ The seminary near the church of St. John Lateran, where Popes Leo III, Paschal I, and

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\* Conc. Paris. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 559, tom. xiv. ap. Mansi.

† Vita ejus ap. Mabillon. ‡ Conc. Rom. c. 34. p. 1028, ap. Mansi loc. cit.

§ Storia della Letteratura Italiana, lib. iii. c. 17. 23. Affò, “Storia della Città di Parma,” tom. i. p. 154. Parma, 1792.



other distinguished persons, were educated, vied at this period in reputation with the imperial school, whose foundation it preceded, and to which it not improbably lent professors.

But the ninth century, which beheld these schools attain such perfection, witnessed also their temporary decay. For in 855, we find the Council of Valence urging Charles the Bald to imitate the example of his predecessors, in attending to the welfare of these establishments, which had suffered greatly in consequence of the long and disastrous civil wars which then desolated France.\* Bitterly the holy bishops deplored the utter ignorance which had crept into the Church in many parts, through the neglect of them; and the Council of Tulle (859), lamenting their decay, sets forth the many benefits which the Church derived from them. The bishops of France and Germany, in a body, solicited the Emperor, the kings, and princes, to repair the evil, and to re-establish these public schools in their former splendour.† According to Theiner, who calls them *academies*, they differed essentially from the large and small seminaries, inasmuch as they taught the higher branches of study, as far as they bore upon the illustration of Scripture, and admitted scholars from all quarters, without distinction of country or diocese. Yet, from the canons of various councils, it is evident that sacred science was exclusively their object. Their erection is, however, prescribed in general terms, which do not determine their locality; so that many of them have escaped the notice of history, although they must have been exceedingly numerous, and must have reached a high state of perfection at the time of Charles the Bald, whom the biographer of St. Germanus of Auxerre styles the Solomon of his age. "The muses of Greece seem, under Charles, to have abandoned their native country, and to have migrated into Germany and Gaul."‡ But whoever desires to form an estimate of the services which Charlemagne and his successors rendered to ecclesiastical learning, ought to consult the pages of Mabillon,§ who has collected, with indefatigable industry, a catalogue of all the academies. To return to Italy; Leo IV, who had been brought up in the Lateran seminary, in the Roman Synod of 853, not only renewed the constitution of his predecessor, Eugenius II, but gave it a more ample form and developement.

\* Cap. 18. tom. xv. p. 10, ap. Mansi.

† Conc. Tullon. can. x. p. 450; *ib.*

‡ Prologus vitæ S. Germani, Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. Jul. Ap. Duchesne S.S. Ord. Franciscæ, tom. ii. p. 471, Baron. ad an. 876, n. 38, 39.

§ Annales. Ord. S. Bened. tom. ii. iv.



“What Charlemagne effected in Germany, the immortal Alfred achieved in England. The decline of learning in the Saxon states had been rapidly accelerated by the Danish invasions. The churches and monasteries, the only academies of the age, had been destroyed; and at the accession of Alfred, Wessex could hardly boast of a single scholar able to translate a Latin book into the English tongue. The king, who from his early years had been animated with the most ardent passion for knowledge, endeavoured to infuse a similar spirit into all who aspired to his favour. For this purpose, he invited to his court the most distinguished scholars of his own and of foreign countries. Plegmund and Werfrith, Ethelstan and Wermulf, visited him from Mercia. John, of old Saxony, left the monastery of Corbie, for an establishment at Ethelingey. Asser, of St. David's, was induced by valuable presents to reside with the king during six months in the year: and an honourable embassy to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, returned with Grimbald, the celebrated provost of St. Omer's. With their assistance, Alfred began in his thirty-ninth year to apply to the study of Roman literature, and opened schools in different places for the instruction of his subjects. It was his will, that the children of every freeman, whose circumstances would allow it, should acquire the elementary arts of reading and writing; and, that those who were designed for civil or ecclesiastical employments, should moreover be instructed in the Latin language.

“It was a misfortune which the king frequently lamented, that Saxon literature contained no books of science. ‘I have often wondered,’ says he, ‘that the illustrious scholars, who once flourished among the English, and who had read so many foreign works, never thought of transferring the most useful into their own language.’ To supply the deficiency, Alfred himself undertook the task of his translations; two were historical, and two didactic. The first were the Ecclesiastical History of the English by Bede, and the Epitome of Orosius, the best abridgment of ancient history then extant, both works calculated to excite and gratify the curiosity of his subjects. Of the others, one was meant for general reading. ‘The Consolations of Philosophy,’ by Boetius, a treatise deservedly held in high estimation at that period; and the second was destined for the instruction of the clergy, the Pastoral of Gregory the Great, a work recommended to his notice both by its own excellence, and the reputation of its author. Of this, he sent a copy to every bishop in his dominions, with a request that it might be preserved in his cathedral for the use of the diocesan clergy.”—*Lingard*, i. pp. 192-3, 4to Ed.

Alfred also restored at Rome, under the name of the Saxon College, the school for the English, which seems to have existed from a very early period, and was found by him in a very dilapidated condition, when he visited the capital of Christianity

in his youth.\* The schools of Winchester, of Canterbury, and above all of Glastenbury, under the zealous promoter of ecclesiastical discipline and learning, St. Dunstan, serve to show how England continued to flourish, not to mention that the most celebrated schools of the continent, that of Henry on the Loire, for instance, were supplied with professors from the British Isles. Of the literary spirit of the Irish, the biographer of St. Germanus gives ample testimony.†

The schools of Lyons, Langres, Chartres, Tours and Rheims, acquired for France considerable reputation during the eleventh century, not to speak of the monastic school at Fécamp, nor of the episcopal seminary of Tulle.‡ At the same period the seminaries of Utrecht, Fulda, Worms and Wurzburg, prospered, as did also those of Glenfours, of Hildesheim, where the great St. Bernward, of the family of the Counts of Sonnersberg, which gave a long line of electors to Saxony, was educated, and where he did not disdain to superintend the education of the scholars; and of Magdeburg, which furnished the Church with such men as Adelbert, bishop of Prague, and Bruno, apostle of Russia. Towards the close of the same century, we find a seminary of St. Peter's at Cologne; and St. Bruno, brother to Otho, Emperor of Germany, a man who excelled in every branch of learning, revived the glory of the ancient palatine school.§ But the institution which reached the greatest eminence and shed most lustre over this period, was the academy of Paderborn. Here, under Idamus, nephew to St. Meinwerk, the sciences were cultivated with ardour and success.|| To the *trivium*, which included grammar, rhetoric and logic, was now added the *quadrivium*, which comprised arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.¶ The classic authors formed part of the course, and in the hours of

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\* It is not improbable that this school was founded by Ina, in 728, as is asserted by several of our English historians, though Dr. Lingard observes, the circumstance was unknown to the more ancient writers. Spelman. *Vita Alfred.* lib. i. § 2, lib. ii. § 63. *Oxon.* 1678. Cf. Dr. Wiseman, "Lectures on the Eucharist." Pref. p.

† *Vita ejus, loc. cit.*

‡ Mabillon *sæc.* § v. *Vita Gul. Div.* § 14, p. 290. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. vi. par. ii. *Vita S. Halinardi*, § 1, 3, p. 34, *Mabill. sæc.* iv.

§ *Vita Olberti*, § 3, p. 526, ap. *Mabill. sæc.* vi. *Vita S. Bernwardi*, § 2, 3, p. 181, *loc. cit.* *Vita S. Brunon*, § 1. *Vita Gul. Braunsv.* § 3, p. 6, 7, 8, *loc. cit.*

|| *Vita S. Meinweri.* cap. xi. § 78, p. 537, *loc. cit.*

¶ The sciences taught in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* were designated by the words in italics in the two following verses:—

"*Gramm.* loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat.

*Mus.* canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra."

Berington's "Middle Ages," p. 148.

relaxation from severer study, the scholars applied themselves to poetry and eloquence, and to the art of copying and illuminating manuscripts. This school was open exclusively to ecclesiastical students, and the strictest discipline was enforced.

With the twelfth century a new era commences. Ecclesiastical seminaries, or separate schools for the clergy, begin to disappear. Of this their extinction, which was neither gradual nor partial, but sudden and universal, various causes may be assigned. In the first place, the breaking up of the feudal system, may, as Theiner remarks, have exerted some influence in causing their destruction. This grand bond, which knit together and consolidated the old political constitution of Europe, relaxed by its dissolution in some degree the sinews of discipline in the Church. It was impossible for the clergy not to be involved in the confusion into which the elements of social order were thrown. Neither could they remain unmoved amidst the political struggles, or escape untainted by the licentiousness and corruption which ensued. It is, however, quite certain, that fervour had declined among the clergy even at an earlier period than the overthrow of the feudal system, and, as we have elsewhere observed, may have sprung from the partial introduction of this very system into ecclesiastical investitures. They now, however, broke through the wholesome restraints of the canonical rule, which, during the three preceding centuries, had been the firm support of the ecclesiastical spirit. Such an infringement could not but sap the very foundation of the seminaries, preparing the way for their rapid fall. Their destruction was finally completed by the establishment of the universities. For these institutions soon eclipsed and finally superseded every other kind of education. It is impossible not to admire the activity of the human mind during this period, and to be carried away even involuntarily by the spirit-stirring events of the times. It was the age of the crusades, of chivalry and of learning. It was an age in which the Roman pontiffs swayed the political events of Europe more by their moral power than can the utmost efforts of physical force at the present day. It was the age in which intelligence predominated over the material arts, and when zeal for learning drew together from the most distant countries, students to the universities of Paris and Bologna, its favoured sanctuaries. At the latter the celebrated schools of Rome and of Constantinople, under Theodosius and Justinian, were revived, especially in the

departments of canon and civil law, after the discovery of the "Pandects" at Amalfi, in 1137, and rose to still higher fame on the publication of the "Decretum" of Gratian, in 1151. Of the University of Paris, at this period, a modern writer gives the following description:—

"It was so jealous of its claim of being regarded as a school embracing universal knowledge, that no sooner had the study of canon law begun to assume a high rank among the sciences at the university of Bologna, and was cultivated by a considerable number of scholars and professors, than it was adopted at Paris, where more than one distinguished jurisconsult gave lectures upon it with reputation and success. Medicine could boast of a Gilles de Corbeil, on whose works even in modern times a high value has been set. But it was unanimously admitted, that nowhere was theology, with the different branches of study belonging to it, imparted with the same copiousness, accuracy and depth as at Paris, and that to pretend to the character of a theologian, it was absolutely necessary to have studied in that city. Throughout Christendom its theological professors enjoyed so exalted a reputation, that while the most knotty questions in civil or canon law were sent for solution to the jurisconsults of Bologna, Paris was appealed to on all important cases of conscience, and religious differences were submitted to its arbitration: even popes themselves did not disdain to refer to its doctors on points of dogma or morality; and it was thought the highest compliment that could be paid to the talents or acquirements of a theologian, to say of him that he seemed to have spent his whole life at the University of Paris. After the middle of the twelfth century, the concourse of youth to this city from all parts of Europe was never exceeded perhaps in any other place, at that or any other period. It was difficult to find lodging in the city, and oftentimes, say the annalists, the number of strangers exceeded that of the inhabitants."\*

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\* Hurter. "Histoire d'Innocent III. et de son siècle." He gives the following specimens of the enthusiastic terms in which the poets of the age speak of Paris:—

"Nulla quibus toto gens acceptior orbi  
Militia, sensu, doctrinis, philosophia,  
Artibus ingenuis, ornatu, veste, nidore."—Guil. Brit. Philipp. l. i.

"Altera regia Phœbi  
Parisius, Cyrrhaca viris, Chrysea metallis,  
Græca libris, Inda studiis, Romana poetis,  
Attica terra sophis, mundi rosa, balsamus orbis,  
Dives agris, fœcunda mero, mansucta colonis,  
Messe ferax, inoperta rubis, numerosa racemis,  
Plena feris, piscosa lacu, volucra fluentis,  
Munda domo, fortis domino, pia regibus, aura  
Dulcis, amœna situ, bona quælibet, omne, venustum  
Omne bonum, si sola bonis faveret!"

Architremius, ap. Bulæum. Hist. Univ. Paris.

Still, these establishments were liable to many abuses. They contained within themselves the elements of their own dissolution, and were unhappily productive of lasting mischief to religion. The course of studies pursued in them became gradually contracted, and an undue preponderance was given to the dangerous and alluring art of dialectics. In the universities arose an unrestrained freedom of thought and expression, an eagerness of inquiry into mysteries the most impenetrable, that bordered closely upon disrespect, and led to doubts and errors; and finally, a vehemence of disposition which degenerated into fierce and angry controversy. Professors and students were divided into opposite factions, and the doctrines of a favourite professor were supported by his disciples with all the violence of partizanship. The same evil, in a word, prevailed, which St. Augustine long ago complained of in the schools of Carthage.\* Not only was each university the seat of internal dissensions, but the merits of one university provoked the jealousy of the others. Their cause was espoused by princes; and to such a pitch had this evil extended at the commencement of the thirteenth century, that the emperor Frederick II, being incensed against Bologna, erected an university at Naples, and prohibited students from resorting to any other in Italy.† But an evil of wider and more disastrous influence, if it did not originate in the universities, was at least fearfully augmented and extended by them. This was the corruption of morals, especially among the clergy. At the universities, youth, no longer kept under the vigilant eye of a parent, or guardian, and emancipated from those restraints which are so wholesome and necessary in order to check the passions to which this age is prone, fell an easy prey to ambition and the allurements of pleasure. Hence, these institutions became the terror of parents, and the fatal rock upon which youthful innocence was wrecked. For vice was here presented under its most insinuating forms; and if temptation was great, example was overpowering. Hence it happened that, as Hurter remarks, in his excellent and impartial history of Innocent III, “the brilliant eulogiums of those in whose eyes the splendour of science was everything, sadly contrasted with the lamentations and complaints of men who regarded purity of morals as the brightest ornament and richest treasure of youth. ‘O Paris,’ exclaimed a writer of the latter class, ‘where every vice has its abode, and every evil lies in ambush, thou art the poisoned

\* Confess. lib. v. c. 8.

† Butler's Life of St. Thomas Aquinas.

arrow which hell discharges against unwary souls, and with which it pierces them to the quick !”\* But if the unbridled licentiousness of the universities was a perilous trial to students in general, it proved a fatal stumbling-block to the clergy. The ruinous expenses, the gaieties and pleasures of promiscuous society; the distracting, tumultuous, and altogether worldly spirit of a life at the university, were no becoming preparation for the sacred ministry. What is more, the ordeal had to be passed at the very period of life which is most critical when the soul is yet tender, and yields easily to every impression, and the habits of after-life are acquired; and generally also, at a time when near approach to the priesthood rendered it but proper that even venial dissipation should give place to serious thoughts and occupation.

It is not, therefore, surprising, if the clerical students, wanting the retirement which rears, the example which cherishes, the discipline which strengthens against the storm of temptation, the delicate flowers of virtue, gradually lost, and finally almost renounced, the spirit of their calling; or if, borne along by a torrent of evil example, they plunged recklessly into the same excesses as their lay associates. Happy if yet an asylum existed to afford them a timely shelter from utter ruin, or an opportunity of recovering their lost habits of virtue; happy, even if a pure leaven had still remained to preserve the entire mass from corruption, or to work off gradually its grosser particles and impurities. But those institutions which had fostered morality among the clergy in the early days of the Church, and had maintained it for so long a time against the insidious aggression of the spirit of the world, were now no more. The seminaries had perished. The trumpet which proclaimed the glory of the universities, had pronounced against *them* a sentence of ignominy, which condemned them to insignificance and obscurity. Nor did they long survive the stroke that annihilated their importance. The clergy, ever foremost in the love of science, eagerly sought her in her most favoured abode. A home-education was despised by all who could afford to travel to the foreign universities; it was to be avoided by all who aspired to honour, fame, or preferment; it was distasteful to such as, neither animated with a zeal for study, nor caring for the rewards of legitimate ambition, resorted to the universities in pursuit of the gaieties, the dissipation, and liberty, that reigned there. The semi-

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† “O Parisius! idonea es ad capiendas et decipiendas animas. In te retinacula vitiorum, in te malorum decipula, in te sagitta inferni transfigit insipientium corda.”—Pet. Cellons, ep. iv. 4,



naries thus abandoned by the rich, speedily sunk, and were soon altogether extinguished. Such ecclesiastics as were too poor, or were otherwise unable to acquire the advantages of a foreign education, were not unfrequently condemned to remain in ignorance. Faith and morals in general, as a necessary consequence, declined. Still, the evil would have been less grievous, had the superior clergy, educated abroad, brought back to their own countries countervailing acquirements, by which they might turn the scale in favour of the general learning of their body, and so supply the deficiencies of their less instructed brethren. But unhappily, very often other attractions than those of science incited them to travel; other pursuits engrossed their attention, and prolonged their stay abroad, and when, at last, they did return, it was to exhibit among their countrymen nothing more, perhaps, than the specious polish and arrogant pretension which pass off superficiality for scholarship. Indeed, the most distinguished for ability and learning rarely ever returned, but accepted some post abroad wherein they could display their talents, or impart their knowledge, with most advantage to their interests or fame. Thus were particular countries drained of native talent, and study was diverted into corrupt and venal channels. Foreign princes, from political motives, encouraged this monopoly of learning, honour, and dignities, in the respective universities of their dominions, as these were thereby raised considerably in wealth and importance. Thus, at length, indolence, ignorance, and disorder, gradually pervaded every department of the sacred ministry. With whatever regret, therefore, the verdict is pronounced, a candid mind must admit that the age of the universities was not the period in which either virtue or profitable learning flourished, or produced a harvest of sound and wholesome fruit to religion. Perhaps we are fain to be dazzled with the splendour of illustrious names,—of a St. Thomas Aquinas, a Duns Scotus, an Albertus Magnus, a St. Bonaventure, a Master of the Sentences, and those celebrated doctors and scholars who deserved their quaint and lofty titles by the glory and lustre they have shed over the Church. We censure with regret, through respect for a few of their distinguished members, the general laxity which prevailed in the universities; we are willingly blind to the tendency and consequences of a system, in favour of some scattered benefits which it produced; but we should be cautious how we mingle our approbation with the applauses which have been so lavishly bestowed upon these institutions. Wise



and holy pontiffs were not to be deceived by their apparent splendour; they beheld, in that restlessness of opinions, in that mania for novelty, in that arrogant self-sufficiency and self-commendation, accompanied by a contempt for authority, a proneness to dissension and division, the germ of that bitter tree whose fruits are still being gathered, the uprising of that inundation whose waters have not yet subsided, the prologue of that tragedy whose plot is now being unravelled. To their immortal honour be it spoken, Popes Alexander III, Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX, used their utmost efforts to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the seminaries, or at least, to procure for these venerable institutions a place by the side of the more recent and all-absorbing universities. Alexander III, in the Council of Lateran, held in 1179, passed a decree, enjoining every cathedral church to maintain at least one theological professor, whose duty it should be to instruct those who aspire to the sacred ministry. The same ordinance was renewed by Innocent III, in the fourth Council of Lateran (1215), and both these pontiffs, as well as their successors, Honorius and Gregory, encouraged such professors by granting them the same privileges as were enjoyed by professors in the universities. The emperors of Germany also made an attempt to break up the monopoly enjoyed by these institutions, by erecting academies at Cologne, Prague, and Vienna. But the evil we have described had taken too deep a root, and went on spreading and increasing, till that catastrophe ensued to which for a long period it had been tending.

The execution of this holy enterprise was reserved to a more solemn occasion, a period wherein those tares that deformed the field of the divine husbandman, had attained to full growth and maturity, and an arm of might, clothed with heavenly authority, stretched forth to uproot and pluck them from the earth for ever. That important moment arrived—that powerful arm was felt, when the sacred Council of Trent assembled and issued its decrees. The evils which sprung from the unrestrained indulgence of speculative inquiry, were now redoubled, when the reformers broke through the only barrier which had confined the accumulated waters from desolating the world, sweeping away all those who did not steadfastly adhere to the only rock of faith,—the authority of the Church. And now, by one of those coincidences which mark the interposition of divine providence, there arose a society of ecclesiastics, differing both from the secular and the regular clergy, or combining their individual excellences,

which was destined to occupy a prominent part in the events of Christendom, and to exercise a decisive influence over futurity. The knights of old drew the sword in the cause of Christianity, and against the enemies of the Church, at the period when the Moslem power was at its zenith, and threatened to subjugate Europe, as well as Asia, beneath its enervating sway, and to bind them in those fetters of barbarism, in which every country, where its desolating influence had spread, lay shackled in luxury and ignorance. In like manner, the Society of Jesus formed a phalanx of defenders of the Church, against that league, whose existence, as well as triumph in the contest, depended upon her utter destruction. Never before had heresy worn a more terrific aspect; and, as in former times, as often as the monster rose from the infernal abyss, some champion of the faith came forth to combat it,—so now did the sons of Ignatius emulate the glory acquired in former days by the disciples of Dominic and the seraphic Francis.

Protestantism, in the sixteenth century, was doomed to cope with that mighty adversary, the Church, whose inexhaustible energies and resources had already triumphed over its forerunners, the Albigenses and Vaudois. The Society of Jesus was the day-spring which broke and dispelled the clouds of that dark and tempestuous night, that had gathered about the sanctuary of religion, and was the harbinger of that ever-memorable council, which, like the sun, shed its light over the chaotic elements of conflicting opinions, and served to point out, on the one hand, the deformity of error, and, on the other, the beauty and symmetry of Catholic truth. St. Ignatius, its founder, contemplating, with the deep and philosophic spirit which was peculiar to him, the evils with which social order was infested, like a skilful physician, resolved to apply the remedy at once to the root of the disorder. For, in the neglect into which education in general, and that of the clergy in particular, had fallen, he saw the source to which these evils might be traced, and resolved to repair them, by the revival of those institutions, which had ever been the safeguard of morality. Never was mind bolder, more capacious, more persevering, more intrepid, in facing obstacles, difficulties, and even misfortunes; and, consequently, none was better qualified for the task he undertook,—to establish the ancient seminaries in their original form, modified according to the wants of the times, and principally with a view of raising, against the adversaries of

the Church, a perpetual and insurmountable barrier, which might prevent the farther diffusion of their demoralizing doctrines. As the institution of Ignatius was adopted as the standard, according to which the Council of Trent framed its celebrated decree, an account of the German college, erected not merely at the suggestion, but mainly through the vigorous and but partially supported efforts of that illustrious saint, may not be uninteresting. About the year 1550, he made application, through the Cardinals Morone and Cervini, (afterwards Marcellus II) to Julius III, for his sanction to this design; into which the Pope entered with such lively ardour and interest, that he determined to have it forthwith carried into execution. The measure was therefore proposed, in a Consistory, at which were present thirty-five cardinals, by the Pope himself; who described, in strong and glowing terms, the religious and political troubles of Germany, which threatened to overwhelm the rest of Christendom. These were, he observed, ascribable to the degenerate spirit and manners of the clergy; or, at least, if the disorders among them were repaired by a systematic education, it might reasonably be hoped that the other evils also would speedily be remedied: after which, he unfolded and dilated upon the project of Ignatius, sparing no praise in recommending it. The matter was approved, an annual subscription among the cardinals agreed upon, a proper instrument to this effect framed, to which the Pope was the first to put his name,\* and not only was the foundation of the college entrusted to Ignatius, but its government reserved to the direction of the Society. The bull of foundation was published about the middle of the year 1552; and Ignatius laboured with incredible zeal and activity to carry it into effect. Through his efforts, a library and chapel were obtained for the college; he himself drew up a code of laws for its regulation, and a course of studies, comprising, besides theology and the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, philosophy and natural science. Students began to arrive before the close of 1551. All Germany resounded with the fame of this undertaking, and two princes especially distinguished themselves as its patrons and admirers, Albert, Duke of Bavaria, who dispatched his confidential adviser to Rome, to found a similar college for his dominions—although this measure does not appear at that time to have proceeded farther—and the Emperor Frederic, who sent

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\* The instrument is yet preserved in the College archives.

students of great promise thither, from four several universities, and aided it with supplies of money. The calamities, however, with which, during the reign of Paul IV, the Church was visited, threatened the existence of the German college; for the cardinals being unable to continue their subscriptions, Ignatius was left alone with the burden of its support. He met the blow with an undaunted spirit, declaring that he would never desert his college. Still its misfortunes seemed rather to multiply than to decrease, until his death, in 1556, seemed to close for ever the prospect of its success. Not so, however, in the designs of Providence, for it was not till after that event that it was solidly established. Pius IV and V extended to it their protection; and at length Gregory XII (1573) issued a new decree for its foundation, fixing the number of *alumni* at one hundred; and the revenue at ten thousand sequins, to be raised partly out of the exchequer, partly upon benefices, and partly also from the Pope's privy purse.\* Gregory also reformed, by a bull, (1584) the statutes of St. Ignatius, in which some modification had become necessary.† The successors of this great pontiff continued to honour the college with their patronage, and Benedict XIII, that zealous restorer of ancient discipline, was so great an admirer thereof, that he proposed its form as a model for all similar establishments, and the conduct of its members as an example to the clergy. The Emperor Ferdinand II, granted it the power of conferring degrees and privileges, similar to those enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Bologna. Thus was established the German college, which supplied Prussia, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, with missionaries, and numbered among its convicts, one pope, (Gregory XV) eleven cardinals, fifteen bishops, and twenty-six other dignitaries of the Church, and among its alumni, fifteen cardinals, six ecclesiastical electoral princes, twenty-one prince-archbishops, twelve prince-bishops, and ninety-one suffragan bishops.

Upon the model of the German college,—whose institution was hailed with general applause, other establishments were erected, of which it was deemed the management could not be confided to better rulers than the Jesuits. Indeed, the society seemed admirably calculated for assuming the direction of the seminaries. They were peculiarly qualified to mould

\* Bullar. Mag. tom. ii. p. 402. Bullar. Rom. tom. iv. par. 3. p. 259.

† Bullar. Rom. tom. iv. par. 4. p. 49. See also Cordara Collegii Germanici et Hungarici Historia, p. 93, 100. Rome, 1770.

them according to the exigencies of the times. For it should never be forgotten, that the grand object of the seminaries of this period, besides the rekindling of fervour among the clergy, was to resist and oppose the heresy of that age. To direct them to this end, none could be better fitted than the Society, which had ever, from its origin, attacked and combated religious innovation. This constant conflict, between the Society of Jesus and Protestantism, should always be kept in view, as it serves to explain a curious moral phenomenon,—the antipathy which all the reformed creeds entertain for the very name of their opponent; as well as to unfold the deep design and high vocation of this illustrious order. “The Society of Jesus,” says Bonald, “came into existence at the era of the Reformation, whose fruits are only now beginning to be estimated, against which its members have never ceased to combat. Nothing more was wanting to excite the enmity of Protestantism, as well as jealousy and rivalry in various quarters. Thus the Society, ever since its commencement, has been, like Him whose name it bears, *a sign of contradiction*; and such it will ever continue to be. But if the Jesuits have been attacked by men of talent, they have been defended by a greater number of men of talent, and even by philosophers of a different religious creed: and their advocates and adversaries are such, that they may with reason boast of the one no less than the other.”\* An age wherein Jesuitism is banded about as a word of reproach, with a pertinacity as odious as the vagueness and absurdity of the term is ludicrous, may learn a wholesome lesson from men who have not observed superficially, or spoken with idle declamation, and whose testimony is the more valuable, as they cannot be supposed to be biassed by religious prejudices in favour of the society. When the charge of Jesuitism was brought against Lalande, after the order had been suppressed, the philosopher burst into an eloquent lamentation. “Humanity has for ever lost, and will never again recover” (here he was happily mistaken) “that noble and wonderful body of two hundred thousand men, who laboured incessantly, and disinterestedly, in preaching, instructing, reconciling enemies, comforting the dying, in a word, in the discharge of all those duties, which are most sacred and dearest to the human heart. Retirement, sobriety, and self-denial, admirably fitted the society to be the depositary of virtue and learning. I knew

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\* “Ami de la Religion,” No. 2159, 26th Sept. 1833.

the Jesuits intimately; they were a race of heroes, heroes of religion and charity, and from religion they derived a strength that philosophy cannot supply.\* But even their greatest adversaries have not denied how excellently they were adapted to be the instructors of youth. A body, indeed, so learned, and so deeply versed in the knowledge of the human heart, could not have been otherwise. For what a number of elementary treatises, on every branch of education, making the paths of science smooth and easy to the weakest capacity, are we not indebted to the Jesuits? Nor in the highest and most cultivated regions of science and literature have they been less distinguished than in the humblest walks of knowledge. The society has produced profound philosophers and astronomers like Boscovich, mathematicians like Clavius, naturalists like Kircher, elegant scholars like Juvenoy, men of taste like Lanzi, learned theologians like Suarez, poets like Vanier, orators like Bourdaloue and Segneri, historians like Du Halde, Bartoli, or Pallavicini. With what incredible industry did Salmeron, Layney, and Bellarmine, apply to learning; and how early were their minds matured, so as to have acquired, at the respective ages of twenty-one, twenty-three, and twenty-five, a store of erudition capable of confounding the most subtle and experienced controversialists among their opponents. They furnished a proof, that the occupation of superintending the instruction of youth, is not incompatible with even the eager pursuit of some absorbing favourite study, or one sole branch to which obedience devoted their talents. Bellarmine's noble Controversies were first composed for the use of the German and English students at Rome, when he was appointed their professor.

This short digression respecting the society which has occupied so prominent a situation in seminaries, ever since their re-establishment, tends to prove our view of the fitness of its members to preside over the great work of moral regeneration, which the seminaries were destined to effect. It must also be observed that the weapons which had hitherto sufficed to disable and overcome heresy, could hardly now be deemed adequate to the task. It is well known what advantage the Humanists possessed over the scholastic divines, in conducting controversial arguments, and as the greater portion of those who embraced the new opinions belonged to the former class, the cause of truth suffered in the eyes of men in

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\* "Theiner," p. 55.



general—an unavoidable prejudice, when error was presented under the specious and prepossessing garb of a winning style and classical expression. That power, which they wielded by means of popular discourses and captivating appeals to the vanity and other passions of a fascinated audience, became much more effectual and dangerous, when, by the then newly invented art of printing, a wider diffusion, and a greater stability was given to their doctrines, through those insidious publications which they, conscious of their advantage, poured incessantly through that organ of mighty influence over society, the press. Hence arose a necessity for some equally powerful counteracting instrument to support the cause of truth by the very arts with which error had been propagated. To supply this deficiency, the Society of Jesus seem to have been especially designed; and the success of their efforts abundantly shows their peculiar fitness for the task they undertook. Among those who rendered themselves most remarkable by the support they gave to the new form of seminaries, was Cardinal Pole, who as early as 1556, in some articles of reform he had drawn up for England,\* included one touching the establishment of seminaries, which not improbably, considering the friendship that subsisted between him and St. Ignatius, emanated from the latter, (p. 158); and in 1555 he had written to the bishops of Cambray and Tournay, to press upon them the adoption, in their dioceses, of the plan of St. Ignatius. The Council of Trent, in its celebrated decree,† did no more, as Benedict XIV has observed,‡ than perfect the system traced out by Pole. By this decree it was enacted that every bishop should provide, in the neighbourhood of the cathedral church, or in any other more convenient locality, a college or seminary, where ecclesiastics should be educated in the liberal arts, and instructed in the discipline of the Church. The council likewise provided that the funds of such establishments should be provided from the revenues of the bishop or chapter, or out of all the benefices of the diocese without exception, which should be taxed to a certain annual amount, fixed by the bishop in council with two of the chapter, of whom one should be chosen by the bishop himself, the other by the chapter; and of two of the metropolitan clergy of the diocese, of whom one should be nominated by the bishop, the other by the clergy. In like manner, all ecclesiastical persons, whatever rank or office

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\* Collect. Harduin, tom. x. col.408.

† Sess. xxiii. cap. 18, De Reform.

‡ De Synod. Dioecesis, lib. v. c. 11; et Institut. Eccles. 59.



they might hold, were obliged to contribute to this pious purpose, as well as the prebends, abbeys, priories, hospitals, confraternities, monasteries, (save those of the mendicant orders,) and military orders, that of St. John of Jerusalem excepted. The decree provides likewise for whatever exigences may occur: ordains that where poorer dioceses are unable of themselves to erect a seminary, the provincial council or the metropolitan, with two suffragans, shall unite the revenues of two or more, and erect a seminary or seminaries, for the education of the clergy belonging to them all; that larger dioceses, on the contrary, may possess more colleges than one; and in fine, directs that upon all these points, the bishops, together with the above-named delegates, or the provincial synod, shall make such alterations, extensions or modifications, as may seem requisite to ensure the permanent prosperity of these institutions. Such were the wise regulations adopted by the Council of Trent regarding seminaries, which in consequence very soon sprung up simultaneously in various parts, and multiplied with incredible rapidity. It would be an endless task to enumerate them all. Pius IV in that moving discourse in which, on the 30th December, 1563, he dissolved the Council of Trent, which had held its sessions with various interruptions during a period of eighteen years, earnestly urged the erection of a seminary at Rome; and in April of the following year, passed a decree to this effect, and assigned an annual revenue of one thousand crowns, together with the Colonna Palace, for its establishment: yet it was not properly founded till 1565; and meanwhile Cardinal Amulio, bishop of Rieti, had the honour of anticipating Rome herself, and of erecting, in his episcopal city, the first seminary that was established in pursuance of the decree of the council.\* Without noticing the other seminaries whose erection speedily followed, we must direct our readers' attention to another characteristic of the

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\* It is an interesting fact, that long before the Council of Trent, there flourished in Rome a college which exists at the present day, and was founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and forms a solitary exception to our observation as to the total disappearance of seminaries for some centuries previous to the council. This was the Capranican college, founded by Cardinal Domenico Capranica, for the special purpose of meeting the exigencies of the time, "*quia in urbe studium theologiæ non multum viget*," say the Constitutions, (cap. 2) composed by him. At first it was called "*Collegium pauperum scholarum sapientiæ Firmanæ*," its founder being Archbishop of Fermo. With unexampled munificence he gave up to it his palace, library, and possessions. The bull of its erection is of Martin V. "A single establishment, however, like this," observes Theiner, "could not exert that influence which was required to change the spirit of the age."

seminaries of this period. The discovery of America, and of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, opened a new and ample field to the energies of religious zeal and apostolic spirit. Nor was the occasion everlooked by pontiffs, or neglected by the Society of Jesus.†

It was indeed a remarkable feature of the ancient seminaries, that they possessed an extraordinary power of propagating the faith. They sent forth apostles to convert nations. Thus Augustine issued from the seminary of St. Gregory, to carry the light of the gospel into England, as St. Boniface did afterwards from England, to accomplish the conversion of Germany; and not only did they thus propagate Christianity, but experience proved that no surer means of firmly establishing the faith in a newly converted country could be devised, than that of transplanting thither the seminaries. Thus St. Augustine achieved the triumph of religion in England; thus St. Boniface pushed its conquests in Germany; and thus Anscar a monk of Corbie, invited by Harold the King of Denmark, in the ninth century, to preach the faith in his kingdom, thought he could not more effectually accomplish the wish of the monarch, than by erecting seminaries, of which he founded one at Kunden, and another at Turholt.‡ But at the period of which we are speaking, a much more splendid opportunity of effecting this important object presented itself, and incentives equally strong caused measures to be taken on a much more magnificent scale. In 1622, Gregory XV, by a bull, appointed a congregation of thirteen cardinals, to take cognizance of the state of Christianity all over the world. This was the celebrated congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, which the pope endowed with many privileges, and enriched both from his own purse and from a tax levied upon cardinals on their creation.§ This was the sacred assembly which, fully answering the sublime

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† At the death of St. Ignatius, the society was established in thirteen provinces besides that of Rome. Seven of them belonged to the Spanish peninsula or its colonies. In Castille, it possessed ten colleges, in Arragon five, in Andalusia five. In Portugal and its colonies, they had no fixed establishments. There were twenty-eight of its members in Brazil, and one hundred in the East Indies, and a provincial had been appointed to regulate the affairs of its members in Ethiopia. Italy formed three provinces, the Roman with the Roman and German college under it, Sicily with four colleges and two in the course of erection, and Upper Italy with ten colleges. In France they possessed only one college. Germany was to form two provinces.—*Ranke's History of the Popes*.

‡ Vita S. Anschari, § 14, pp. 55, 63, 87, 107. iii. ap. Mabill.

§ They receive from the Pope a ring, consisting of a single sapphire, for which the fee paid to the Propaganda, is 543 gold crowns, equal to about 899 of the current Roman crowns. Cancellieri, *Capelle Papale*, &c. p. 391.

purpose of its institution, thenceforward achieved so much for the propagation and maintenance of the faith, appointing new bishops and archbishops in ancient churches, and sending vicars-apostolic and prefects of the missions, into so many distant quarters of Asia, Africa, and America, as well as into the countries of Europe which had abandoned the Catholic faith; establishing in many places colleges and schools, for the advancement of such missions; and diffusing, together with the pure faith, science, letters, and civilization. Nevertheless, the crown and completion of the mighty edifice was wanting. Pontiffs had before provided seminaries and colleges for particular nations, whether Christian or infidel; but where was a design more noble, more conformable to the intent of the congregation, than to institute a universal seminary for the education of youth belonging to all the nations upon earth, especially of such as are farthest separated from communication with Catholics; in order that after being diligently brought up in pure faith and useful learning, they might be capable of drawing over to the true faith their brethren of the same country, manners, and language? (p. 189.) This noble design was an extension of that truly Catholic spirit, which embracing especially the countries that had fallen from Catholicity, had provided for England the famous colleges of Doway, Rheims, St. Omer's, Valladolid, Lisbon, and Rome. Though such a design had occupied the thoughts of the congregation, it was not carried into effect until Urban VIII (1627) issued a bull, by which he founded the *Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide*, and placed it under the patronage of SS. Peter and Paul. John Baptist Vives, of Valentia, established ten places or burses, for any nation without distinction, to which the pious munificence of Cardinal Antony Barberini, added twelve others, for six specified nations. The same cardinal afterwards added thirteen more; and the nomination to these was reserved under certain restrictions, afterwards made, to the princely family that had so munificently founded them. Other benefactions of popes, and pious individuals, and finally the union of the college of Fermo with it, raised the number of its students, in 1759, to seventy. The government was, until 1641, entrusted to three canons of the patriarchal basilicas, when Urban wisely transferred it to the congregation; and in 1836, an arrangement was made, by which the regulation of the college was committed to the Society of Jesus, who receive a stipulated annual sum for the maintenance of the students, whom the congregation distributes over the world. The

statutes of the college require, that the students shall all be natives of countries which are not Catholic, that they shall not be less than fourteen nor more than eighteen years of age, at their admission, and shall bind themselves by oath to labour in the foreign missions, and not to enter any religious order without a dispensation. They are required also to send an account of their missions to the congregation annually, if in Europe, and every two years if out of it. A valuable library, a rare and curious museum, and archives rich in information respecting the history and state of various missions, and in fine that press so celebrated for its editions of works in nearly every language, complete the magnificence of this immortal monument of papal zeal and enterprize. Before we close our historical sketch of this period, a tribute is due to Cardinal Allen, by whose zealous endeavours, pontiffs and charitable individuals were led to concur and vie with each other in generosity, in founding colleges for the English Catholics in France, and other countries. That of Doway was founded in 1568, and was transferred to Rheims in 1578, and fifteen years afterwards was restored at Doway; that of Rome in 1579; of Valladolid in 1592; of St. Omer's in 1594; of Madrid and Seville 1578; of Paris in 1600; of Liege in 1616; and of Lisbon in 1622.\*

Although from the severity with which the Catholic religion was proscribed in England during the reign of Elizabeth, "it was confidently expected that in the course of a short time the Catholic priesthood and with it the exercise of the Catholic worship would become extinct, both were perpetuated through the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's Hall, in Oxford. To him it occurred that colleges might be spread abroad in lieu of those which had been closed

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\* Of these colleges, Cardinal Baronius speaks in these elegant terms: "*Videre meruit sæculum nostrum ex hac parte felicissimum quamplurimos Thomas sanctissimos sacerdotes, aliosque nobilissimos viros Anglicanos, ampliori liceat dicere martyrio coronatos, duplicisque tituli coronis auctos, cum non solum ut Thomas pro ecclesiastica libertate sed pro fide catholica tuenda, restituenda ac conservanda nobilissimo martyro occubuerint: ut inter alios quos nuper sancta Societas Jesu velut agnos innoxios in sacris septis sanctis eruditionibus ad martyrium acceptissimas Deo hostias saginavit: quos Romanum, quos Rhemense sacra collegia quæ dixerim celsas turres a facie aquilonis et fortissima propugnacula fidei emiserunt ad triumphos, provexerunt ad coronas. Macte animo, macte virtute, Anglicana juvenus, quæ tam illustri militiæ nomen dedisti ac sacramento sanguinem spondisti: æmulator sane vos Dei æmulatione, cum vos martyrii candidatos ac nobilissimæ purpuræ martyres designatos aspicio: compellor et dicere moriatur anima mea morte justorum et fiant novissima mea horum similia.*"

to the Catholics at home. His plan was approved by his friends; several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions, and Allen established himself in the University of Doway. At first he had only six companions: the number was multiplied by the accession of many among the exiles, and of still more from the English universities; and in a short time, the new college contained no fewer than one hundred and fifty members, many of them eminent scholars, all animated with zeal for the propagation of that religion on account of which they had abandoned their own country, and sought an asylum in a foreign clime. Their object was to study theology, to receive orders, and to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained, and in the course of the first five years, Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom." (Lingard, vol. v. p. 374-5.) The noble efforts of Cardinal Allen, in the establishment of this and other foreign colleges, were ably seconded by the learned, vigorous, and active Father Persons, of the Society of Jesus, whose whole life was spent in the zealous propagation of the Catholic faith, by missionary labours, the education of missionaries, and the publication of many excellent works.

The decree of the Council of Trent was received and carried into execution all over the world; and wherever seminaries arose, Catholicity flourished, Protestantism decayed, and pagan countries were converted to the faith. It was not, however, to be supposed that heresy beheld these institutions of her antagonist without a secret apprehension, and an open effort to overthrow them. Formerly, when opened to defend the truth against the assaults of paganism, the Christian schools had awakened the jealousy and alarm of the crafty Julian, who spared no endeavours to eradicate them, well knowing their efficacy in propagating the faith and subduing idolatry. Seminaries indeed were destined ever to sustain the enmity of those whose errors or vices they were especially intended to counteract. When St. Augustine, enforced by his rule the practice of pure discipline and morality; in order to revive and maintain the ecclesiastical spirit already beginning to decline, by an inevitable tendency with the growing corruption of the times, he had to contend with all the opposition which such a design was calculated to excite among the relaxed or indifferent. In like manner, the vindictive spirit of Elizabeth was roused against the Catholics in their heroic endeavours to preserve the ancient faith of their country by

the foundation of foreign seminaries. When her pitiful attempt to overthrow the college at Doway had been frustrated by the generosity of the Cardinal of Lorraine, in providing for its establishment at Rheims, she gave vent to her fury in those sanguinary acts that so long disgraced our statute-book, and enacted the severest penalties against Catholic masters educating children, and again, against those who should receive abroad that education which they were denied at home. Thus by the third section of the 27th Elizabeth, cap. 2, all persons sending money to colleges of Jesuits abroad incurred premunire; or sending their children abroad without licence from the Council, were liable to a penalty of £100, (sec. 5,) and subjects educated in any foreign college of Jesuits, not returning on proclamation and taking the oaths of supremacy, were deemed traitors, (sec. 3.) These penalties were increased, both in their severity and extent, by 1 Jac. I. c. 4; for by section 5, any one sending children to foreign colleges was fined £100; all persons sent were incapacitated from inheriting, and all estates and trusts created for their benefit declared void (sec. 5.) And to put a still more effectual bar to Catholic education even at home, a penalty of 40s. per day, one moiety to go to the crown, the other to the informer, was incurred for keeping a school without license; while the proprietor of ships conveying Catholics without license to foreign countries, forfeited his ship and tackle, and the master of the ship his goods and chattels, besides being imprisoned for twelve months (sec. 7.) Nor in succeeding reigns were these enactments repealed or mitigated; for by 11 Will. III. c. 4, sec. 3, Catholics keeping schools were liable to perpetual imprisonment; and we will not weary our readers by a reference in later acts. We cannot but regret the necessity by which our courts of equity have hitherto found themselves compelled to decide that Catholic charities in favour of education continue to be transferred from the intentions of the testators to other less useful purposes.

If the multitude and diversity of her opponents only enhance the excellence of truth, if that fortress is deemed the most impregnable which has resisted while it attracted the persevering assaults of the enemy, and if that standard is regarded with the greatest pride and veneration which has provoked the most violent hostility, and in despite thereof has waved triumphant,—then must it be allowed that seminaries have been at once the trophies and safeguard of Catholicity, the shame and terror of her adversaries. In process of time, however, these



institutions were destined to sustain a shock more violent than any they had ever experienced. If once before they had declined, *now* they were threatened with sudden and total extermination. Once had they been thrown into a noxious shade by the intervention of a rival plant, which robbed them of the light of the sun, and dried up the sources of their health. They had drooped in consequence, and withered till the Church by her active spirit revived them. But *now* they were to be torn up root and branch, and cast into the flames of destruction. Whence this impending calamity, but from the hostility of that rancour which watching their growth with a malignant malice, and stung at being baffled by them from accomplishing its nefarious design, only waited a favourable opportunity to strike at their existence: from the unrestrained liberty of thought, which appeared occasionally under a milder form in Protestantism, conducted by an irresistible fatality, as Fenelon has observed, to deism, and thence even to the horrors of infidelity, whose grand conspiracy against religion contrived, produced and was developed in the French revolution. Ever since the so-called reformation, as writers of undoubted impartiality have demonstrated, a tendency discovered itself which brought mankind at last to that tragedy, of which, if France was in the first instance the arena, the whole world became the theatre; and nation after nation, who had been the deeply-interested spectators, became successively the actors. That which accelerated the blow was the expulsion of the Society of Jesus out of France, and particularly from the seminaries, which, as a necessary consequence, very speedily declined, and were at last swept away in the torrent that overwhelmed all social institutions. It was acknowledged by Pierre le Joux, that "if the society had existed at that period, it would have prevented the great political catastrophe, from the important function it discharged in the social order, which could not be subverted without the previous overthrow of the moral power that sustained it."\* That moral power was the education of youth, to overthrow which the first efforts of the encyclopedists were directed. They were leagued to eradicate, with fire and sword, as Voltaire expresses it, those enemies of the human race, the Society of Jesus. Why enemies of the human race, but because the most effectual barrier to the new doctrines? When they had fallen under united attacks from so many quarters, numerous diabolical swarms of *jacobins*,

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\* "Lettres sur l'Italie, considérée sous le rapport de la religion."



*illuminés, philosophes*, issued from their dark caverns, and meeting no longer with opposition, superseded the Jesuits in the education of youth. "Turn your thoughts, above all things," said D'Alembert to Voltaire, "to the enlightenment of youth." "The light is spread to such a degree," said the latter exultingly, "that the great convulsion must speedily spring to birth; happy the young men of our age, who will witness fine things!" Even the miscreant Robespierre, was anxious about this matter, and in the Committee of Public Safety suggested that a uniform system should be adopted for educating no longer an aristocracy, but citizens. These efforts were seconded by the press, which soon wrought a wonderful change in the sentiments and morals of youth. In Germany, Frederick II was the associate of Voltaire in the scheme of demoralization. There arose a new school of theologians in that country, who decried all other writers, and palmed their impious doctrines on the world with an astonishing effrontery. Berlin became the *temple of philanthropic and rational worship*; the universities of Bonn, Fribourg, and Mayentz arose, and in proportion as they gained ground, the seminaries declined. They either altogether perished, or, preserving but a semblance of their proper character, became the vehicle of the most abominable doctrines. Thus an Austrian bishop, in the year 1789, complained to a brother bishop at Brussels, "in our seminaries religion and morality have given place to licentiousness and to the most detestable errors."\* But their destruction was finally completed by their incorporation together, under the title of general seminaries, which became so eminently the hotbeds of sedition and immorality as to excite general odium. In Italy, the French army had plundered the colleges as well as the churches and palaces. The splendid library of the Propaganda suffered irreparably from the rapacity and barbarism of these revolutionary banditti; a great part of its valuable manuscripts were dispersed, and some of its splendid types destroyed. The colleges of the British nation in Rome were the peculiar object of their depredations. When they arrived in Spain, the institutions of that country shared a similar fate. The same may be said of the Low Countries. Thus the depravity of the times, and the efforts of a party inimical to all the dearest and most sacred interests of mankind, once more overwhelmed the seminaries.

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\* His letter is published in the "Supplément aux réclamations Belges."

But if the colleges of the English were destroyed abroad, it was perhaps owing to this circumstance, that the benefits of an education in their own country were obtained. The penal laws, which were already giving way under the milder and more tolerant spirit which began to prevail, were mitigated in that article which made Catholic education illegal. In 1794, on the memorial of Dr. Troy, the college of Maynooth was established, which has ever since provided the Church of Ireland with a zealous, learned, able, and indefatigable body of clergy. The successors of those men who, three hundred years before, had despised dignities, and abandoned preferments at home, to establish seminaries for the maintenance and propagation of the true faith in England, now returned to their own country to erect similar institutions. Rapidly were the blessings of religion diffused, through the zealous efforts, and persevering industry, and unconquerable energies, of those men, who, issuing from that college which had produced so many martyrs, evinced that spirit which had derived its force from their example. The London district was soon provided with an ample college, erected at great expense, and liberally endowed. It has continued to supply the wants of London, and has kept pace, in the number of its missionaries, with the rapid increase of Catholicity in that metropolis, and the rest of the district, ever since its foundation. The college has the advantage of possessing an extensive library, rich in works of sacred literature and theology. The institution of this college is owing to the activity of the Right Rev. Dr. Douglas, bishop of Centuriæ; and among its presidents, has the honour of numbering two of the three vicars-apostolic who have since governed the district. About the same time, the northern district was provided with a seminary at Crook Hall, near Newcastle; but in 1808, the college was removed to its present situation at Ushaw, near Durham. Its founder was the illustrious Dr. William Gibson, bishop of Acanthos; and it was considerably increased before his death. It possesses an extensive library, partly formed out of several collections of books belonging to different missions, and partly of the magnificent collection of four thousand volumes of biblical, ecclesiastical, classical, and general literature, presented a few years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, for many years missionary at Kendal. Nor was the midland district long unprovided with a similar establishment, which, though inferior to the two already mentioned, was destined to be succeeded by a much more magnificent college, whether we

regard the architectural taste that has presided over its embellishment, the unsparing munificence with which it has been raised ; or still more the zeal, and unwearied energy, and truly Catholic spirit, of its founder ; and is a monument of art and religion worthy of the successor of the learned author of the History of Winchester. Before the foundation of the new college of St. Mary's, Oscott, the western district, which, in spite of the earnest endeavours of Dr. Collingridge, was unable to meet the exigencies of its extensive missions, from the want of a seminary for the education of its clergy, at last obtained this advantage, through the spirit, enterprise, and perseverance of his successor. The Right Rev. Dr. Baines, bishop of Siga, has not only surmounted the immense difficulties which his predecessor had not succeeded in overcoming, as well as the disheartening accident that checked for a time the progress of his undertaking, but has even opened two colleges ; St. Peter's, for the education of the younger students ; and St. Paul's, destined for theology, and those higher branches of science which form the university course. Besides these, England possesses the two Benedictine colleges of Downside and Ampleforth, and that of Stoneyhurst, directed by the members of the Society of Jesus. Scotland is indebted to the Right Rev. Dr. Chisholm, and the celebrated Dr. George Hay, for two colleges, at Lismore and Aquhorties, which were, in 1828, united in the college of St. Mary's, Blairs ; subject to the three vicars-apostolic, and erected through the munificent charity of John Menzies, Esq., of Pitfodels. Besides the college of Maynooth, several of the Irish bishops, following the example of the great Dr. Doyle, have erected seminaries in their respective dioceses. America is also rich in these establishments, possessing nearly twenty ; of which, those at Baltimore, Emmettsburg, George Town, Bardstown, and Charleston, are some of the most distinguished. France and Germany have repaired the losses caused by the French wars, by the re-establishment or foundation of numerous seminaries ; and Belgium, in addition to the University of Louvaine, possesses many of these institutions. On the return of Pius VII from captivity, the seminaries in Italy were again placed in a flourishing condition. The same venerable pontiff reopened the English college at Rome, the Scotch college in 1818 ; and the Irish nation, besides the restoration of its college by Leo XII, has been provided, by his present Holiness, Gregory XVI, with a larger and more capacious house, with a handsome and ancient church attached to it.

In tracing the origin, the progress, the fall, revival, and vicissitudes, of seminaries, we have not merely hoped to furnish a general vindication of the Catholic Church from that malignant calumny which represents her as inimical to learning, and building her security upon the ignorance of her followers. We have not seen her enveloping herself in a mysterious mantle, shrouded from observation; nor have we beheld her inveigling votaries, and weaving around them a web of darkness and perplexity; but shining in her native splendour and majesty, beside that torch of knowledge which she herself has been the most active in kindling, and which, more than once, when well nigh extinguished by barbarism or degeneracy, she has perseveringly revived. It cannot, we think, have escaped observation, that our main purpose has been directed to show the antiquity, importance, and excellence of those institutions which her wisdom created for the education of the clergy. The clergy are the source from which all spiritual help is derived upon the other members of the Church. If the well-spring be tainted, the channels also must become corrupt; and experience also has fully proved, that where the clergy are deficient in virtue or learning, there is found a corresponding degree of immorality and ignorance among the people. With reason, therefore, may Catholicity cherish and be proud of her seminaries; for they are the pillars of her moral strength, the mighty engine which maintains her vigour, while it confounds and overthrows her adversaries. They possess not these nurseries wherein the youthful clergy is reared apart from the contagion of the world, until they have attained sufficient growth and "strength to enable them to bear the storms of less sheltered situations, and the poverty of a harsher, or more rocky soil."\* Indeed, in no one point is the difference between Catholicity and Protestantism more discernible, than in their respective systems of education. They who listen only to the shallow pretence, and smooth-tongued sophism of the day, would be led to believe, that before the sixteenth century the world for many ages had lain benighted in ignorance, and that the glorious dawn of knowledge was coeval with the reformation. To that epoch, the achievements of modern art and science are arrogantly traced; from that centre, the lines which diverge into the boundless infinite of man's perfectibility, are described as radiating. With the reformation, all light, all knowledge,

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\* Dr. Baines' Address on the opening of St. Paul's.

came into the world. Whereas, it was at that disastrous period that a deluge of evil maxims and opinions overflowed the earth; and communicating, to the very axis of the moral world, a vibration which has made its movements irregular—a bias which has unsettled and confused the intellectual views and social relations upon which all education is grounded—has destroyed that equilibrium which it may require the lapse of ages to restore. But whensoever it shall come to pass, that mankind make any real moral advancement, the first steps must necessarily be retrograde, and the new career will commence from that state of things which was anterior to Protestantism. But especially is the Catholic Church diligent in the care and prudence with which her Pastors watch over youth, and fit them for her sacred ministry, or for secular professions. In all Protestantism, there is no institution capable of bearing a comparison with our seminaries. The Catholic Church has not thought proper to admit her ministers within the sanctuary, without a long initiation and probation; wisely deeming, that habits of virtue are indispensable in those who are to instruct others; and that angelic purity is not too great to be demanded by their sublime functions. The clerical student at a public school, or at the university, is scarcely distinguishable, in manners, conduct, or deportment, from the scion of nobility, that leaves the university to plunge into the vortex of fashionable life, or from the candidate for the honours of the world: or suppose them even educated at home, under the direction of a tutor, still they must encounter the dangers of the university, from which returning, they have no asylum to recruit their shattered strength, or to evince their fitness for the duties they undertake. At Oxford, the students are under few restraints; and at Cambridge, still greater liberty is allowed; but at the German universities, libertinism in thought and action seems sanctioned and encouraged.

If, therefore, the Catholics have been excluded from the honours and advantages to be obtained at the universities, they have been spared the evils to which they would have there been exposed. Hitherto our colleges in England, as Dr. Baines has observed, have supplied the place of the *school* rather than the *university*. This want has been severely felt during the last half century, by our Catholic nobility and the youths intended for secular professions. A fuller development of those elements which have moulded and adapted the seminaries to the wants of the Church at different periods,

would be sufficient to meet this exigency. But a much more important motive for an extension of our system of education arises from the necessity of keeping pace with the rapid advances of modern science, more especially as these are made subservient to the support and propagation of error. With incredible activity and dexterity, the infidelity of the last century drew from the natural sciences objections against the truths of revelation, confidently hoping that they should find the calumny true which Protestantism had so often urged against Catholicism, that it was incapable of employing science as a weapon of defence, and that objections made from it, would remain unanswered by the Catholics. It has been triumphantly demonstrated that those very sciences, which, on a superficial view, appeared most contrary to the doctrines of revelation, on a closer and deeper investigation, yield the most convincing proofs in confirmation of them. Thus geology, which had been so long considered a science dangerous to the cause of truth, and directly opposed in its consequences to the Mosaic cosmogony, furnishes the clearest and most satisfactory evidence of that great physical revolution in the world, which the books of the Old Testament describe. Nor is its testimony unsupported; for archæology, which had met with the same censure, produces the traditions, oral and monumental, of the Eastern nations, all forming links in the chain of demonstration in favour of the Scripture history. The infidels of the last century had boldly pointed to the astronomy of Egypt, China, and Indostan, as carrying the chronology of the constellations, and of the world, far beyond the six thousand years of Moses; but the diligent enquiries of Bentley and other writers have reduced these vain pretensions to the ordinary level of other nations. The triumph of religion becomes more glorious, when its trophies are added by the hands of those very men who began this eager pursuit with a mind fully disposed to yield the palm to infidelity, but were forced, by the irresistible weight of evidence at every step of the inquiry, to acknowledge the truth of revelation. But if these sciences, which infidelity trusted would prove detrimental to Christianity, have afforded unexpected testimonies in her favour, surely she must be deeply interested in the advancement and spread of those sciences which have ever been her handmaids and most faithful allies. Can we be too deeply versed in the records of ecclesiastical history, which attest the glory of the Church, and her perpetual victory over error? of ecclesiastical archæology, which describes the hidden and



mysterious life of the early Christians, and establishes her doctrines and the number of her martyrs against unbelievers? and those sacred rites which carry us back to the primitive times of the ancient Church, and paint the purity and majesty of our venerable worship? And at a time when men have sacrilegiously entered these holy precincts for the purpose of drawing forth weapons against the Church, which first built them up and hallowed them in the service of God, and casting obloquy upon her, is it not the duty of all to enter earnestly on those studies which alone furnish the most undeniable confutation of such errors? What nobler field wherein to concentrate these sciences, than that of Hermeneutics and Biblical archæology and criticism, on which the rude hands of German rationalism have seized, as the engines wherewith to attack the impregnable fortress of revelation? Would not a profound examination of the ancient heresies, and the manner in which they were refuted by St. Augustine and the fathers of the Church, convince him who should make it, and through him the world, that those who have inherited their secession from truth, are only labouring to furbish anew the weapons of those oft-defeated foes, who presented of old no more impenetrable front than do their successors in our own days? France bids fair to atone for the sins of her infidelity, by awakening and cherishing in her children a love of those studies by which the cause of truth was so long injured; and the *Université Catholique* has become the organ of a noble phalanx of men of learning, science, and literature, who in that splendid publication endeavour to supply the deficiencies of the old system of education. Their example has been followed by the superiors of different seminaries, who have adopted these sciences into their ordinary course. In Germany also, if rationalism may still claim perhaps the larger portion of her men of learning, Catholicity may boast of a far more distinguished though less numerous host, whose works are an irrefragable vindication of that truth which their countrymen have sought to overturn. Hence we may learn how incumbent it is to acquire, by the knowledge of the modern languages, the power of unlocking those precious stores which remain inaccessible to those whose pursuits have not led them beyond the ordinary course.

Those higher motives we forbear to press, which urge this necessity more particularly on the clergy, as it would ill become us in our present capacity; but wherefore even allude to them, or why enter into a detail of which it might be complained *hæc commemoratio est quasi exprobatio*? But we



are persuaded that that generous and disinterested body of men, who rushed to seize the crown of martyrdom, when it was presented to them, and have in more recent times displayed such unexampled zeal and indefatigable activity in the missionary career, will not be insensible to a call which summons them to devote their talents to the Church in another sphere, and add to the palm of martyrdom the laurels of that learning which is religion's faithful companion and surest defence. Already, indeed, has the appeal which we would make been anticipated by our venerable bishops,\* from whose vigilance the necessity of the times cannot be supposed to have escaped unnoticed, and from whose zeal and enterprise no achievement is too great to be expected. Wherefore we hail with joy the opening of the new college at Oscott, as the harbinger of a brighter and happier era of Catholicity; and we cannot but applaud that system of studies followed under the direction of the learned author of the sermon to which we have so often referred, in that establishment, as well as in the other colleges; in which an extension of the old plan of education cannot but produce the most satisfactory results to religion, and the highest advantages to our youth who are destined to seek the honours of secular professions, and to spread the light of faith to our country.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider and recommend a General System of Railways for Ireland: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* July, 1838.
2. *Newspapers, and Periodical Controversies thereon.* Passim.
3. *A Practical Treatise on Railroads and Interior Communication in General.* By Nicholas Wood. Third Edition.
4. *A Practical Treatise on Locomotive Engines upon Railways.* From the French of the Chevalier F. M. G. de Pambour. London, 1836.
5. *On the Means of Comparing the respective advantages of different lines of Railway, and on the use of Locomotive Engines.* From the French of M. Navier. London, 1836.
6. *Recent Reports of the Principal Railways of England.*

WE return to a consideration of the Report of the Irish Railway Commissioners, not so much in a political

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\* We regret that our space will not enable us to publish the important appeal of the United Vicars Apostolic on behalf of the seminaries, issued on the 10th of February, 1839. We trust shortly to return to the subject.

point of view, or towards the obtainment of that *Retribution due to Ireland*, which we attempted to enforce on a very recent occasion,\* but to an investigation of its merits as a scientific document, and as opening a wide field for reflections of the highest order, on the improvement which may be made in any country, especially such a one as Ireland, by developing its resources through the influence of the Railway System; and we have combined, as articles for our commentary, the three best theoretical and practical works we are acquainted with, on the subject of Railways and Locomotive Engines: and also the more recent reports of the principal railways of England; and we shall refer to so much of the newspaper and periodical controversies, and proceedings of public meetings, which have followed the Second Report of the Railway Commissioners, as deserve consideration from the calmness of their language, the fairness of their arguments, or suggestions for the practical application of the commissioners' recommendations, and their avoidance of that most incomprehensible torrent of vituperation and slander, which party spirit gave utterance to when the report first appeared.

The developement of *the Railway System in Ireland* is, indeed, a favourite object with us,—not as politicians, but as patriots—not to benefit individuals, but to enrich the community;—not for the local gain of particular districts, but for the wide-spreading advantage of the whole country: and we know of no mode in which this can, in every respect, be so well obtained, as by adopting the general principles of the system of railways laid out by the commissioners. We have even a sort of parental feeling towards the report; for though it is not probable that any arguments of ours tended to the issuing of the commission, yet we believe we were the first public journalists who put forth the propriety of such a measure; and we look back with pleasure to what we then wrote, and to which we must entreat our readers to refer.†

We farther regard the report with the highest interest, as propounding views and facts, which must bring to a speedy issue the oft-debated question, as to whether government should or should not take the control of such public works,—and to these we would limit ourselves, as they involve the interests of the people and the state, by affecting the communications through the country. And as the curse of Balaam was turned to a blessing, so the violent effusions of

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\* Dublin Review, vol. v. p. 500.

† Dublin Review, vol. i. p. 201, 236, &amp;c.

party spleen and individual malevolence, by attracting the attention of the honourable, sober-minded and influential men of all parties to the proper question at issue, and to a fair and candid consideration of what has been really propounded by the commissioners, will speedily elicit from the legislature some wholesome measure, combining all that is useful and beneficial in the respective systems of public and of private enterprise, with the omission of all that is faulty in either.

The great excitement which existed in Great Britain, on the subject of railways, when we first discussed the matter, nearly three years since, has latterly greatly subsided,—not from any abatement of interest in, or from any misgivings as to their success, but from the bitter experience of the enormous cost of these works, and from the controversies upon some of the principal features of the system of construction and management, to which the discordant opinions of engineers, and the bickerings of directors and shareholders thereon, have given rise. Already, whether justly or not we shall not now stop to enquire, the public attention has been forcibly drawn to the alleged results of *individual* management of the public highways of the country (for such railways have already become) leading to inconvenience in many respects, of which, the irregularity and uncertainty of the conveyance of the mails is prominently put forward; repeated complaints of delays from the want of harmony in the arrangements—the diminution, instead of augmentation, of the rate of speed in travelling, and so forth, all pointing to one principal cause; viz. the want of some great pervading system, some controlling power, or some *general* management: and while public feeling is thus fully awakened, without having as yet imbibed any decided impressions or prejudices which would *injuriously* affect the discussion, it appears to us desirable that the whole question should be reviewed with the calmest consideration, and free from the least bias of party.

We shall endeavour to contribute our small quota to this much desired object, and we apprehend it will be interesting, as a preliminary step, to put the general enquirer into possession of a very brief digest of railway practice, divested, as much as possible, of all mathematical and professional expressions, so as to convey clearly to his mind the principles and capabilities of a railroad, and of the vehicles employed on it. Something of this kind we attempted in our first number;\*

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\* Dublin Review, vol. i. pp. 222 to 231.

but, though we have nothing to alter or correct in the statement of the general principles there laid down, yet, it may be proper to go somewhat more into detail on some points of importance; and, without any absolute repetition of what is there stated, it will assist our present explanation to go cursorily over some portion of the same ground.

A railway is formed by two parallel lines of iron bars about two inches and a half wide,—set apart at a breadth equal to the distance between the wheels of the carriages which are to run upon it; this breadth is called the *guage*, and one of the points most fiercely controverted, at the present time, by railway partizans, is, what this breadth, or guage, shall be. Most of the English railways have a guage of four feet eight and a half inches, being that of the Colliery Railway in the North, where the locomotive engine was first most successfully used. Some of the earliest Scotch railways had only a four and a half feet guage; but since then, five feet and a half has been made a standard for several important lines in that country. On the Eastern Counties' Railway (London and Norwich) five feet has been chosen as the guage; and on the Great Western Railway (London and Bristol) the adoption, by Mr. Brunel, of seven feet as the guage, has given rise to most violent discussions. The railway commissioners have recommended six feet two inches as the guage for the Irish lines.

The two series of iron bars, form together a *way*, and on public lines, a double way is generally necessary, that the carriages travelling in opposite directions, may have their separate tracks to roll over. At the terminal stations of principal lines, from three to six, or more, ways, are put down; and on lines of great traffic, several lines of way are often required at particular places. Where the intercourse is not great, a single way, with passing places and sidings, is often laid, until a double way becomes indispensable. The best mode of laying these railway bars, so as to form a perfectly smooth track for the carriages, constitutes another source of difference among engineers. The Germans call the whole system of draining the road-bed and arranging the rails, *upper-works*,—a term which is so expressive, as to have become much in use among engineers. The Great Western system of upper-works, has been as much attacked as the broad guage.

A still more important enquiry for the consideration of the engineer, when laying out a line of railway, is, into what have

been called the *gradients*. This much hackneyed term, which, from its repetition in committees, has probably become familiar to almost every member of parliament, has been also invented of late years, and means the inclinations of the road. It is derived from the Latin word *gradus*, a step; and the Americans call the gradients *grades*, and the formation, or levelling of the natural and undulating surface of the ground, to the artificial inclination of the railway, by excavations, tunnels, bridges, and embankments, is by them called *grading*. The French word is *pente*, and in Mr. Macneill's accurate translation of Navier's work, he has rendered this as *slope*; but, in the preface, regrets not having translated it as *clivity*, a word which he has introduced into his report to the railway commissioners.\*

Where passengers and bale goods, alone or chiefly, constitute the description of traffic to be expected to pass over a given line of railway, the object of the engineer is to obtain a "locomotive line," that is, a series of gradients upon which a locomotive engine may be able to travel with trains of carriages and waggons, with or without the aid of an assistant or additional locomotive, on the steeper parts of the line. When the traffic is chiefly in minerals, and, of course, principally in one direction, and where economy, and not speed, is an object, there may be adopted the system of inclined planes, with stationary power, or of self-acting planes, that is, where the gravity of the descending load draws up the ascending, or returning, waggons, by means of

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\* We must here remark, that the word *gradient*, as well as the American expression *grade*, have always been used to express the rate of inclination, whatever that might be; and that it has been, and is applied, equally to a level line as to an inclined plane, whether worked by assistant locomotive engines, or by stationary engines, with ropes, pullies, &c.—and as such we understand it in all the reports of engineers which we have seen. We agree fully with the quotation from Lord Brougham, made by Mr. Macneill, "*that it is highly desirable to keep scientific knowledge precise, and always to use the same terms in the same sense*"—and therefore we object to his term *slope*, which, in the ordinary language of the engineer, is chiefly applied to the inclinations in transverse sections of artificial mounds and excavations: and though we are not particularly devoted to the term *gradient*, it has now taken such hold in the engineer's vocabulary, that it will be difficult to substitute another. The commissioners are evidently mistaken (*Second Report*, part ii. p. 52) when treating of the effect of gradients, in limiting the term to "a slope of *small* inclination." This restriction is quite new to us, and we believe will be new to professional men, who apply, verbally and in writing, the term *gradient* to all inclinations the railway may make with the horizon, including lines perfectly horizontal: and, in our judgment, it is the propriety of the universal application of the word which constitutes its chief merit. The *gradients*, or *grades*, are the *steps* of the railway, whatever they may be.

a rope passing over pulleys at the top of the plane, (and sometimes over pulleys at the bottom also—in that case forming an endless rope) the intermediate gradients being worked either by horse-power or by locomotive engines.

The principles on which a line of railway should be laid out, in reference to the degree of importance it may afterwards assume as the channel for the commerce and communication of the country, form the most difficult portion of the engineer's study. On this subject the report of the commissioners is replete with sound views, inculcated in a clear and striking manner.

We shall now proceed with our *definitions*, and, supposing the gradients, the guage and the upper works of a railway determined on, devote a short space to the moving power applied to draw the trains, and to the resistance opposed to their progress by gravity, friction, and atmospheric inertia.

We stated in our former paper, that “by *friction* is to be understood the sum of the obstructions to the movement of the carriage or train of carriages, arising from the *resistance* to the rolling periphery of the wheels as they move along the rails, and the *friction* at the axles from the *insistent* load.” It may be proper here to add that the *resistance* (on the *average* of those sized wheels used for railways, because the diameter of the wheels affects the question) is as nearly as possible one-fourth part of the whole friction, or about one thousandth part of the load: the average of the friction on the axle may be taken as about one-twentieth part of the load; but as the average ratio of the diameter of the wheel to that of the axle (with bearings outside of the wheels) is as 16 to 1, it must be reduced in that proportion: the total average being  $\frac{1}{1000}$  for resistance, plus  $\frac{1}{200}$  for attrition at the axles; together  $\frac{1}{100}$  of the load; or, as we formerly stated, about nine lbs. to the ton, of which  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. is resistance. These averages are, however, greatly and variably affected by several causes; the resistance by dirt upon the rails (when the load is not such as to cause slipping) the friction by the good or bad state of the axles, and especially by the description of the unguent or lubricating material, to which particular attention is requisite; though we cannot here do more than refer to Mr. Wood's very ingenious enquiries (pp. 395—409) and state that, palm oil constitutes the chief ingredient in the anti-attrition mixture for the carriage wheels, and that the best neat's-foot oil is used for all the moving parts of the locomotive engines.

We have mentioned the usual proportion between the dia-



meters of the wheels and axles (with outside bearings) to be as 16 to 1, and though theoretically it would seem that different results would arise from altering this proportion, yet from the accurate experiments of Mr. Wood, with the ordinary coal-waggon in good repair, and with the proportion of the diameter of the wheel to that of the axle (with bearings inside the wheel) as only 12 to 1, he did not find the total amount of friction materially increased. In other words, he was not led to conclude that there was any greatly decided advantage apparent by placing the bearing part of the axle outside of the wheel (and of course inside of the frame of the vehicle) in preference to placing it inside the wheel (so that the wheels might run outside the frame) although the difference in the proportions of the diameter of the wheel to that of the axle is as above stated. This is singular and contrary to theory; but it would lead to the inference that little or nothing is gained by reducing the diameter of the axle beyond a certain point: and it is very important to keep this in mind, as it will be found materially to affect the question of the gauge of the railway, and the position of the wheels in respect of the frame of the carriage (whether within or without the frame) and consequently the size of the wheels, for though it would seem that not much is gained by reducing the diameter of the axle beyond a certain point, yet it is clear, advantages (if not purchased otherwise too dearly) may be obtained by increasing the diameter of the wheels.

The length of the bearing part of the axle should be about the same as its diameter to produce a maximum effect; (*Wood*, p. 405), this is another point which should be considered, as a very erroneous idea formerly prevailed in the minds of many scientific and practical men, and probably still remains as a popular mistake, viz: that the least friction was obtained with the least extent of bearing surface; whereas, a certain breadth of bearing is necessary at the axle, in length as well as in diameter, as we have stated above, and also for the face of the rails and for the tire of the wheels; and great errors were committed in the early stages of railway and tramroad practice, by persevering in constructing the axles, wheels, rails, &c. as narrow as possible, which soon severally wore down into grooves, thereby rapidly increasing the friction they were constructed to obviate.

Since we commenced this article, however, promulgation has been made of the report of Mr. Wood on the experiments instituted to enable him to form an opinion on the compara-



tive merits of the Great Western Railway and other lines. And in one of the monthly periodicals, (which half anticipated the publication of Mr. Wood's report,) an entirely new feature is claimed, as entering into the resistances on railways; and the results of certain experiments are prominently put forward and reasoned upon, and most startling conclusions drawn. Until these experiments are repeated to a greater extent and with numerous variations and modifications, the question of the real elements and proportion of friction and resistance is to a certain extent thrown back into doubt from which we supposed it had escaped. The experiments themselves are not yet published, neither are the formulæ upon which the calculations are made and the inferences drawn; but we must, nevertheless, express our dissent from the conclusions put forth in the periodical alluded to, and so far as regards the very small proportion of friction of attrition in respect to the load adopted by Mr. Wood. In the work of Mr. Wood himself, in the experiments of M. de Pambour, and in those made by competent persons which are within our personal knowledge, the friction of a train of railway carriages in their every-day transit, is shewn to be not less than 8 or 9 lbs. to the ton, including the engine and tender, and we conceive that M. de Pambour, has satisfactorily explained this.

We must here protest against the flippant observations on such a man as M. de Pambour, conveyed in the few contemptuous lines with which the above periodical alludes to his most valuable and really practical work, and to which every engineer acknowledges himself greatly indebted. The writer says, "the results he (M. de Pambour) obtained, however, were not satisfactory, nor were his methods of enquiry such as would have afforded correct conclusions." How accurately these expressions apply to, and describe the deductions and the reasonings of a well-known lecturer on transatlantic steam navigation, and experimenter on railway resistances, we leave to the scientific world, and to the author of the article on *The Great Western Railway Enquiry* in the said periodical, to settle between them.

To throw this slur on a gentleman of science, as well as to assert, that the only grounds which engineers have hitherto had to guide them in determining the amount of friction, was the vulgar "rule of thumb," (in which, by the bye, the aforesaid lecturer and experimenter openly, not tacitly, acquiesced, along with all those interested in the subject), may be very

convenient, but it is no argument; and we venture to assert, that there is no fact in modern railway practice which is better determined, from the best considered, and most judiciously conducted experiments, extending over the last ten years, than that of the friction of attrition of the axles, and the rolling resistance of the wheels of railway carriages, *which, at all velocities, from mere motion up to twelve miles an hour, gave a uniform result of from seven to ten pounds to the ton, in practice, according to the perfection and proportion of the moving parts, the description of carriage, and the nature of the lubricating material.*

It is hinted in the monthly periodical before mentioned, that the Great Western Railway experiments indicate a more than probability, that the friction *decreases* as the velocity; while Mr. Wood, in his report, though he does not make this allusion, (on the contrary, he repeats that the friction is constant,) is induced to infer, that the actual resistance of the load is only one-half of what has hitherto been supposed; although no one has more carefully investigated and demonstrated than himself what this friction really is.

That the experiments as described, *do* show a resistance of great amount, is not to be denied; but that so large a proportion is due to the inertia of the atmosphere, we cannot concur in; nor are such conclusions deducible from what occurs in practice when a locomotive engine is drawing carriages. A great many values due to other sources must be eliminated, before we can correctly determine the balance attributable alone to the resistance of the air; and thence calculate the power and expense of *drawing trains* at high speed. The amount of *lateral* friction is almost totally unknown to us; but we have reason to suspect it is something very considerable, since the oscillating motion of the carriage at high velocities, is very perceptible; a greater amount of resistance also arises when the carriages are not united together by stiff fastenings, (as by Mr. Booth's, and particularly by Mr. Bergin's methods), but merely hooked together with chains; and both of these resistances are less than when the carriages are propelled, or when they run upon each other, if, (as in the experiments) dismissed at a high velocity down an inclined plane, thereby getting out of square, having greater lateral friction, &c. The sum of these resistances must have been considerable in the experiments, and are much more likely to have *increased* with the velocity, than the friction of attrition was to have decreased. Some of these would not exist at all when the train

was *driven*, and others would be diminished, by a diminution (which may and will be obtained) of the oscillatory motion. Neither have we any right to draw final conclusions from experiments made with the broad end panels of the carriages sent first, to encounter the resistance of the air; the air is a fluid, and, as far as we know at present, the law of resistance to bodies moving therein, is the same as in other fluids, viz. as the square of the velocity of the moving body, or perhaps, in somewhat higher proportion at great speeds; and it is but reasonable to apply the same rationale in conducting and reasoning on the passage of different shaped bodies, through media, governed by the same laws. Who would dream of coming to correct results as to the power requisite to draw a vessel through water from experiments made by *pushing her stern foremost*? the shape of the body in advance,\* and which cuts the air in front of a train of railway carriages, must surely enter into the question, as necessarily, though perhaps not to the same extent, as the shape of the prow of a vessel through the water; on which subject, the recent elegant and important experiments and lectures of Professor Russell have thrown so much light.

Again, the experiments of M. de Pambour show conclusively, that the friction of a locomotive engine and a train of carriages, including the air's resistance, *at twelve miles an hour*, was about eight pounds per ton; but that the friction of a single carriage was eleven or twelve pounds to the ton empty, and thirteen and a quarter pounds light. His experiments were made on the same inclined plane as those which were made for the Great Western Railway report. The difference is due to the resistance of the atmosphere, which forms a very large proportion *with a single carriage*, but being distributed over a train of carriages scarcely appears. All Mr. Wood's experiments were made with four carriages, weighing sixteen to eighteen tons, and the whole resistance due to fifty or sixty square feet, is charged to this light load, augmented too by the other sources of resistance before mentioned, which should have been deducted; the proportion of resistances, instead of being as stated, one part friction and three parts air, at a velocity of thirty-two and a half miles an hour, would, at the

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\* A scientific friend has mentioned to us his opinion, that at high velocities, a wedge-shaped bow to the first carriage in a train, and to the locomotive, might be of service; adding, "but if so, then will come the consideration, how far the air will be able to close in between the carriages, &c. &c.?"—and Mr. Brunel points at something of the same kind, which he appears to have in view.

ordinary load of fifty tons, have been reduced to equal parts, viz. the friction of the load, and the resistance of the air, would have been equal; or, in other words, the amount of atmospheric resistance to such a train, at thirty-two and a half miles an hour, was equivalent to doubling the load; or, (with the friction taken at eight and a half pounds to the ton), to the surmounting of a rise of one in 264, or twenty feet to the mile. Great good will, however, arise from the enquiry; and enough has been elicited to put future experimentalists on the right track, and we doubt not, that before another year has elapsed, we shall have conclusive experiments, founded on correct principles, and calculated to produce results to be relied upon, since the whole attention of the engineers and men of science in this and in other countries, will now be turned to the solution of this interesting problem.\*

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\* Mr. Wood has since written a letter to the Directors of the Great Western Railway, in reply to one paragraph in their report, and to an observation made by the chairman of that company, at the last meeting, that the inferences "were too startling to be true; or, at any rate, to be received without farther investigation." Mr. Wood, in his usual candid manner, says,—“The experiments on atmospheric resistance were brought forward merely to shew, that at high rates of speed, the atmosphere had considerable influence on the resistance of railway trains; and I expected that I had, in my report, (which it was my undoubted intention to do), clearly explained, *that no standard of the amount of resistance could be drawn from the experiments adduced*. That my opinions on these experiments may not be misunderstood, I beg you will allow me to quote that portion of the appendix which relates to this subject. After giving the formulæ alluded to in page 48 of my report, I state,—‘In these formulæ, the resistance of the atmosphere to railway trains, is assumed as being proportional to the square of the velocity; this has not yet, however, been ascertained by experiment with sufficient accuracy to be adopted as a standard of resistance. The figure, outline, and frontage, opposed by railway trains, consisting of a different number and description of carriages, are so various, and the circumstances affecting the resistances so complicated, that until experiments more varied than the preceding are made, no fixed standard of resistance can be safely assumed. For these reasons, I have not at this time entered upon calculations founded on these formulæ to determine,’ ‘the relative amount of the friction, properly so called, and that part of the resistance which arises from the effect of the atmosphere. It is my intention to pursue the subject farther, with railway trains composed of a different number of carriages, and of all the varieties which are used in practice; and it does appear to me, that until experiments are made on all the varieties, no practically useful conclusions of the precise amount of atmospheric resistance can be drawn. These experiments are extremely valuable, as part of a series to accomplish this object: their great utility in the present enquiry, is unquestionable, as corroborating to a certain extent the results determined by the experiments with the engines, viz.—that at high rates of speed, the atmospheric resistance to railway trains is much greater than has been generally supposed.’”—*Mr. Wood’s letter of 14th January, 1839; published in the Railway Times of the 19th.*

The appendix to Mr. Wood’s report, and the formulæ, are still inaccessible to us; and we have not more than the opportunity left, of transcribing in a note, this extract, in justice to Mr. Wood; though it does no more than confirm what we had previously written.

We are not arguing this question with any reference to the merits of the system adopted on the Great Western Railway, or as advocates of Mr. Brunel. We differ exceedingly from that engineer, on many important points of detail and construction; and we think he has jeopardized the success of the very important principles in which we do agree with him, by pushing them to extremes, and by expensive and useless details; nor are we desirous of recording our opinion, that velocities of sixty miles an hour are to be maintained, for we never indulged in such an idea; but we should prevent the public from being led away with the impression, that the limits of railway travelling must be confined to what we are now enjoying. It is clear that from the present mechanical perfection of workmanship, we shall not gain any more in every day practice, by smoother surfaces, or diminished axle friction: but we can diminish *lateral* friction, and increase the power, and better proportion the working parts of the engines, without materially adding to their weight; and there is internal conviction to us, on a considerate review of the statements of all parties, and from our own opportunities of observing, that the public ought to travel, and the correspondence of the country ought to be carried, not at the present comparatively "simmering" rate of eighteen or twenty miles an hour only, but at a speed of upwards of thirty miles an hour, including stoppages, upon the lines which deviate considerably from the level, and at forty miles an hour on railways approaching nearly to a horizontal line; and we are satisfied, that to this it must come before long, even should the perverseness of railway companies compel the government to take all the lines into its own hands by some *ex post facto* law.

The aggregate resistances to the transit of a train of railway carriages, from the various causes of rolling friction, attrition, and atmospheric inertia are overcome by the efforts of horses yoked as to ordinary vehicles, and by the powers of that universal mechanical solvent, *steam*. The stationary engine is confined to the mineral districts: it is the *locomotive engine*, whose power, almost daily increased by the skill of our practical engineers, is now most used, and is capable of effecting all that man ought reasonably to ask, or that nature is disposed to grant, of rapid intercourse; all that commerce, however extended, can require for the conveyance of goods. In considering the motive power for railroads, we shall refer only to the locomotive engine.

This machine effects its progressive motion by means of the adhesion of the wheels upon the rails: the amount of this adhesion is a variable quantity, being as the weight of the engine, but affected by the state of the weather, and the condition of the road. Under ordinary circumstances it is generally assumed as one-fifteenth part of that portion of the engine which bears on those wheels which are acted upon from the cylinders, either directly by the cranks or through connecting rods. When the surfaces of the rails are either quite dry or completely wet, the adhesion is a maximum: mud or rime interposing between the surfaces of the wheel and rail diminish the adhesion, as oil applied to rubbing surfaces diminishes friction: we have seen, in winter, sleet freeze upon the rails, until a layer of ice half an inch thick was formed, over which the wheels slipped without advancing at all—and the same effect takes place when the load is such that the engine cannot move it, the wheels slipping in proportion to the excess of load above the adhesive power. The load which the adhesion of one ton upon the driving or coupled wheels of a powerful locomotive will enable it to drag on a level, is on the average  $17\frac{1}{2}$  tons, and 20 tons under favourable circumstances; but on planes, varying from a horizontal to that gradient, up which the engine can do no more than propel itself, the load which the engine can overcome, will be inversely as the sine of the angle of inclination, added to the friction of the load. On a rise of 1 in 100, an engine with coupled wheels, and weighing 14 tons, can drag full 70 tons at such a velocity as the boiler-power would supply steam to the cylinders, in quantity and pressure sufficient to move such a load, upon such a rise, which would probably be at about 10 miles an hour. The wear of the wheels of the engines is contingent on the extent to which this power of adhesion is taxed. On the Stanhope and Tyne, a colliery railway, where the engines take a maximum load, and where the liability to slip is increased, the wear and tear is stated by Mr. Wood, pp. 480-481, to be one-third greater than upon the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, with the passenger and goods trains, where the load is not so great. The distance which one set of wheels travel, until the tire requires turning, being, on the former railroad, 15,000 miles, and on the latter, upwards of 20,000 miles.

The improvements in the locomotive engine have kept pace with the other parts of the railway system as applied to purposes of travelling. In 1825, while toiling on the colliery lines in the north, this infant Hercules, emerging from the



trammels in which the first inventors had confined it, (while attempting to assist its adhesive powers, as yet to them unknown) was capable of dragging 40 tons on a level railway at the rate of six miles an hour, an effect which was scarcely more than that of a seven-horse power, beyond the force required to move the engine itself. Its evaporating power was 15 cubic feet of water per hour, at a cost of more than 18lbs. of fuel per cubic foot of water converted into steam. Four years subsequently, and sometime previous to the opening of the line between Manchester and Liverpool, we find an engine conveying the above load, at the increased velocity of 15 miles an hour, and this was mainly attributable to the introduction of the tubular boiler as suggested by Count Romford, but first practically applied to locomotive engines by Mr. Booth, the acute-minded and ingenious manager of the Liverpool Railway, combined with the stream draught, the invention of Mr. Timothy Hackworth, thereby diminishing the consumption of fuel, and increasing the evaporating power of the boiler, by increasing the area of surface in contact with the water, and acted upon by flame and heated air; the evaporating power being about 30 cubic feet an hour, and the consumption of fuel less than 12 lbs. per cubic foot of water, or about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. per ton per mile. Subsequently, the principal attention of manufacturers was directed to improvements in the working gear, and to the remedying of defects operating on the economy of the engines, and especially to increasing the evaporating power and diminishing the amount of consumption of fuel. Of this, we may here observe that the maximum effect to be obtained by a minimum consumption of fuel is, when the heat can be so far abstracted in its passage along the flues or tubes, by being rapidly transmitted through the communicative surfaces to the water, so that the temperature of the heated air before its discharge into the chimney shall be little greater than that of the water in the boiler. Five years after the celebrated experiments on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway at Rainhill, where the modern locomotive first appeared, M. de Pambour found some of the best engines had an evaporating power of 70 cubic feet of water per hour, drawing the same load of 40 tons at the rate of near 22 miles an hour, and with a consumption of fuel of only three-fourths of a pound per ton per mile:—and to bring up the improvements to the latest period, we find the best engine on the London and Birmingham Railway, with an evaporating power of 95 cubic feet of water per hour, drawing a load of 50 tons



at the rate of 32 miles an hour, with a consumption of three-fifths of a pound of fuel per ton per mile; and the best engine on the Great Western Railway, according to the last reports of Mr. Wood and Mr. Brunel, with an evaporating power of 165 cubic feet of water per hour, taking 40 tons at the rate of 40 miles an hour, at a cost of nine-tenths of a pound of coke per ton per mile. Let us recapitulate these gigantic strides in the march of steam, before proceeding to touch on some other interesting details, for which we must claim the patience of our readers;—

*TABLE of progressive improvements in Locomotive Engines.*

DATE.	Evaporating power in cubic feet of water per hour.	Load in Tons.	Speed in miles per hour.	Fuel in lbs. per ton, per mile.	ENGINE.
1825	16	40	6	$3\frac{3}{4}$	Old Engines
1829	30	40	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Rocket
1834	70	40	22	$\frac{3}{4}$	Fire Fly
1838	95	50	32	$\frac{1}{2}$	Harvey-Combe
1838-9	165	40	40	$\frac{1}{10}$	North Star

This wonderful augmentation of power has been obtained with a proportionate *decrease* in the consumption of fuel, until we find Mr. Wood stating, that it requires no more weight of coke to convert a cubic foot of water, from the boiler of a locomotive engine, into steam, than is required by the best constructed modern boilers of our stationary engines, and less than Mr. Watt's standard of 8 lbs. of coal for each cubic foot of water.

But at lower rates of travelling, with heavy loads, the economy of fuel is much greater, and the best engines on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway convey a gross load of 150 tons at the rate of 20 miles an hour, at a cost of only one-fourth of a pound of coke per ton per mile. Large, however, as the reduction of the cost of fuel has been on the great travelling lines for goods and passengers at high velocities, the economical powers of the locomotive engine are most developed in the mineral districts, where on the colliery lines, they carry at 8 miles an hour, at an expense under one penny per ton of coal per mile, including loading and unloading, use and wear of waggons, locomotive power, fuel, wages, repairs,

maintenance of railway and general management: while, to convey a passenger with his luggage, say 2 cwt. at the rate of from 20 to 24 miles an hour, costs two-thirds of a penny, and at the rate of 40 miles an hour, will probably require, to convey an average load of fifty passengers per train, full one penny, or perhaps three half-pence, per passenger per mile, being weight for weight ten or fifteen times the expense of carrying full loads of coal in one direction, the waggons going back empty, but conveyed at only one-fifth of the higher speed.

It is, however, proper, to notice here, that, although the practical skill of our mechanics has thus raised the power of the locomotive, within 14 years, full *fifty-fold*, with only one fourth of the former expenditure of fuel, the whole power thus generated is not available for transporting the load. To use the expression of the railway commissioners, “one-third of the power of the engine is expended in *preparation for motion*.” It would probably be too technical a subject to enter into a full explanation of this, but it may not be amiss to state generally, that so much of the power is absorbed, by the friction of the engine and the tender, by the increased pressure per ton on the gear of the engine in proportion to the load drawn, in overcoming the pressure of the atmosphere on the pistons, and by the resistance to the eduction of the steam through the blast-pipe, divided nearly as follows:—

Rolling resistance to engine wheels	. 2½ lbs
Attrition of axles . . . . .	6½
Friction of engine gear . . . . .	6

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Total . 15 lbs. per ton  
of the weight of the engine,

with an additional increase of friction on the engine gear of 1½ lbs. per ton on the load drawn:—while the pressure of the atmosphere on the piston is 14½ lbs. per square inch, and with an additional increase of 3½ lbs. per square inch for the blast-pipe resistance; in all 18 lbs. per square inch, which has, however, to be reduced in the inverse ratio of the double stroke of the piston to the circumference of the driving wheel: to all these must be added the friction of the tender, which generally weighs, with its complement of water and fuel, 6 tons. We must refer to M. de Pambour, Mr. Wood, and to the Second Report of the Commissioners—Note D, pp. 104-106, for farther details, merely placing before our readers the striking result, that *in a first-class engine a power of nearly*

*half a ton is requisite to first put the mighty machine into motion*, and this absorption of power takes place whether the whole effect of the engine be required or not ; and hence, as the commissioners justly observe, “ is seen the advantage of large loads, that the engines may always have their full duty to perform.” But such a first-class engine, after putting itself into motion at the above cost of power, which “ is sufficient to draw more than 14 tons on a good road, by horse power, and 190 tons at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour on a canal,” *has still left a power of upwards of one ton*, to be applied in draught or speed to the most appropriate uses—the load (speaking in general terms) being limited by the adhesive power or weight of the engine, and the speed, by the evaporating power of the boiler, the cylinder being the medium through which the steam in quantity and pressure is conveyed to act on the wheels. It will readily be understood from this description, that the greater the traffic, the less the expense per ton or per passenger ; since, taking into account the absorbed power to put the engine into motion, a load of 100 tons can be carried by considerably less than double the power requisite to carry 10 tons, and the quantity of power expended *per ton per mile*. is six times as great in moving 10 tons, as in moving 100 tons.\*

Having ascertained the power of the locomotive engine, which we have hitherto considered as dragging loads at different velocities upon a horizontal railway, it may be proper to say something upon the effect of inclined planes, to which all lines of railway are subjected.

In ascending planes deviating from the horizon, we must add the gravitation of the load to that of the sum of friction and other resistances : but when we come to calculate the power required to effect this, although there is no dispute about the mechanical amount requisite, we have opened a wide door for discussion as to the relative disadvantages of planes of different inclinations, and it would lead us too far astray from the main feature of this article were we to step into the vast arena : Mr. Wood considers the ratio of the evaporating power of the engine at different velocities to enter materially into this question, and with his usual caution and calmness, thinks we have not yet sufficient data before us. The commissioners in treating on the effect of gradients, note E, pp. 107—110, con-

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\* For a curious illustration of this, see Mr. Wood's letter of January, 1839, to the directors of the Great Western Railway, published in No. 55, Vol. II. of the “*Railway Times*,” being to explain a misunderstanding on this subject.

sider the subject abstractedly, and give most interesting tables showing the lengths of horizontal lines equivalent to the respective increase or decrease of distance which is due to the ascent or descent of any given plane or gradient; but we think one palpable mistake has been committed, owing to their having followed the conclusions laid down by Mr. Barlow, in the appendix to the second edition of his work on the strength of timber, &c. On this point we do but agree with Mr. Wood, and will extract from his valuable work his own remarks :—

“ Until, therefore, we have ascertained, from numerous and conclusive experiments, the precise evaporating power of these engines at all the different rates of speed, and under all circumstances bearing on the question, we cannot determine the relative merits of the different lines of railway, where the two termini are the same, but where the gradients in the intermediate space, differ from each other.” “ And when we consider the immense sums expended in effecting uniform gradients on all the principal lines of railway, the importance of ascertaining from correct and unquestionable experiments the actual loss sustained by a departure from uniform lines, must be admitted; and therefore it is of the utmost importance that such experiments should be sufficiently numerous and strictly accurate, so as to determine the question satisfactorily.”

“ With such information, therefore, as we at present possess, it would be a waste of time to go farther into the question, except to shew that undulating lines of railway, are, to a certain extent, inferior to uniform lines, for the use of locomotive engines.”

“ Until therefore the precise rate of evaporation is known, we cannot test competing lines of railway by the effect of the moving power upon them, except that as the steepest gradient will require a more rapid rate of speed, in descending, to make up for the loss of time in ascending, and as the diminution of effect will be in some ratio as the increased rate of speed, any line of road, with gradients of greater inclination, will be an inferior line to a line with gradients of a lesser rate of inclination.”

“ We have not, in these remarks, noticed the effect of the accelerating power of gravity on the descending planes, which, though not acting with great effect at the rapid rates of speed at which the trains move, must not be overlooked. Professor Barlow, in an appendix to the second edition of his work, on the strength of timber, &c., has entered at considerable length into the question of the effect of different gradients on locomotive engines, which is well worth the attention of those interested in the subject. The conclusion he comes to, with respect to the comparative merits of different gradients, we think, requires revision. He takes the diminution of effect upon the ascending gradients, and then takes the effect of the

descending gradients, the same as upon a level,"\* "and gives the mean of these as the effect upon different planes. Now whatever may be the precise amount of assistance given to the motive power by the gravitation of descending planes, it is quite clear they are more favorable than horizontal planes, and therefore the deductions of Professor Barlow, on this question, cannot be strictly correct in practice."

In the preceding remarks, we only wish to notice what we consider an error in the principle of calculating the tables given by the railway commissioners in their notes, but the amount is small or rather nothing, in its effects, in calculating the difference of cost of working the two sets of gradients of those lines laid out under the direction of the commissioners.

It may not be uninteresting to conclude this preliminary discussion by abstracting the *cost* of effecting the extraordinary results of steam power, as given by Mr. Wood, the railway commissioners, and other authorities. It would appear, then, that the cost of conveying a passenger on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway at the rate of about 24 miles an hour when in motion, and of about 22½ miles an hour, including stoppages, is about three-fifths of a penny per passenger, per mile, and the expense of conveying a ton of merchandize about 2½*d.* per ton, per mile, the former sum exclusive of a government duty equivalent to about one-fourteenth of a penny per mile per passenger; and the latter exclusive of cartage and expenses before and after the goods pass the termini. Of the above total expenses, something more than ¼*d.* per passenger per mile, is the cost of locomotive power (of which we believe full one-third, perhaps one-half, was for fuel, say one-tenth of a penny per passenger per mile) at an average of 60 passengers per trip of the whole distance between Liverpool and Manchester, which is 31 miles, but, on account of the inclined planes, the equivalent horizontal distance is computed to be 34½ miles. The cost of locomotive power for the goods, was rather above ½*d.* per ton per mile, of which fuel was the fourth part, or ⅓*d.* per ton per mile. On the Dublin and Kingstown railway, the cost of conveying a passenger is 2-3rds of a penny per passenger per mile, of which the locomotive

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\* It is the same in the tables given by the commissioners, and Mr. Wood refers to a table of his own, in which the velocity of 19·16 miles an hour, or time of 3·1315 minutes in passing over one mile of level railway, is increased to 32·19 miles an hour, and the time of passing one mile diminished to 1·8682 minutes on descending a plane of 1 in 300, or about 17 feet per mile: these velocities and times, the commissioners making constant quantities, which cannot be the case.

power is under 3-10ths of a penny (including 2-5ths of that amount, or 1-9th of a penny per passenger per mile for fuel) at an average of 40 passengers per trip of 6 miles, the price of coke being the same as on the Liverpool and Manchester railway, but the quality being much inferior. On the Liverpool and Manchester line, the proportion of useful load (passengers and their luggage) to the gross load (including the carriages) was as nearly as possible 1 to 4, and without the luggage as 1 to 4½; whereas, on the Dublin and Kingstown Railway the proportion (on an average of the whole year, from causes explained to the commissioners by Mr. Bergin) was only as 1 to 14, little or no luggage being carried by the passengers. It has been stated that the directors of the London and Birmingham Railway, had contracted for their locomotive power (only) at the rate of ¼d. per mile, per passenger, and ½d. per ton of goods, per mile; but we have not been able to get this authenticated. The railway commissioners give the price of coke on the London and Birmingham Railway, at 46s. 8d. per ton. That on the Liverpool and Manchester, and Dublin and Kingstown, being 23s. 6d., while on the Carlisle and Newcastle Railway it only costs from 8s. to 9s. 6d. per ton. In these proportions, the cost of fuel alone, on the London and Birmingham Railway, would amount to 1-5th of a penny per mile per passenger, while on the Carlisle line it would only be 1-25th of a penny.

Of the public colliery lines, the Stockton and Darlington Railway has been longest at work, and the cost of haulage of coal all in one direction, the waggons returning empty, is from 3-8ths to 2-5ths of a penny per ton per mile. On the Clarence Railway, the cost is 3-8ths of a penny. On the Killingworth Colliery, (private) railway, the expense of locomotive power by their best engines, is only ¼d. per ton per mile. The price of fuel is not mentioned, but it must be very small indeed, and as such we assume it.

The cost of carriages for the accommodation of passengers and conducting the coaching, is about 1-6th of a penny per passenger per mile on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and about 1-7th of a penny on the Dublin and Kingstown. The cost of waggons for goods on the Manchester Railway is about ¼d. per ton per mile, while the management of the traffic alone costs 1d. On the Colliery lines the expense of waggons for business conducted on a large scale is 1-5th of a penny per ton of coal per mile. The maintenance of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway is 3-10ths of a penny per

ton of goods per mile, and rather above 1-12th of a penny per passenger per mile. We shall now give a

*Recapitulation of Railway Expenses.*

HEADS OF CHARGE.	MERCHANDIZE TRAFFIC.		PASSENGER TRAFFIC.		
	Coal on Col- liery Rail- ways in the North.	Goods on the Liverpool & Manchester Railway.	Liverpool & Manchester Railway, average 60 passengers per train.	Dublin and Kingstown Railway, average 40 passengers per train.	
Locomotive Power {	Wages & repairs ..	d. 0.355	d. 0.425	d. 0.170	d. 0.173
	Fuel ..	0.025	0.125	0.100	0.115
Total.....	0.380	0.550	0.270	0.288	
Waggon.....	0.190	0.227	.....	.....	
Conducting Traffic....	0.075	1,080	.....	.....	
Coaches .....	.....	.....	0.054	0.031	
Conducting Coaching..	.....	.....	0.104	0.113	
Maintaining Railway..	0.208	0.307	0.085	0.050	
General Expenses ....	0.100	0.354	0.091	0.174	
TOTAL COST..	0.953	2,518	0.604	0.656	
Per ton per mile. Per passenger per milc. In decimals of a penny.					

In what we have written respecting the power of the locomotive engine, the cost, &c., we have largely availed ourselves of the interesting pages of Mr. Wood's works and reports, and we are glad to take this opportunity of expressing our humble appreciation of the value of that gentleman's writings to the practical man, as well as of the general conciseness and correctness of his formulæ: nor ought we to omit to notice the extreme fairness and candour with which he argues even when most opposed to opinions and inferences, and the honourable, upright, and gentlemanly feelings which pervade all he states; which, added to his judgment and impartiality, ought to carry the greatest weight when he draws conclusions from undisputed facts.

There are still several points of railway practice to which we could have wished to allude; especially to the different guages, to the various systems of upper works, to the effects of



curves, and to some of the details of construction; but we have extended our introductory remarks too far already, and we will only mention that it is highly desirable to obtain varied and correct experiments, in addition to those on atmospheric resistance, on the absolute amount of retardation arising to the wheels of railway carriages in passing round curves of different radii; and to get other certain values of the amount of the resistances of those curves, as compared with planes of various inclinations, so as to be able to assign the relative equivalent disadvantages of given curves and given acclivities.

We will now approach the second report of the commissioners, to consider their recommendations, and endeavour to analyze those portions which have not already been treated of in our former article, or by our cotemporaries. Political, statistical, and even *poetical* disquisitions have been raised on this document; and we confess that we have occasionally had misgivings, least our returning so soon to it might create a feeling of weariness in those who may not be as sensible as we are, of the vital importance which a thorough appreciation of the contents of the volume before us by the legislature, and by the influential and reflecting portion of the British public, is, to our unhappy country. We shall, therefore, endeavour to avoid the course of discussion already adopted, and to consider the report in different, and, we trust, in equally interesting points of view.

The enquiries of the commissioners as to the relative importance of the various sea-port towns of Ireland, produced the following results:—

TOWNS.	Population (estimated.)	Bars	Annual in- land traffic to and from the towns (estimated)	Annual exports & imports by sea.	Amount of annual postage.	Amount of annual excise duty.
			Tons.	Tons.	£	£
Dublin .....	265,000	6	966,000	590,000	74,327	327,370
Cork .....	110,000	4	400,000	280,000	13,236	203,310
Belfast .....	63,000	6	361,000	315,000	11,786	136,107
Limerick .....	70,000	4	264,000	121,000	7,203	69,994
Waterford .....	29,000	4	236,000	248,000	5,535	47,408
Galway .....	36,000	4	213,000	73,000	2,767	48,247
Londonderry ....	10,600	5	113,000	94,000	3,921	66,063
Drogheda .....	17,200	1	108,000	90,000	2,244	52,476
Newry .....	14,600	1	105,000	90,000	2,738	21,375
Sligo .....	18,000	4	102,000	37,000	2,659	23,618
Wexford .....	12,000	3	87,000	70,000	2,134	47,417
Dundalk .....	10,500	1	83,000	66,000	1,893	50,110
Youghall ..	10,000	2	72,000	58,000	1,398	82,691
Tralee .....	10,600	4	58,000	10,700	1,512	7,737

The several important *inland towns* are not included in this list, as the object to be obtained was the comparative eligibility of the termini of main lines of railway, which, from the particular condition and character of Ireland, must be on the coast, and whither the exports and imports must be sent, or be carried from, and in the transit of the railway from the capital to these outports, and between the principal sea-board towns, all the chief places of the interior would be embraced. We may here observe, that the inland traffic to and from the towns is estimated only, but on data and principles which there can be no doubt are correct; and great praise is due to Lieutenant Harness, R. E. for the perseverance and talent which he has shewn, in condensing and putting clearly forward the result of the great mass of information, collected, through the channels opened by the arrangements of the railway commissioners, for the purpose; as well as in the compilation of the population, traffic, and travelling maps, which accompany the report.

As it will be necessary to refer distinctly to the reasons which induced the commissioners finally to recommend the lines laid out, in what manner they should be constructed, and the returns to be expected from them, we will very briefly extract in their own words the leading paragraphs which explain their views and intentions in this respect. They say,—

“We conceive that the statistical information which we have collected, and the estimates which we have given, confirm the opinion adverted to in our first report,—that the important public objects anticipated from the establishment of railways in Ireland, are not to be accomplished by separate and isolated lines, but, by a well combined and judicious system, in which the joint traffic of many places and districts should pass to a certain extent over one common line.

“If our conclusions are just, the lines that have been selected are those which would, in the aggregate, give the greatest return on capital. But whether such return, though greater than could be expected on any other lines in Ireland, would afford an adequate remuneration to the capitalists who may embark in these undertakings, becomes the next subject for our consideration.

“To ascertain this extremely important point, we enter in some detail into the economy of railroads, and apply the results thus obtained to the data furnished by special enumeration, and by estimates framed on certain hypotheses, with regard to the population, produce, and consumption of the districts traversed by the proposed lines.”—*Introduction to Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 3.

Referring to the population, trade, and commercial activity of the principal sea-port towns, which we have just given in a condensed form, the commissioners observe,—

“The preponderance of the first four towns, (Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and Limerick), is very great, and clearly establishes their claims, grounded on the amount of their traffic, to be leading points in any system of railway communications in Ireland.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 15.*

“With regard to a system of railways for Ireland, any such attempt must depend so much on the support it would receive from British commerce and enterprise, that we should take a most imperfect view of the question, unless we considered it in combination with the increased facility of intercourse it would afford with Great Britain generally, and with London in particular. It happens very fortunately that Dublin, which would naturally become the centre of railway communication in Ireland, is that port which can be reached in least time from London, and which is on all accounts the most important to reach quickly.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 72.*

“Collecting the various facts and circumstances, we perceive that they clearly exhibit the relative condition and superiority of certain districts as compared with others. If, therefore, our object in proposing a system of railways for Ireland be to conduct the main lines through the counties where the trade is most active and extensive, the evidence points out that our first efforts should be directed to connect Dublin with the counties of Armagh, Down, Antrim, &c. in the north, and with Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, &c. in the south.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 19.*

“To the north of the Royal Canal, and towards Belfast, no great lines of communication, except by common roads, exist. On referring to the maps, it will be seen, that a considerable stream of traffic, supplied from Virginia, Kells, and Enniskillen, passes from, [query through] Navan towards Dublin, while the country approaching Belfast is traversed in every direction by small streams of traffic, strongly indicating the industry, activity, and trading spirit of that important district.”

“When we look at that extensive and important portion of the country bounded on the east by the Barrow, on the west by the Shannon, and stretching south from the Grand Canal to the sea; and, when we consider that within its limits are contained more than one-third of the whole population of Ireland, the great towns of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, the less important, but thriving towns of Kilkenny, Clonmel, Cahir, and Thurles; that it possesses generally a soil of great fertility; but, with all these advantages, has no other communications but common roads, we are naturally led to the conclusion that the main trunk line to the south-west, should be carried through the centre of this district.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 15.*

“The counties to the westward are provided with direct water communication with Dublin, by means of the grand and royal canals,” (“more than sufficient for the wants of the country in that direction,” *page 15,*) “and seem less to require, and less able to sup-

port the expense of railway communication.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 19.*

“We conceive that the population of the western district, are not in a condition to avail themselves to the same extent” (as those of the northern and southern districts,) “of the advantages to be derived from works of this description, but that greater good would be effected among them, by opening and promoting the construction of common roads, of which in some districts they are at present greatly in want.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 6.*

“On the various grounds stated in the preceding pages, and which we shall here recapitulate; the amount of population which would be benefitted; the condition of that population, and their power to profit by the advantages of railway communication; the industry, and comparative amount of traffic and number of passengers; the great towns which would be connected by the least extent of railway; the singular fertility of many of the southern districts, their capabilities of great and extensive improvement; the facilities which they afford for the construction of railways; the importance of connecting Dublin with Cork, the commercial capital of the south with Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny, and with Belfast on the north; and farther, on the ground of not interfering with, or injuring any existing canal or river navigation, we have come to the conclusion that the two great lines which would open the country in the most advantageous manner, confer the most extensive accommodation, at the smallest outlay, and afford the greatest return on capital, would be the following.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 36.*”

And the Commissioners then proceed to describe the general direction, and afterwards give a detailed account of the great system of main-trunk lines, proceeding from Dublin to the north, and to the south-west, through the district previously pointed out, and founded on the reports of Mr. Macneill and Mr. Vignoles, the engineers who located them.

The following extracts give the views of the commissioners as to the proper parties to undertake the execution of the lines so defined:—

“There can be no doubt that parties might be found ready to undertake certain portions of these lines, which would hold out special prospects of advantage, such for example as the first twenty or thirty miles leading out of Dublin, over which all the traffic with other places, near as well as remote, must necessarily pass. But since, according to our calculations, the return of profit in the whole system could not be expected for some time to exceed three and a half or four per cent, *it is manifest that if the best and most productive portions are taken possession of unconditionally, there can be no reasonable hope that the remainder will ever be carried into effect.* This would so completely frustrate the most important of the objects contemplated in issuing this commission, by opposing a bar to the

future improvements of the country, that we trust it will not in any case be permitted. It would be even more advisable that no partial line should be sanctioned, until the country should possess within itself the means of undertaking the whole system to its full extent, than, at once and for ever, to paralyze all future exertions for its accomplishment, by abandoning, to parties having particular and distinct interests, the monopoly of some of its most productive detached portions.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 93.*

For the commissioners

“deem it highly inexpedient that the main trunk line into Dublin, should be placed under the control of any company whose pecuniary interests might clash with those of the public, or with those of any other companies who might make branches connected with it. All contributors to the traffic on the main trunk line, should derive an advantage from it, which might be regulated by a scale of comparative distances.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 40.*

And speaking of lines proposed which interfere with the system of the commissioners:—

“As Ireland does not afford sufficient internal traffic to support distinct lines between the several important places, a combined system is necessary, in order to obtain the greatest amount of accommodation, at the least expense of construction and maintenance.

“Such a system necessarily implies an increased distance to be travelled, as compared with the shortest line, and this principle should be limited only, by such an increase of distance, as might be deemed more than equal to the advantage to be gained in point of economy, and we consider the limit very far from exceeded by the combined system we propose.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 41.*

And the commissioners therefore

“earnestly recommend that every effort be made, to combine into one interest, and under one management and control, the whole of the southern system of intercommunication between Dublin and Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny; and that the northern line, by Navan to Armagh, at least, be treated according to the same principle, and considered as one concern.

Adding, in a note, that they

“should have wished the general arrangement to have included in the line, the distance between Armagh and Belfast; but as that is already occupied by a company in full operation with the works, it is to be hoped that a readiness to unite in the same system for fares, &c. as shall be adopted for the rest, may render the ruinous expedient of a distinct line into Belfast unnecessary.”—*Ib. Pt. III. p. 94.*

And alluding to the projected railway from Dublin to Kilkenny, (the promoters of which obtained an Act of Parliament *two years since, though we cannot learn that they have taken as yet* any steps to carry into execution the powers they

were so eager to obtain,) after recommending that so much of that line should be abandoned by the incorporated company, as materially interferes with the line to the south-west district, laid out by the commissioners, and that, if the company still persist in acting independently, they should branch off at Kildare,—the commissioners add,

“The Kilkenny Company may determine to persevere and complete it for the whole distance from Dublin to Kilkenny; should they do so, we are of opinion, that the main Southern line from Dublin, recommended by us, possesses so many important local advantages over the Kilkenny line, that we should strongly recommend its adoption, notwithstanding the loss which must ensue from their running parallel to each other for the first 18 miles from Dublin; a loss which would be very injurious to the Main Southern, and absolutely ruinous to the Kilkenny line. We have no hesitation in saying, that any proposal to prolong the latter, in order to substitute it for a main trunk line to the south west, is inconsistent with the general interests of the country, and directly opposed to those of several extensive and most important districts.”—*Second Report, Part I. p. 40.*

These are strong opinions; but coming from the men who compose the commission, and whose talents, integrity, judgment, and qualifications, entitle them to give such opinions, they *must* be conclusive with the government, who embodied the commission, “to guide the legislature in the consideration of the projects that may be brought before it.” Against such deliberately recorded recommendations, what individual, or what body of men, not possessing still superior capacities, means of information, independence, and professional acquirements, are likely to be listened to, by the unprejudiced public, who are to be benefitted; by the legislature, who are to be guided in framing; or by the government, who are to propound the measures for carrying out their suggestions. Certainly it will not be the little knot of provincial deputies, who have constituted themselves into a “General railway committee for all Ireland,” to enquire what lines are best for the country; whose sickly attempts at collecting information and swaying public opinion have been laughed to scorn by all practical men; whose meetings, to judge from their heterogeneous composition, were more likely to have been occupied in petty squabbles as to the relative order of constructing lines to their own particular remote towns; who doubtless soon drove from their councils the few persons, who might have been attracted by their empirical professions to join them, with a sincere wish to benefit the country; and the utmost effect of whose selfish proceedings

was probably to embarrass the routine business of the public officers, whose duty and whose urbanity would lead them to pay decent attention to all who came before them. Not the disappointed lawyer, whose prospect of lucrative emoluments might have been blighted; nor the unsuccessful engineer, whose talents had not been appreciated or called into requisition, or whose vanity and self-importance had been unadministered to; not the greedy speculator or scheming share-jobber, whose gains in the railroad lottery had been cut short, and whose prizes had been turned to blanks: not the low-minded newspaper hack, who could not imagine or believe in the possibility of pureness of motive in others, even when they were giving abstract mathematical deductions, or professional conclusions; and whose ideas, ever wandering to some dirty job, presupposed all public men had no other end in view, than, by similar chicanery to his own, to provide for themselves and their acquaintances. By none of these can either the motives or the great leading principles laid down by the commissioners be impugned, and many of them are not capable of appreciating or even understanding them. The commissioners may be mistaken in some few details, and they may not have carried out their own principles to the fullest extent, or to all the lines or in all the directions they might have done, but their great dominant arguments, their general views, their leading recommendations, are unimpeachable.

Let us proceed with our extracts. Thus write the commissioners:—

“If a body of capitalists be found ready to undertake either of the great lines, as a whole, we presume that the general feeling of the legislature and of the country, will be to leave the execution of it, as little fettered as possible by restriction, to the management of private enterprise.”

And the commissioners go on to recommend in that case the granting of every facility within the power of parliament;—continuing:—

“But the investigations we have made, lead us to doubt whether any company will be induced to undertake either of these great lines, even with the facilities and advantages which might, on general principles, be afforded them. In such case we trust that, to avoid the evil of partial execution, and to accomplish so important a national object as that contemplated in the completion of the entire system, we may look forward to a certain degree of assistance from the state, as great, at least, as has been given for the encouragement of other public works in Ireland; and on those grounds of policy which we believe have not been disputed, and on which it is therefore unnecessary for us to enlarge.”—*Second Report, Part III, p. 94.*



And the commissioners proceed to suggest the principle of several modes of granting the assistance, which they venture to express their hope may be afforded ; although they state their sense of the difficulty of the subject, and their apprehensions of exceeding the bounds of their instructions, if they were to enter minutely into the precise form and amount of the aid.

We are convinced that the alternatives are, *Railroads executed by the government, or no railroads for Ireland* ; (a position entirely distinct from that of whether, on public grounds, it is adviseable for governments to undertake such works) ; and we shall only extract that recommendation, the principle of which, in our opinion, is likely to be acted upon :—

“ We would venture to suggest that the government should undertake either or both of the proposed combined lines, on the application of the counties interested, the outlay to be repaid by small instalments at the lowest admissible rate of interest, and under the provision, that in the event of the returns not paying the stipulated amount of interest, the counties shall supply the deficit by presentments.

“ In offering this proposition, we may be allowed to state, that relying on the result of our estimates, our impression is, that the local districts, under such an arrangement, would, to insure a certain great benefit, \* incur but a very inconsiderable risk, freeing themselves at the same time from many inconvenient arrangements.

“ This proposition is somewhat on the principle adopted for the improvement of the Shannon navigation. It is, of course, susceptible of various forms and modifications, but we purposely avoid entering into details, which, however, we see no difficulty in filling up to suit all the circumstances of the case.”—*Second Report, Part III. p.95.*

Such are the conclusions as to the proper lines, and such the recommendations of the “ Commissioners appointed to consider and recommend a general system of railways for Ireland ;” and, as has been most pertinently observed by a quarterly contemporary, whose political sentiments and our own are “ far as the poles asunder,” the principal question to be asked by prudent men is—*Does the report emanate from persons possessing, in the opinion of Europe, requisite qualifications ?* and before proceeding to investigate this question, our able, witty, and candid antagonist, “ with such important interests at stake, as a duty which he owes to science, calls upon his readers to unite with him in casting aside party feeling and political animosity, while he endeavours, very briefly, to review the subject before him.” And after stating who the commis-

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\* The returns, after paying interest and sinking fund, being available for the reduction of county and other rates.

sioners and their staff were, and going into an examination of their evidence and reasons, concludes with a hearty approval of the two great lines, on grounds which all honest unbiassed men will join him in.

In the last extract we find the commissioners advancing on to the debatable ground, of the *undertaking of public works by the government*, but this question is clearly resolvable into several distinct and independent heads :—1st. Should government interfere with any enterprise, which might be entered into by associated bodies of individuals? 2nd. Are railways such public works (being, in fact, the highways of the empire) as should not be left to individuals or to private bodies of capitalists to execute, or at least solely to control? 3rd. Are the circumstances of Ireland such as would justify the government undertaking in that country, what might be impolitic or injudicious in England? 4th. How can public aid and control be best combined with private enterprise, or with what other than undivided government monies and management can railways be instituted? We will consider these points after we have gone a little farther into the analysis of the report of the commissioners.

Although from our local knowledge of Ireland we did at one time expect a greater amount of traffic, both in goods and passengers, to have been existing, particularly on lines now stated to be comparatively unprofitable, yet it is impossible to gainsay the traffic calculations of the commissioners, as to passengers at least, which form the main-stay of railway revenue, and in general, as to merchandize and agricultural articles. And looking calmly, as it was the duty of the commissioners to do, at the possible increase of business by the developement of the resources of the country, as well as to the probability of the returns being at first diminished by expenditure necessary to induce the traffic to be brought to the railways, we cannot make any serious objection that they have not coloured, up to the hue given by our imaginations, the prospects of aggregate returns. Neither ought we to demur because the commissioners have taken the estimate of the annual expenses of working and maintaining the railways at the maximum rate they have done, although we conscientiously believe such might have been very fairly put at a less amount, as we could readily demonstrate had we space and leisure. It was, however, the safest course to look the amount of disbursements fully in the face, and not to swell up the gross receipts; since, on the other hand, the estimate of the cost of constructing the several lines laid out, may, from unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances,

be augmented beyond what the engineers have given; although in our humble judgment the aggregate amount per mile stated by them, will be sufficient; and they have, by recording the details, and by publishing the sections, put it into the power of any competent person to check their calculations. On the whole we see no reason for disputing the returns of profit given by the commissioners on the lines recommended by them; which are as follows:—

### SOUTH AND SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICTS.

	Average nett profit on the capital, per cent.
1. MAIN-TRUNK LINE—from DUBLIN, by Naas, Kildare, Monasterevan, Maryborough, Rathdowney, Thurles, Holycross, Cashel, Cahir, Mitchelstown, Kildorery, and Mallow, to CORK, at a mean cost of £11,000 per mile, will produce an average nett profit of . . . . .	4.75
2. KILKENNY BRANCH—from the main line, in the vicinity of MARYBOROUGH, by Ballyroan, Abbeyleix, and Ballyragget to KILKENNY, at a mean cost of £8,000 pr. mile	2.00
3. LIMERICK BRANCH—from the main line, at Holycross, by Dundrum, Donaghill, (near Tipperary) and Lynfield, to LIMERICK, at a mean cost of £8,000 per mile . . .	0.70
	<hr/>
	Average about . 3.53
4. WATERFORD AND LIMERICK BRANCH—from Donaghill (near Tipperary) by Golden, Marhill, Woodruffe, Clonmel, and Carrick-on-Suir, to WATERFORD, at a mean cost of £8,000 per mile (the Limerick Branch being supposed already formed as part of the preceding system)	3.80
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	Average of the Southern Districts . 3.57

### NORTHERN DISTRICT.

5. From DUBLIN, by Navan, Carrickmacross, Castleblaney, Armagh, Portadown, Lurgan, and Lisburn, to BELFAST, at a mean cost of £11,000 per mile . . . . .	4.75
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*Hence, upon a probable expenditure of four millions, the estimated average returns is four per cent only;—and to obtain even this return, the commissioners say it is essential, for producing the greatest national advantages, that the gain on the more profitable parts should be available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue, (Part II. p. 61).*

And the probable greater income from, and less expense in construction of, the line between Armagh and Belfast, is thrown in to make up the deficit of profit from the remaining parts of the great north trunk, which must otherwise ensue from its smaller revenue, both in goods and passengers, as the commissioners state and explain, and from its greater cost per

mile, even on the reduced gradients, as appears by Mr. M'Niell's estimates (*Second Report*, appendix A. No. 4, p. 53).

And, in a parallel manner, the revenue of the Great Southern line is diminished, chiefly by the unprofitable branch from Holycross to Limerick, which, producing only  $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. nett income, could not be sustained as an independent line; neither could the branch from Maryborough to Kilkenny, as it shows no more than a clear income of 2 per cent.—proving that railways in Ireland, like the bundle of rods in the fable, must be bound together in one system, to bear up against the expenses of construction and maintenance, which would snap asunder all but one or two stout, short sticks.

Now, supposing the Armagh and Belfast Company willing to fall into the views of the railway commissioners—of which we have some misgivings, unless the loans they are receiving from the Board of Public Works are conditioned to that effect—and we think they neither are, nor legally could be—and, supposing that the Kilkenny Company are content to branch off from the commissioners' southern trunk line, at Kildare, or Rathangan, and make their railway by Athy, Carlow, Leighlin's Bridge, and Gowran, to Kilkenny, which, we apprehend, they ought to be very thankful for the opportunity of doing,—we think the districts through which the railways pass, might be as equally advantaged as if the whole system had been retained in the hands of the commissioners; though, unless the Belfast Company are disposed to throw their capital into hotch-potch, as the lawyers express it, the aggregate interest will be diminished, as the gross returns, between Armagh and Belfast, show thirty or forty per cent. profit above the whole average of the northern lines; and seem to require a capital full twenty or twenty-five per cent. less. As respects the Kilkenny line, it is probably a matter of indifference, as the additional capital of £150,000 or £160,000, to carry it by Athy and Carlow, instead of by Ballyroan and Abbeyleix, will be met by returns, corresponding to those on the rest of the southern lines; but, nevertheless, at the expense of the Barrow Navigation—a company, “whose management of their works, has been extremely creditable to the directors; who have carried it successfully through many and great difficulties, and are but just beginning to reap the fruits of their perseverance and integrity. The interests of this company being justly entitled to the most favourable consideration, and to every protection consistent with those of the public at large.” (*Second Report, Part I. p. 13.*)

But, surely, the commissioners, while taking into view the circumstances of the whole of the districts, pervaded by and within the influence of the lines of railway, appear to have overlooked the fact, that, in their anxiety to do justice to one important town and county, and to palliate the inevitable disappointment to one body of shareholders, whose interests were directed to another town and another district, they have, unwittingly we admit, been doing a partial injustice to another set of proprietors, and have thrown back, from the advantages of railway communication, other towns, and another district, on the whole equally important with those which had more attracted the notice of the commissioners. To benefit the districts around Limerick and Kilkenny, the whole profits of the southern system are to be reduced  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.; and to pacify the Kilkenny Railway Company, the interests of the Barrow Navigation are to be given up, although previously mentioned as so worthy of attention: while, in respect of Mullingar, which may be properly considered as the key of the west, or north-west districts, it is entirely put aside, least it should interfere with the interests of the Royal Canal.

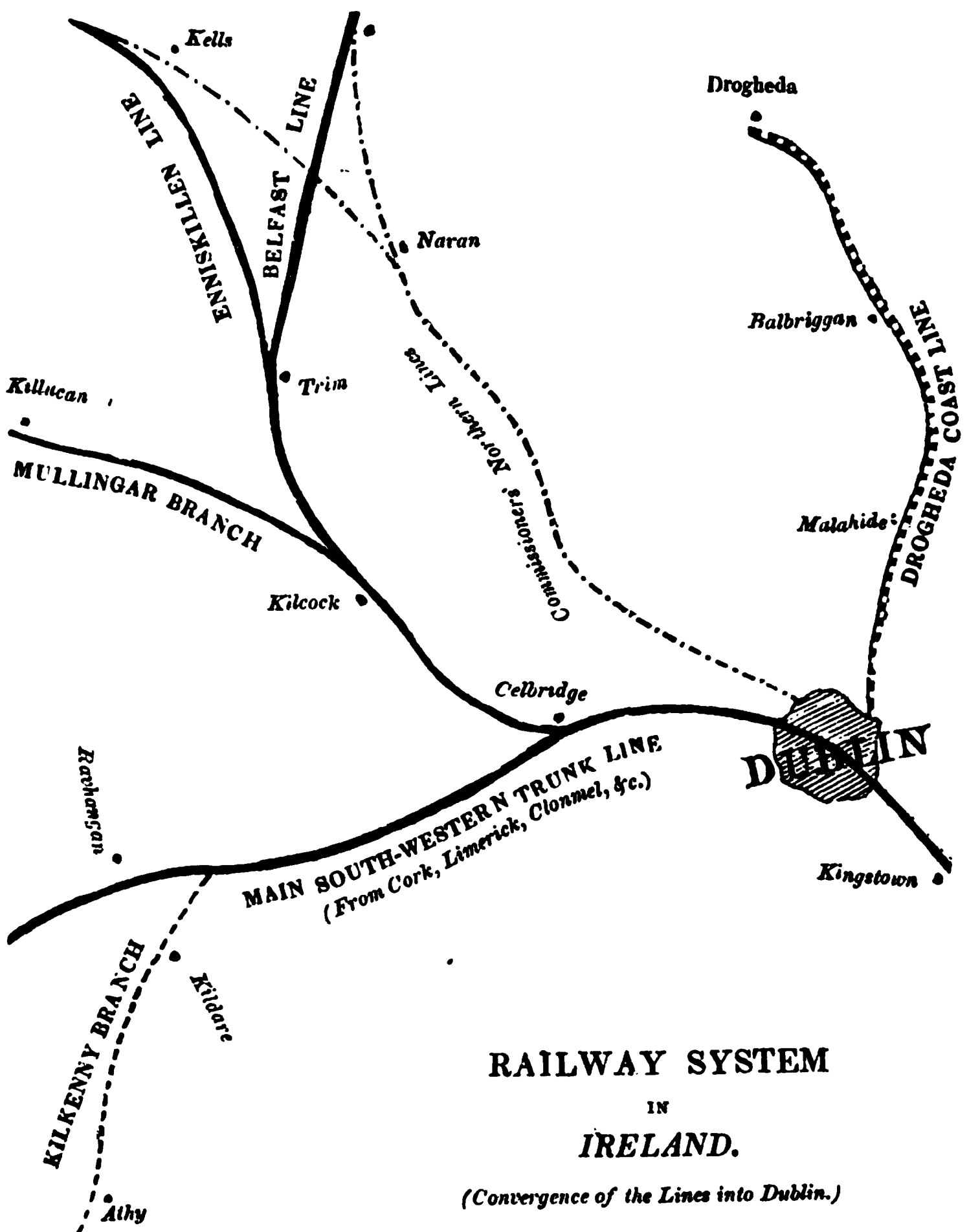
Now, although the parties who projected the railway to Mullingar and the west, possibly exaggerated its importance, and put forward a statement in their prospectus "quite fallacious," still, while perhaps justly condemning the sanguine speculators, it was scarcely consistent with the principles laid down by the commissioners wholly to exclude the districts this company had explored. The main South Western Trunk Railway of the commissioners runs for nearly 50 miles closely parallel to the grand canal, and they speak thus of the country through which it extends:—"the canal charges average nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per ton per mile, whereas the railway charges will on an average be about  $2d.$  per ton per mile; but as the facilities will be greater by the latter, the charge less, and the county itself more fertile, we do not hesitate to assume this income, which is equivalent to  $87\frac{1}{2}$  tons per day through the whole line" (*Second Report, Part I*, p. 17); but when speaking of the railway from Celbridge to Mullingar, the commissioners say, "we have not formed any estimate of the probable commercial traffic on the proposed line to Mullingar, because it would continue to be carried on the canal," (p. 29.) Now, for the reasons quoted just above from p. 17, we humbly conceive that the Mullingar line is quite as likely to get its 90 tons daily, as the line to Maryborough parallel to the Grand Canal, or the branch by Athy and Carlow parallel to the Barrow Navigation; and though the acquisition of this tonnage

may not, and we think is not sufficient to justify the estimate and expectations of the promoters of the Great Central Irish Railway, yet it would, when added to the passenger traffic, which we do not dispute, raise the nett income of the line to Mullingar, to an equality with that of the commissioners' line from Holycross to Limerick; and we do think, on the principle, "that it is essential for producing the greatest national advantages, that the gain on the more profitable parts should be available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue, provided only that on the whole a fair remuneration for the capital invested can be desired from the undertaking"—(*Second Report, Part II*, p. 61)—that the line from Celbridge to Mullingar, at least, ought to have been made a portion of the general system; and not only for the preceding reasons, but because it would be a considerable step pushed forward towards "the far West," which must otherwise be still, for many a long year, left without a communication by railway to the Irish capital; and because a line to Mullingar would *not* interfere with the only profitable portion of the commercial and agricultural traffic on the royal canal, viz. that which is derived from its conveyance of the produce of the Upper Shannon to Dublin; and because we consider there are no districts in Ireland where the passenger traffic is more likely to be increased, by affording facilities towards penetrating its remote parts, than those to the west and north-north-west.

We beg we may be clearly understood as not casting one reflection on the motives of the commissioners, or on the great principles of the report: we respectfully submit our remarks on what we consider an oversight in detail, simply stating our impressions that, according to those very principles, Mullingar might have been included in the *Railway union*, without any material deficit in the aggregate beneficial returns; while it would, to say the least, have gone far to conciliate the people of the districts adjacent, and beyond to the west, and prove to them that up to the extreme verge of probable return, the capital and credit of the government would be extended to them.

The cost of the railway from Celbridge to Mullingar, requiring an additional capital of little beyond £300,000, would not, after taking credit for what its own traffic might bring in, reduce the average return on the whole of the southern districts more than one quarter per cent.; and by incorporating the southern and northern systems projected by the commissioners into one, so as to have only a single entrance into Dublin, in the manner we will endeavour to explain, even this expenditure might be saved, and little or no additional

capital need be expended—nor supposing, what we consider inevitable, that government are to execute and construct the railways, would any additional arrangements have to be made. On the contrary, the circumstance of having to form only one establishment at the grand metropolitan terminus, would enable the utmost possible amount of accommodation to be afforded there, and in a manner which the dividing of the same in separate parts of the city would not allow.



We submit, then, that the first 10 or 12 miles, from Barrack Bridge in Dublin to the vicinity of Celbridge, should be



the main Aorta of the system, to transmit the congregated traffic to and from Dublin; that the northern lines should be each slightly diverged, so as to unite at or near Trim, instead of at Navan, and from Trim to pass by Kilcock or Maynooth, to Celbridge, receiving in their way the branch from Mullingar. From the information before us, we are satisfied that the aggregate cost, including the line to Mullingar, would not exceed the expense of the north and north-western lines, from the north side of Dublin, in the neighbourhood of St. Georges's Church, Dorset-street, (*Second Report, Appendix A, No. 4, p. 49,*) to Navan, and thence to beyond Kells on the Enniskillen line, and to about Drumcondra on the Belfast line, where the divergencies recommended would probably respectively commence; at all events, the extra expenditure of capital would be very little, on account of the greater facilities of construction presented by the lines from Celbridge, in the direction which the annexed rough sketch points out, while the gradients would be better.

In justice to ourselves, after rebuking others, who have, as we conceive, impertinently interfered with and blamed the conclusions of the commissioners, we would explain, that the fact of the government being obliged to come in and execute the railways, (which we assume must eventually be the case,) gives a totally different complexion to the undertaking. It was the business of the commissioners, while such a conclusion was uncertain, to project lines, which *might* be taken up by private bodies of monied men, and it would have been manifestly inconvenient not to have had independent termini in the capital for the great north and south lines, which would be supposed, to a great extent, to be dependent on local support from the districts to be pervaded by them; while the subscribers in the north and in the south, having no interests in common, would naturally be averse to a junction at some distance from Dublin, which to one or other of the main-trunks might be supposed to be disadvantageous.

But as a government undertaking, however modified, we do earnestly submit that the slight deviations we propose become almost a matter of necessity; and when we consider how the suffrages of all parts of the country would be obtained by a system, which, as far as at all practicable, pushed forward its ramifications to every district, the entertainment of such a proposition as we have made, should not be lost sight of: and since by the same or very nearly the same capital, the western districts can be admitted as far as Mullingar, at least, to a participation of the benefits of the railway system, we consider it

ought to be extended to them, although the length of the northern line would be increased a very few miles; but, to repeat and apply the leading argument of the commissioners, such a system necessarily implies an increased distance, “and this principle should be limited only by such an increase of distance, as might be deemed more than equal to the advantage to be gained in point of economy: *and we consider that limit very far from being exceeded by the combined system we propose.*” A farther advantage, and we think, no small one, is, that for the terminus at Barrack-bridge, an extension of the railway may be made, at a moderate cost, to Kingstown Harbour, the port of Dublin, and thus enable the whole of the valuable productions of the interior for export, to be shipped into the steamers, without the heavy expense of carting and unloading and distributing through Dublin; by means of the very plausible project laid before the commissioners by Mr. Vignoles, one of their engineers. The saving to the owners of heavy agricultural produce, by a continuous line from the interior of the country to the great shipping port and asylum harbour at Kingstown, would be felt in the most remote districts: and “every contributor to the traffic of the main trunk, would derive an advantage from it.” We will quote from the report as to this project, which Mr. Vignoles says, should

“be kept closely in view, as likely at no very distant period to be seriously entertained on the score of public convenience and utility.

“This extension consists in passing, at a sufficient elevation, by means of a light iron colonnade viaduct along the quays, and through the heart of Dublin, with an elevation of twenty-feet of the rails of the viaduct over the bridges and streets, giving ample head-way for all vehicles passing below.”—*Second Report, Appendix A, No. 2. page 32.*

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was probably to embarrass the routine business of the public officers, whose duty and whose urbanity would lead them to pay decent attention to all who came before them. Not the disappointed lawyer, whose prospect of lucrative emoluments might have been blighted; nor the unsuccessful engineer, whose talents had not been appreciated or called into requisition, or whose vanity and self-importance had been unadministered to; not the greedy speculator or scheming share-jobber, whose gains in the railroad lottery had been cut short, and whose prizes had been turned to blanks: not the low-minded newspaper hack, who could not imagine or believe in the possibility of pureness of motive in others, even when they were giving abstract mathematical deductions, or professional conclusions; and whose ideas, ever wandering to some dirty job, presupposed all public men had no other end in view, than, by similar chicanery to his own, to provide for themselves and their acquaintances. By none of these can either the motives or the great leading principles laid down by the commissioners be impugned, and many of them are not capable of appreciating or even understanding them. The commissioners may be mistaken in some few details, and they may not have carried out their own principles to the fullest extent, or to all the lines or in all the directions they might have done, but their great dominant arguments, their general views, their leading recommendations, are unimpeachable.

Let us proceed with our extracts. Thus write the commissioners:—

“If a body of capitalists be found ready to undertake either of the great lines, as a whole, we presume that the general feeling of the legislature and of the country, will be to leave the execution of it, as little fettered as possible by restriction, to the management of private enterprise.”

And the commissioners go on to recommend in that case the granting of every facility within the power of parliament;—continuing:—

“But the investigations we have made, lead us to doubt whether any company will be induced to undertake either of these great lines, even with the facilities and advantages which might, on general principles, be afforded them. In such case we trust that, to avoid the evil of partial execution, and to accomplish so important a national object as that contemplated in the completion of the entire system, we may look forward to a certain degree of assistance from the state, as great, at least, as has been given for the encouragement of other public works in Ireland; and on those grounds of policy which we believe have not been disputed, and on which it is therefore unnecessary for us to enlarge.”—*Second Report, Part III, p. 94.*

And the commissioners proceed to suggest the principle of several modes of granting the assistance, which they venture to express their hope may be afforded ; although they state their sense of the difficulty of the subject, and their apprehensions of exceeding the bounds of their instructions, if they were to enter minutely into the precise form and amount of the aid.

We are convinced that the alternatives are, *Railroads executed by the government, or no railroads for Ireland* ; (a position entirely distinct from that of whether, on public grounds, it is advisable for governments to undertake such works) ; and we shall only extract that recommendation, the principle of which, in our opinion, is likely to be acted upon : —

“ We would venture to suggest that the government should undertake either or both of the proposed combined lines, on the application of the counties interested, the outlay to be repaid by small instalments at the lowest admissible rate of interest, and under the provision, that in the event of the returns not paying the stipulated amount of interest, the counties shall supply the deficit by presentments.

“ In offering this proposition, we may be allowed to state, that relying on the result of our estimates, our impression is, that the local districts, under such an arrangement, would, to insure a certain great benefit, \* incur but a very inconsiderable risk, freeing themselves at the same time from many inconvenient arrangements.

“ This proposition is somewhat on the principle adopted for the improvement of the Shannon navigation. It is, of course, susceptible of various forms and modifications, but we purposely avoid entering into details, which, however, we see no difficulty in filling up to suit all the circumstances of the case.”—*Second Report, Part III. p.95.*

Such are the conclusions as to the proper lines, and such the recommendations of the “ Commissioners appointed to consider and recommend a general system of railways for Ireland ;” and, as has been most pertinently observed by a quarterly contemporary, whose political sentiments and our own are “ far as the poles asunder,” the principal question to be asked by prudent men is—*Does the report emanate from persons possessing, in the opinion of Europe, requisite qualifications ?* and before proceeding to investigate this question, our able, witty, and candid antagonist, “ with such important interests at stake, as a duty which he owes to science, calls upon his readers to unite with him in casting aside party feeling and political animosity, while he endeavours, very briefly, to review the subject before him.” And after stating who the commis-

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\* The returns, after paying interest and sinking fund, being available for the reduction of county and other rates.

sioners and their staff were, and going into an examination of their evidence and reasons, concludes with a hearty approval of the two great lines, on grounds which all honest unbiassed men will join him in.

In the last extract we find the commissioners advancing on to the debatable ground, of the *undertaking of public works by the government*, but this question is clearly resolvable into several distinct and independent heads :—1st. Should government interfere with any enterprise, which might be entered into by associated bodies of individuals? 2nd. Are railways such public works (being, in fact, the highways of the empire) as should not be left to individuals or to private bodies of capitalists to execute, or at least solely to control? 3rd. Are the circumstances of Ireland such as would justify the government undertaking in that country, what might be impolitic or injudicious in England? 4th. How can public aid and control be best combined with private enterprise, or with what other than undivided government monies and management can railways be instituted? We will consider these points after we have gone a little farther into the analysis of the report of the commissioners.

Although from our local knowledge of Ireland we did at one time expect a greater amount of traffic, both in goods and passengers, to have been existing, particularly on lines now stated to be comparatively unprofitable, yet it is impossible to gainsay the traffic calculations of the commissioners, as to passengers at least, which form the main-stay of railway revenue, and in general, as to merchandize and agricultural articles. And looking calmly, as it was the duty of the commissioners to do, at the possible increase of business by the developement of the resources of the country, as well as to the probability of the returns being at first diminished by expenditure necessary to induce the traffic to be brought to the railways, we cannot make any serious objection that they have not coloured, up to the hue given by our imaginations, the prospects of aggregate returns. Neither ought we to demur because the commissioners have taken the estimate of the annual expenses of working and maintaining the railways at the maximum rate they have done, although we conscientiously believe such might have been very fairly put at a less amount, as we could readily demonstrate had we space and leisure. It was, however, the safest course to look the amount of disbursements fully in the face, and not to swell up the gross receipts; since, on the other hand, the estimate of the cost of constructing the several lines laid out, may, from unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances,

be augmented beyond what the engineers have given; although in our humble judgment the aggregate amount per mile stated by them, will be sufficient; and they have, by recording the details, and by publishing the sections, put it into the power of any competent person to check their calculations. On the whole we see no reason for disputing the returns of profit given by the commissioners on the lines recommended by them; which are as follows:—

### SOUTH AND SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICTS.

	Average nett profit on the capital, per cent.
1. MAIN-TRUNK LINE—from DUBLIN, by Naas, Kildare, Monasterevan, Maryborough, Rathdowney, Thurles, Holycross, Cashel, Cahir, Mitchelstown, Kildorery, and Mallow, to CORK, at a mean cost of £11,000 per mile, will produce an average nett profit of . . . . .	4.75
2. KILKENNY BRANCH—from the main line, in the vicinity of MARYBOROUGH, by Ballyroan, Abbeyleix, and Ballyragget to KILKENNY, at a mean cost of £8,000 pr. mile	2.00
3. LIMERICK BRANCH—from the main line, at Holycross, by Dundrum, Donaghill, (near Tipperary) and Lynfield, to LIMERICK, at a mean cost of £8,000 per mile . . .	0.70
	<hr/>
	Average about . 3.53
4. WATERFORD AND LIMERICK BRANCH—from Donaghill (near Tipperary) by Golden, Marhill, Woodruffe, Clonmel, and Carrick-on-Suir, to WATERFORD, at a mean cost of £8,000 per mile (the Limerick Branch being supposed already formed as part of the preceding system)	3.80
	<hr/>
	Average of the Southern Districts . 3.57

### NORTHERN DISTRICT.

5. From DUBLIN, by Navan, Carrickmacross, Castleblaney, Armagh, Portadown, Lurgan, and Lisburn, to BELFAST, at a mean cost of £11,000 per mile . . . . .	4.75
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*Hence, upon a probable expenditure of four millions, the estimated average returns is four per cent only;—and to obtain even this return, the commissioners say it is essential, for producing the greatest national advantages, that the gain on the more profitable parts should be available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue, (Part II. p. 61).*

And the probable greater income from, and less expense in construction of, the line between Armagh and Belfast, is thrown in to make up the deficit of profit from the remaining parts of the great north trunk, which must otherwise ensue from its smaller revenue, both in goods and passengers, as the commissioners state and explain, and from its greater cost per



mile, even on the reduced gradients, as appears by Mr. M'Niell's estimates (*Second Report*, appendix A. No. 4, p. 53).

And, in a parallel manner, the revenue of the Great Southern line is diminished, chiefly by the unprofitable branch from Holycross to Limerick, which, producing only  $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. nett income, could not be sustained as an independent line; neither could the branch from Maryborough to Kilkenny, as it shows no more than a clear income of 2 per cent.—proving that railways in Ireland, like the bundle of rods in the fable, must be bound together in one system, to bear up against the expenses of construction and maintenance, which would snap asunder all but one or two stout, short sticks.

Now, supposing the Armagh and Belfast Company willing to fall into the views of the railway commissioners—of which we have some misgivings, unless the loans they are receiving from the Board of Public Works are conditioned to that effect—and we think they neither are, nor legally could be—and, supposing that the Kilkenny Company are content to branch off from the commissioners' southern trunk line, at Kildare, or Rathangan, and make their railway by Athy, Carlow, Leighlin's Bridge, and Gowran, to Kilkenny, which, we apprehend, they ought to be very thankful for the opportunity of doing,—we think the districts through which the railways pass, might be as equally advantaged as if the whole system had been retained in the hands of the commissioners; though, unless the Belfast Company are disposed to throw their capital into hotch-potch, as the lawyers express it, the aggregate interest will be diminished, as the gross returns, between Armagh and Belfast, show thirty or forty per cent. profit above the whole average of the northern lines; and seem to require a capital full twenty or twenty-five per cent. less. As respects the Kilkenny line, it is probably a matter of indifference, as the additional capital of £150,000 or £160,000, to carry it by Athy and Carlow, instead of by Ballyroan and Abbeyleix, will be met by returns, corresponding to those on the rest of the southern lines; but, nevertheless, at the expense of the Barrow Navigation—a company, “whose management of their works, has been extremely creditable to the directors; who have carried it successfully through many and great difficulties, and are but just beginning to reap the fruits of their perseverance and integrity. The interests of this company being justly entitled to the most favourable consideration, and to every protection consistent with those of the public at large.” (*Second Report*, Part I. p. 13.)



But, surely, the commissioners, while taking into view the circumstances of the whole of the districts, pervaded by and within the influence of the lines of railway, appear to have overlooked the fact, that, in their anxiety to do justice to one important town and county, and to palliate the inevitable disappointment to one body of shareholders, whose interests were directed to another town and another district, they have, unwittingly we admit, been doing a partial injustice to another set of proprietors, and have thrown back, from the advantages of railway communication, other towns, and another district, on the whole equally important with those which had more attracted the notice of the commissioners. To benefit the districts around Limerick and Kilkenny, the whole profits of the southern system are to be reduced  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.; and to pacify the Kilkenny Railway Company, the interests of the Barrow Navigation are to be given up, although previously mentioned as so worthy of attention: while, in respect of Mullingar, which may be properly considered as the key of the west, or north-west districts, it is entirely put aside, least it should interfere with the interests of the Royal Canal.

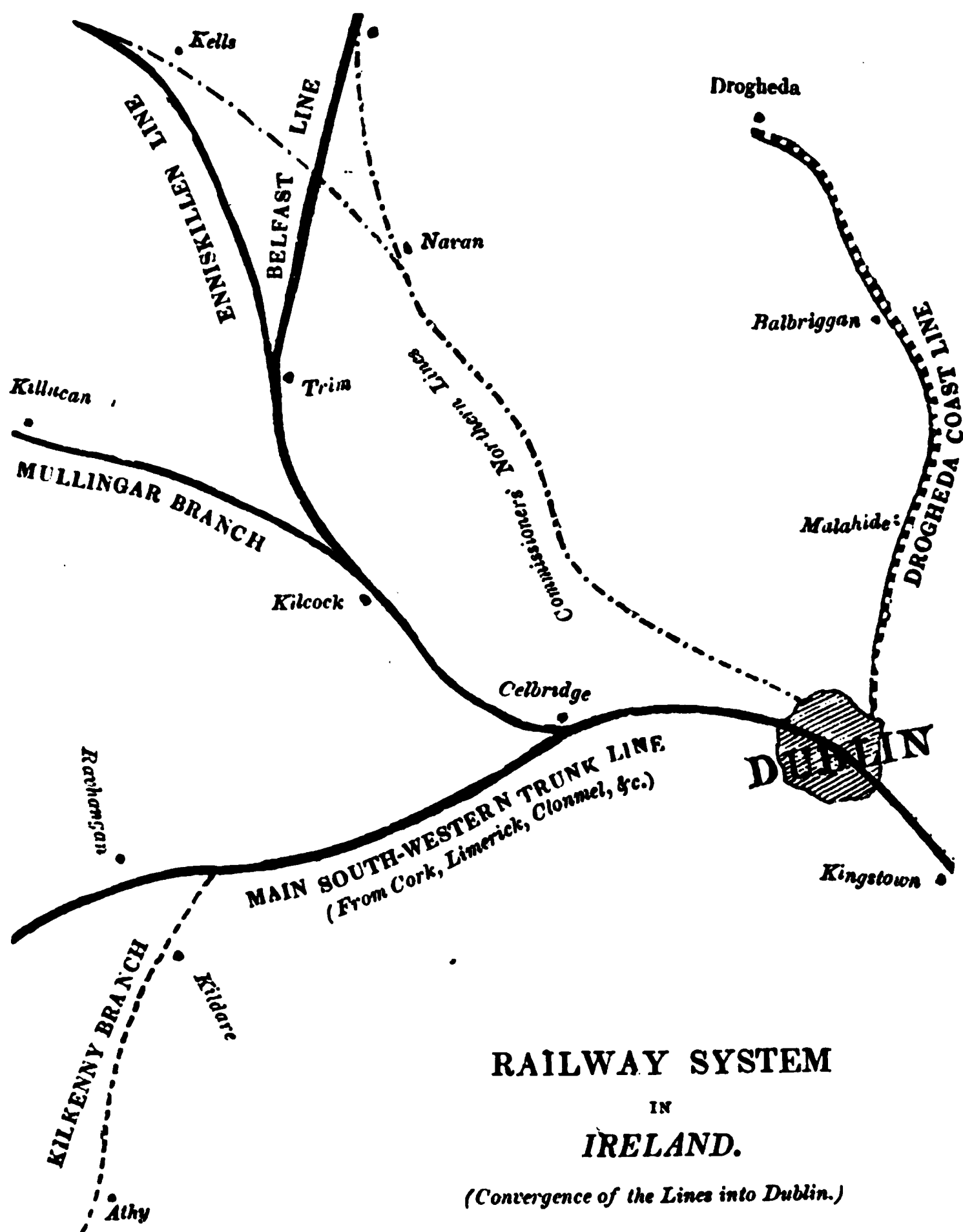
Now, although the parties who projected the railway to Mullingar and the west, possibly exaggerated its importance, and put forward a statement in their prospectus "quite fallacious," still, while perhaps justly condemning the sanguine speculators, it was scarcely consistent with the principles laid down by the commissioners wholly to exclude the districts this company had explored. The main South Western Trunk Railway of the commissioners runs for nearly 50 miles closely parallel to the grand canal, and they speak thus of the country through which it extends:—"the canal charges average nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per ton per mile, whereas the railway charges will on an average be about  $2d.$  per ton per mile; but as the facilities will be greater by the latter, the charge less, and the county itself more fertile, we do not hesitate to assume this income, which is equivalent to  $87\frac{1}{3}$  tons per day through the whole line" (*Second Report, Part I*, p. 17); but when speaking of the railway from Celbridge to Mullingar, the commissioners say, "we have not formed any estimate of the probable commercial traffic on the proposed line to Mullingar, because it would continue to be carried on the canal," (p. 29.) Now, for the reasons quoted just above from p. 17, we humbly conceive that the Mullingar line is quite as likely to get its 90 tons daily, as the line to Maryborough parallel to the Grand Canal, or the branch by Athy and Carlow parallel to the Barrow Navigation; and though the acquisition of this tonnage

may not, and we think is not sufficient to justify the estimate and expectations of the promoters of the Great Central Irish Railway, yet it would, when added to the passenger traffic, which we do not dispute, raise the nett income of the line to Mullingar, to an equality with that of the commissioners' line from Holycross to Limerick; and we do think, on the principle, "that it is essential for producing the greatest national advantages, that the gain on the more profitable parts should be available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue, provided only that on the whole a fair remuneration for the capital invested can be desired from the undertaking"—(*Second Report, Part II*, p. 61)—that the line from Celbridge to Mullingar, at least, ought to have been made a portion of the general system; and not only for the preceding reasons, but because it would be a considerable step pushed forward towards "the far West," which must otherwise be still, for many a long year, left without a communication by railway to the Irish capital; and because a line to Mullingar would *not* interfere with the only profitable portion of the commercial and agricultural traffic on the royal canal, viz. that which is derived from its conveyance of the produce of the Upper Shannon to Dublin; and because we consider there are no districts in Ireland where the passenger traffic is more likely to be increased, by affording facilities towards penetrating its remote parts, than those to the west and north-north-west.

We beg we may be clearly understood as not casting one reflection on the motives of the commissioners, or on the great principles of the report: we respectfully submit our remarks on what we consider an oversight in detail, simply stating our impressions that, according to those very principles, Mullingar might have been included in the *Railway union*, without any material deficit in the aggregate beneficial returns; while it would, to say the least, have gone far to conciliate the people of the districts adjacent, and beyond to the west, and prove to them that up to the extreme verge of probable return, the capital and credit of the government would be extended to them.

The cost of the railway from Celbridge to Mullingar, requiring an additional capital of little beyond £300,000, would not, after taking credit for what its own traffic might bring in, reduce the average return on the whole of the southern districts more than one quarter per cent.; and by incorporating the southern and northern systems projected by the commissioners into one, so as to have only a single entrance into Dublin, in the manner we will endeavour to explain, even this expenditure might be saved, and little or no additional

capital need be expended—nor supposing, what we consider inevitable, that government are to execute and construct the railways, would any additional arrangements have to be made. On the contrary, the circumstance of having to form only one establishment at the grand metropolitan terminus, would enable the utmost possible amount of accommodation to be afforded there, and in a manner which the dividing of the same in separate parts of the city would not allow.



We submit, then, that the first 10 or 12 miles, from Barrack Bridge in Dublin to the vicinity of Celbridge, should be

the main Aorta of the system, to transmit the congregated traffic to and from Dublin; that the northern lines should be each slightly diverged, so as to unite at or near Trim, instead of at Navan, and from Trim to pass by Kilcock or Maynooth, to Celbridge, receiving in their way the branch from Mullingar. From the information before us, we are satisfied that the aggregate cost, including the line to Mullingar, would not exceed the expense of the north and north-western lines, from the north side of Dublin, in the neighbourhood of St. Georges's Church, Dorset-street, (*Second Report, Appendix A, No. 4, p. 49,*) to Navan, and thence to beyond Kells on the Enniskillen line, and to about Drumcondra on the Belfast line, where the divergencies recommended would probably respectively commence; at all events, the extra expenditure of capital would be very little, on account of the greater facilities of construction presented by the lines from Celbridge, in the direction which the annexed rough sketch points out, while the gradients would be better.

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sufficiently extensive to justify the plan ; a plan which might very well be executed if all the railways come in as we have suggested, along one main stem, to the western end of Dublin, since the cost of the extension through the city, *even if totally unproductive, per se*, would not deduct more than one eighth per cent from the average dividends, on the whole estimated expenditure of four millions ; while from the channels of return which it would open for itself, there cannot exist a shadow of doubt that its nett income would exceed the average of the other parts of the system. We recommend attention to the whole of Mr. Vignoles' report on this project. *Appendix A, No. 2, pp. 32, 34.*

Although it may not be considered by the commissioners and others, as a valid or additional reason, yet we do for our own parts allege, that the divergence of the lines from the north and north-west in the manner we propose, is not altogether undesirable, by passing them over a district farther removed from the coast, and from the line of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway, which was incorporated to give that accommodation, to the important towns on the eastern coast of Ireland, no other main line towards the north could do, on account of the peculiar formation of the country. The following extract from the commissioners relates to the probable extension of the Drogheda Railway.

"In respect to the coast line which has been surveyed from Drogheda to Newry, we have to observe that it may be considered altogether in the light of a speculation which has no reference to the internal commercial traffic of the country, but as one which will afford a desirable facility for passenger intercourse, between the important commercial towns which it is intended to connect.

"If the data which have been put forward by its projectors be correct, we are rather disposed to think, that as soon as the coast road from Dublin to Drogheda shall have been completed, the prolongation to Dundalk, and thence eventually to Newry, might be desirable."—*Second Report, Part I, p. 45.*

Considering the Dublin and Drogheda Railway as one that does not in the least interfere with the plans of the general system, and as having resources within itself, we apprehend, that if, without any detriment to that system, the northern lines may be drawn so as to avoid all possible interference with the Drogheda coast line, it should be so arranged: Between the lines we have sketched by Kilcock and Trim, and the east coast, there is scarcely a town to provide traffic for any line, and the agricultural produce of that district would proceed along the ordinary roads at right angles to the

railways east and west, until intercepted by them, to be conveyed to Dublin or to Drogheda.

Before entering into the discussion of the question of government interference, and government assistance to railways in Ireland, there is one other part of the report of the commissioners to which we must refer. We mean that relating to the increased facilities for the most rapid communication between London and Dublin, so justly stated to be very material to the profitable working of railways in any part of Ireland; and calculated to promote the mutual interest of this, and other parts of the British empire. And to let the commissioners speak in their own concise and nervous phrases :

“Before the introduction of railways, great exertions had been used, and a considerable progress made towards rendering the communication between the two countries as expeditious as the means then available for the purpose would allow. Large sums were expended in improving the several packet ports of Milford, Dunmore, Donaghadee, Port Patrick, Howth, Holyhead, &c. *and in bringing the Holyhead road to its present perfect state.* The advantages thus obtained to the public were worth all the expense that had been incurred; but their acknowledged value and importance are not to be weighed against results now attainable by the application of a power which was unknown when those improvements were effected. The locomotive engine has, at one step, trebled the speed of ordinary road conveyance, at the same time that it combines the advantages of superior convenience, safety, and cheapness, and we are therefore naturally led to enquire, whether that power should not be adopted, in order to complete the end for which those works were originally undertaken. *Hitherto, as we have seen, no expense has been spared by the Legislature, in adopting any practicable means of facilitating the intercourse between the two countries; and doubtless, the same principles will still be acted upon.* It is the more reasonable to expect this, because, by an extension of the railway system, the attention which hitherto has been necessarily divided in various directions, *may be concentrated to one main point, namely, the attainment of the most rapid communication between the Metropolis and Dublin; for if that object be effected, the communication with all the important towns of Ireland will be equally and at the same time facilitated, and that in a more perfect and economical manner than could be accomplished by any other management.*

“We shall not attempt to fix or define the utmost degree of expenditure which it would be right to incur for this purpose. The advantage that would result from merely expediting the mails *so as to give three or four available hours in each direction daily, can scarcely be estimated too highly.* But we believe that it may be obtained at a cost not disproportioned to the object, and that a con.



*siderable return may be expected in addition to the benefits which would spring from the improved resources of the country.*"—*Second Report, Part III. p. 72.*

The italics are ours, and we do crave the attention of the legislature and of all our government authorities to the very important paragraph we have just quoted. It contains the very essence of all that has ever been said on the subject, and added to the expressed public opinion of the several meetings which have been held to forward these views, will not fail to effect the object intended. Indeed, the only question is, "*In what direction shall the main railway line to the Irish packet port be carried?*"

This question is most ably discussed by the commissioners, from the information before them, referring to the comparative merits of Holyhead, Porth-Dynllaen, (in Caernarvonshire), St. George's Harbour, (between the Great and Little Orme's Heads) and Liverpool, consisting of the reports of Mr. Vignoles, on the "various lines that could be carried from London to Porth-Dynllaen, in North Wales;" and on a line to Holyhead:—of Captain Beaufort, R.N., Hydrographer to the Admiralty, on the ports of North Wales, which might be adopted in connexion with a railway communication from London; of Lieutenant Sheringham, R.N., on the Harbour of Porth-Dynllaen (both the naval authorities speaking very highly in its favour); and of Mr. Cubitt, C. E., on the practicability of a railway through North and South Wales; and the commissioners sum up the evidence with great impartiality in the following terms:—

"Hence it would appear that by taking advantage of any of the probable modes by which the country mails may be despatched from Dublin in twenty-four hours after leaving London, *a saving may be effected by the reduction of the whole of the packet establishments, except one*, as well as of the day mails from Dublin to Cork, and Belfast. It will only be necessary to provide for a direct communication between the west of England and south of Ireland.

"By the Porth-Dynllaen, Orme's Bay, or Holyhead projects, the Liverpool mail for Ireland would also eventually be brought down to either of those as a concentrated packet station. Upon the whole it will appear that in order to effect the most rapid communication between London and Ireland, *a selection is to be made between a line of railway to Holyhead, or to Porth-Dynllaen.* In point of time, the difference between those two lines according to the above calculations, appears so small, that it will require to be further considered

"In making comparisons of this kind, the actual distance is commonly assumed as the measure of the time, a form of calculation sufficiently accurate for ordinary purposes, and where other circum-

stances strongly concur in favour of a particular conclusion; but, in a nicely balanced case, time being the only or principal consideration, it should be well understood, that a mere comparison of distances may often prove a fallacious mode of estimating the time for travelling over a given space. There may exist, on the one hand, peculiar and unavoidable causes of delay, such, for example, as will be presented in the passage of the Menai Strait, on the Holyhead line; while inferior gradients (should they prove so) may retard the progress equally on the line to Porth-Dynllaen.

"It is sufficient at present to advert to the extent of capability that exists for a very important communication. Whenever it shall be considered expedient to carry either project into execution, more minute investigation will be required to fix their comparative merits, with reference to facility of execution, to the benefit of the country (as means of internal communication through North Wales) and to the expense as well as to the ultimate results which are aimed at.

"Although a passenger traffic must be very considerable, comprising, as the line would, that, for the whole of Ireland, or nearly so; and increased in a great degree by the more rapid and cheaper medium of intercourse; still, as a considerable portion of the line will produce very little accession of business in Wales itself, it is *not to be expected that such a project can be carried into execution without aid from the public, and probably it will be the best to effect it by direct government agency.*"\*—*Second Report, Part III. p. 78.*

After such a dispassionate opinion, it might have been supposed that the question would have been properly left to government to decide, after further enquiries, as to the best line; but private interests have latterly rushed into the contest, and an acrimonious tone has been given to discussions that are quite useless, and will not be attended to by the public authorities, who must ultimately be appealed to. As for the good people of Ireland, they are wise enough to keep aloof from an unprofitable squabble, and are satisfied to unite in *claiming the very best and quickest line of railway to the best packet station, at whatever cost*, any excess of which above that for an inferior route to a less eligible port, is as nothing in the balance, to ensure *regularity and certainty* in the time of transit. It is probable the effects of the recent storms, on the Menai Bridge, will go far to decide the question.

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\* Mr. Vignoles says, in his report, (*Appendix A, No. 3, p. 42*) "out of this arises the consequential enquiry, viz., if the government should be induced, as in the case of the Holyhead road, to patronize or execute any portion of the railway, should not such line pass *centrally* through the country, affording the utmost general advantages, independent of being the route to a packet station; in fact, be a main trunk line, such as now laying out by your commission in Ireland."

In corroboration of the observations of the commissioners, in the saving of time to all the towns of Ireland, by a railway from London to a Welsh packet port, we may refer to the table given by Mr. Vignoles, in his report on the south and south-western lines of railway in Ireland, laid out by him under the direction of the commissioners, (*Appendix A, No. 1, pages 28-29*); by which it will be seen, that the future time of travelling, when the lines are completed, will be, from London to Cork, under twenty-three hours; to Limerick, twenty-one and a half hours; and to Dublin, sixteen hours. While, by a similar calculation, Belfast would be only about twenty-one, and Enniskillen but twenty hours travelling from the metropolis. What good may not be expected to accrue to Ireland, when her most remote districts may be reached from London, in little more than half the time it now takes to reach Edinburgh, and in the same time the mail now occupies in going down to Falmouth?

We shall now attempt to discuss the question of government interference, which we have previously divided into four sections, and now propose to take up *seriatim*.

1st. *Should governments interfere with any enterprise which might be entered into by associated bodies of individuals.*

On general principles, and as applied to a free state, we can have no hesitation in answering, certainly not. But the poverty or richness of the country; the general nature of the employment of the great body of the population, whether engaged in agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or mineral pursuits; its condition, in respect of advancement (as regards the surface of the country only) from a state of nature, beyond which, as in colonies, it may scarcely have gone one step, and yet have a population advanced considerably in all the arts and usages of civilization—imbued with skill and industry, yet having no capital; and,—without going into other causes which it would be easy to assign,—last, though not least, the description of enterprise, and the extent to which it is to be carried; whether as a general system, embracing the whole country, or only a partial developement of the resources of a particular district; since such a system might require public assistance, though a particular work may be executed by private enterprise;—all these considerations enter as essential points in the resolution of the enquiry; and we must know the true conditions of the question, we must have some distinct knowledge, some definite understanding of the circum-

stances under which the kingdom, the province, or the district, stands, before any categorical answer can be given.

The rules which might be laid down for England, are not applicable to Ireland; the one country is extremely rich, the other (in its present unimproved state) extremely poor. England swarms with an industrious population, chiefly engaged in mineral, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits; and those who follow agriculture, do so almost always on a large scale, and generally on scientific principles; so that the productive efforts of the well-fed skilful labourer, on a soil of inferior quality, is fivefold what it is in Ireland (*Second Report, part III*, p. 84), where the whole population have scarcely any employment but agriculture; followed, not as a pursuit based on capital, and executed with skill, but as the means of procuring to the bulk of the inhabitants their stinted daily allowance of food of the most inferior kind.

The advancement of England to its present state, chiefly by the energies of individuals, and the combined skill and pecuniary resources of associated bodies, is the aggregate result of the labour of 150 years: the advancement of the state of New York to its incalculable extent of prosperity, by the creation of numerous links of intercommunication, has been the result of the energies of the state government, effecting for that country, within the last twenty years, a developement of resources unparalleled in the history of internal improvements; a result which can only be compared to (what may be as certainly predicted as) the consequence of the improvement and opening of the Shannon navigation in Ireland, at length determined on to be executed by government; an example which the British government are following in Canada, by the construction of the Rideau canal; which must be followed, whenever the state wishes to advance, “at railroad pace,” the improvement of a colony or district, instead of suffering it to crawl, walk, ride, waggon, turnpike, canal, and coach itself through centuries of difficulties, to that state it may almost jump to, by a proper “government interference.” Since, to use the most expressive language of the railway commissioners, as applied to Ireland,—“It is a waste of the public available resources to suffer so large a portion of the empire to lie fallow, *or leave it to struggle by slow advances*, and with defective means, towards an improvement, when the judicious aid of the state might quickly make it a source of common strength and advantage. (*Second Report, part III*, p. 85).

Then as to the description of enterprise, and its extent,

proper to be interfered with by government, is it with the *internal communications of the country to develop its resources*, particularly when to be laid out as a general system? We may safely leave docks, bridges, harbours, gas-works, water-works, and the thousand speculations which attract capitalists and private enterprise, in a rich and flourishing country, to the energies of individuals. Nay, so far as their *execution* goes, the canals and roads also; because, on these, *competitions* can, and will be, and are created, as freely as those between steam-packets on our rivers and seas; or, as the omnibus rivalry in the streets of our large towns. Nor in local improvements, where we would deprecate government interference as much as if they were to attempt to rival the horse-dealer in his improvement of our studs; or, to quote from our before-mentioned caustic and *spirituel* opponent, as if “the government had undertaken to *horse* the metropolitan cabs, and feed the horses.”

That it would have been far better, if all the canals and turnpike-roads in the country had been laid out on a general system, cannot be denied; but these have “grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength:” they have been the result of local efforts to improve the districts in which the parties finding the money were interested. It is often a wonder to a foreigner, when he is informed of so much money being expended by individuals on our turnpikes, particularly on the cross-roads; but when the system is minutely enquired into, it will be found that the chief subscribers are the adjacent landowners, who want to open up their estates; the dealers in the adjacent towns, &c. It is true, individuals are often tempted by the promise of interest, or coaxed, and sometimes tricked, into lending their money on turnpike bonds, and in England they often lose it; but the effect is produced, —the road is opened, and must afterwards be kept open, even if thrown, as it often is, on the parish or township to repair and maintain. Our neighbours, the Scotch, are more prudent; and when turnpike-road commissioners want to borrow money, they are obliged to be (which is not the case in England) *personally* responsible to the lender, for his interest and principal: but this does not form any impediment, except to induce caution as to what roads are undertaken, and by whom; the commissioners are always the parties who are to be chiefly interested in the effects of the new road, and will not borrow the money unless they are sure the road will pay interest and expenses; or, that their estates will be opened,

and their rents improved, to the extent, at the least, for which they make themselves responsible; so that, practically, it is raising the funds on the mortgage of their estates, to improve them. But after all, the whole system of turnpike-roads in England has been so glaringly bad, that it has been very seriously entertained of late, to amalgamate the entire of their revenue into one fund, in order to do the very thing which the commissioners urge should be done with the railways in Ireland, viz.—“that the gain on the more profitable parts should be available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue.”

Where the state exigencies required, the government have not only “interfered with enterprises (turnpike-roads) which might be (actually had been) entered into by associated bodies of individuals,” but did, in the case of the Holyhead road, in spite of every remonstrance on the part of the several bodies of road trustees, pass an act of parliament, *compelling* the numerous trusts from London to North Wales, to borrow money from them (the government), at the same time, taking for several years the management out of their hands, until by judicious, but mostly costly expenditure (to remedy original errors of laying out and construction), the road was improved, and made suitable to the wants of the country; *and they have continued to do this up to the present time.*

And happy would it have been, if the government had laid out the main lines of railway through England, instead of leaving the best and most profitable lines of traffic to be monopolized, in some distances, and ruinously divided in others,—when, by a judicious, combined, and general system, “the gain on the more profitable parts might have been available to bear the loss of others of deficient revenue.” The prolongation of the railway lines to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, to Holyhead or Porth-Dynllaen, to Milford Haven or to Fishguard, and to Falmouth, cannot now be effected without *government interference*,—because they are not sufficiently profitable in themselves to be carried, by *individual enterprise*, through many miles of unproductive country, or to bear the charges of maintenance and working.

It is therefore clear, that there are many cases in which governments ought to interfere, and have properly interfered, with enterprises that have been, or might have been, entered into by individuals;—and this brings us to the second section of our question; viz.



2d. *Are the railways such public works (being, in fact, the highways of the empire) as should be left to individuals, or to private bodies of capitalists, to execute, or, at least, solely to control?*

This point has been discussed by others before;—but we must make a few extracts from the reasonings which bear strongest on the point. Thus argue the commissioners:—

“But even were the work undertaken without public aid, we are still of opinion that it should, in a certain degree, be subject to the *control* of the state.

“It is a favourite opinion with many, that all undertakings of this description are best left to the free and unfettered exercise of private enterprise, and that the less the state interferes, either in prescribing their execution, or controlling their subsequent operations and management, the better. We are fully sensible of the great advantages to be obtained by allowing full scope to the vigour, energy, and intelligence, of individuals associated for such important purposes: and that it would be equally inconsistent with the rights of society, were such exertions crippled or restrained by unnecessary or impolitic regulations.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 95.*

And we cannot refrain once more pirating from the pages of our Quarterly friend, to complete all that is to be said in favour of a free exercise of individual exertion: “To check, to suppress, or to compete, with this enterprising spirit, would not only involve the Government in difficulty, but the nation in ruin; and we can conceive nothing more distasteful to our great capitalists, than to be told that they can never embark in a voyage of speculative discovery, until they shall have received from the government its *passe-avant*.”

“But,” continue the commissioners,—

“But we apprehend that the essential difference between railways and any other description of public works, has been overlooked, and that powers and privileges have been conceded to private companies, which should be exercised only under the direct authority of the state, or under regulations enforced by effective superintendence and control. So great are the powers, so vast the capabilities of a railroad, *that it must, whenever established, at once supersede the common road*: and not only will all the public conveyances, now in use, disappear, but even the means of posting will, in all probability, rapidly decline, and eventually, perhaps, cease to be found along its line. These effects may be expected, as the necessary consequences of opening a railway. Its superiority is too manifest and decided, to admit of rivalry.

“It therefore deeply concerns the public, whose welfare is inseparably connected with all that tends to improve the internal



resources, or to maintain the commercial and manufacturing superiority of these countries, that such works should be promoted: and, consequently, every encouragement, *consistent with the due regard to other interests*, should be given to capitalists who may be willing to undertake them. Their propositions should be submitted to a competent and duly constituted tribunal; and if approved, should be adopted and stamped *as national enterprises*. As such, they should be protected from all unnecessary expense—from extravagant demands for compensation—from vexatious opposition, *and from the ruinous competition of other companies*. *To that extent they have a strong claim to the protection of the state.*—*Second Report, Part III. pp. 95-96.*

And after this fair statement of what is due to private enterprise, the commissioners say:—

“ But, on the other hand, the public interest would require that they should be bound by such conditions, and held subject to such well-considered regulations, and effective control, as shall secure to the country at large the full benefit and advantage of this admirable system.

“ The practice hitherto followed in England, has been almost the reverse of that which we here recommend. No preliminary steps are taken, *on behalf of the public*, to ascertain whether the proposed railroad be well adapted to its specific object, or calculated to form a part of a more general system. The best and the worst devised schemes are entertained alike, being equally exposed to opposition, and left equally unprotected against the difficulties which interested parties may raise up against them. Nay, a railway bill may be passed, or it may be rejected; but the fate of the project merely proves the number and influence of its respective supporters or opponents. Its failure or success, is no test whatever of its merits as a measure of general utility,—for that consideration forms a very small part of the enquiry before parliament.

“ Should the parties succeed in obtaining a favourable report, they are usually empowered to proceed, and to hold the work as any other description of private property, subject to little or no external regulation or control. Hence are they enabled to establish a monopoly, in the most extensive sense, and to keep the intercourse of the country entirely at their command. The *rate of speed*, the choice of hours for departing, the number of journies in the day, rest at their discretion; and as they have the unlimited right of fixing the charges for the conveyance of both passengers and goods, they have an opportunity of repaying themselves, not only for the legitimate costs of constructing and maintaining the railway, but for all the heavy expenditure incurred, either through their own extravagance, or in consequence of the various impositions practised upon them. Thus, every item of unnecessary expense falls eventually on the public.

“ Sanguine anticipations have been formed of the advantages

already enumerated, of rapidity, facility, frequency, and economy, which this mode of communication is unquestionably calculated to afford. *But it will depend greatly upon the will of the railway companies, as at present constituted, to what extent such expectations shall be realized.*

“ With respect to the first of these advantages, that of rapidity, it is known, that as the speed increases the expenses increase in so high a proportion that it may be apprehended there will be a strong temptation to bring down the velocity to a rate not much exceeding the best public conveyances which the railways have superseded.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 96.*

And we particularly refer to the unanswerable statements, made on the manner in which the interests of the public, and the general economy and convenience, are affected, in pages 28 to 36 inclusive, in *Appendix No. II, to the Second Report* : when after detailing the commencement of some of the inconveniences by a striking example—it is mentioned—“ *The public in the meantime are far from enjoying the advantages which those establishments (the railways already opened from London to Liverpool and Manchester) are capable of affording* ; and it is a very fair sample of the countless ways in which the general interest may suffer from the unrestrained power given to railway companies.”

To this, indeed, we can ourselves bear witness, and the fact, that *the speed on the London and Birmingham Railway is now reduced to 18½ miles an hour including stoppages*, is quite a convincing proof of it. We have shown that the cost to a railway company of carrying a passenger 24 miles an hour does not exceed two-thirds of a penny per mile, all expense included, of which one-ninth of a penny is for fuel, when it is 23s. 6d. per ton. And supposing the cost of fuel to be doubled, and the rate of speed increased fifty per cent. or to 35 or 36 miles an hour, it is equally deducible from the recent facts and experiments we have alluded to in the former part of this article, that the expense of carrying a passenger at that rate would not exceed 1d. or, at the utmost, 1½d. per mile ; and, therefore, we have good grounds for demanding on the part of the public to know from the railway companies *why* they do not offer to the Post Office, and to that portion of the public who would pay for it, *even if it cost 2d. per mile to the railway company !\** the advantage of that velocity, once at

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\* The inside fare on the Grand Junction Railway from Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester by the mail, is 23s. for 98 miles, or something above 2½d. per mile per passenger, the travelling being at the rate of 22 miles an hour : on

least in the twenty-four hours, which would take them to Liverpool and Manchester in six or seven hours (and hereafter to Holyhead or Porth-Dynllaen in seven or eight hours) instead of consuming a whole day or night in the journey? We can answer the question for them:—"They have no competitors," and the public will no farther be accommodated, and will not travel any faster until "*government interference*" takes place; or to quote from the commissioners, who appear to have omitted the consideration of no one point which bears on this and on all the other questions they have so ably investigated:—

"Should there be eventually, two modes of reaching Liverpool, or any place beyond, by railway, the one by Birmingham and the other by a different line, the companies would adjust their arrangements (and increase the speed) *with a view to obtain a preference, but probably no farther*: and this consideration, which will form the best, and, perhaps, the only argument in favour of the *ruinous expedient of closely competing lines*, may be the means of their being established: a most extravagant remedy for what might so easily be arranged by a little mutual accommodation."—*Second Report, Appendix A. II*, p. 31.

or still more *effectually* by a little "government interference." And if this is already necessary on one set of lines only, still more so in a general system, which must require, if not government assistance, at least government *control*; and if already in England, where so much has been done, *a fortiori* in Ireland, where every thing is to do.

"In Ireland," says Mr. Henry Booth, in his practical letter to the commissioners, (*Second Report, Appendix A. No. 9*, p. 78) "the position of things is different; but even there, the contemplation of what is passing in England, may not be without its lesson: for in all countries, and under all circum-

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the London and Birmingham Railway, the fare is 32s. 6d. for 112 miles, or rather under 3½d. per mile, and the travelling 18 miles an hour: on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway the fare is 6s. 6d. for 31 miles, or about 2½d. per mile, the travelling being nearly 24 miles an hour: and the fare on the North Union Railway (to Preston), at the same rate, or a trifle lower. On the Dublin and Kingston Railway the fare is 1s. for 6 miles for the best coaches, (6d. for the outsides), or 2d. per mile, travelling 18 miles an hour. The average charge for inside passengers by the coaches and mails on common roads is something higher than 4½d. per mile per passenger, travelling 10 miles an hour. Who would object to pay at this latter rate to travel from 35 to 40 miles an hour, if it can be proved that the railway companies could afford to do so, which (without raising the points involved in the Great Western Railway Enquiry) we are satisfied they could do on the existing railways, having at the same time a proportionate increased charge for gentlemen's carriages, horses, and the Post Office bags and caravans?

stances, it is an object worthy of a statesman to prevent the reckless waste of the national means, and to give a right direction to the public expenditure."

It has been most industriously asserted, that the English capitalists are only too eager to invest their monies in Irish railways. We find stated in one of the newspaper disquisitions on this subject, words just suited to express our own sentiments:—"It is not enough to shake the authority (of the railway commissioners) to tell us that English *capitalists* have been found willing to undertake such and such lines. No commission was needed to find out that. We know that English capitalists, *in times of excitement*, may be found to subscribe to any undertaking whatever, and would *catch at securities in the moon* if they should be proposed to them. We also know that the gentlemen of Connaught or any other district, are not averse to the outlay of English capital in such a manner (whatever else becomes of it) as must go to improve their property. All this is natural and unblameable, and, indeed, we must confess, for our own part, that we had much rather see English money invested in Irish railways than in American stocks, as a matter of patriotism. But the question is, how can '*English capital*,' for English capital will be in requisition in one shape or other, be employed on Irish railways with hope of return, and of *what return*? *How can railways be constructed, with some security of being kept up*?"

Sir Robert Peel once stated that, "on all occasions he should give his cordial support to such undertakings, (railways) *provided he was satisfied they would succeed as speculations*;" and so would we, and so would any man, but it does not at all follow that they should be left wholly uncontrolled, to levy their contributions on the public, and "make reprisals for all unnecessary expenses and vexations" they might have suffered in the progress of carrying their works into effect.

But the English capitalists feel, to our knowledge, that they owe a deep debt of gratitude to the railway commissioners, for stating the honest truth;—and "the times of excitement" have gone by, and it will, for the future, be very difficult to obtain capital even for English railways; and we are satisfied that the period has arrived, when "such public works, (being, in fact, the highways of the empire,) will not be left to private bodies of capitalists *to control*." Certainly not, since "the regulations of the highways ought in truth to be considered as one of the reserved rights of sovereignty,—one of those rights which cannot be transferred to private individuals, *except by an act of treachery to the community at large*." So speaks one metro-

politan journal. Another, proposes to re-establish coaches and posting, "to protect the public from the insults and inconveniences daily experienced from the railroad monopolists:"—rather a curious mode of protection! While a third thus expresses itself in a more sensible manner.

"The railway companies have received monopolies very injurious to the public comfort, and the public interest, *which new acts of parliament will be required to abate*, but which cannot be abated without causing a great outcry against a violation of vested rights. *Will such blunders be avoided in future?* If the report of the Irish railway commissioners, which shuts them out, is not to be carried into execution, will the private companies and speculators, who are condemning that report and seeking for railway acts, receive the monopolies they pray for, under a due subserviency to the public interests? We hope so, *though it is very plain that they and their partizans in the press are endeavouring to mislead the public, and procure injurious monopolies, under the pretence of promoting private enterprise, and of freely employing private capital.*"

Come we now to the third division of our enquiry:

3d. *Are the circumstances of Ireland such as would justify the government in undertaking, in that country, what might be impolitic or injurious in England?*

The discussion of this point has been almost exhausted, by friends and foes, who have given their sentiments to the public in the periodicals of all intervals, daily, hebdomedal, monthly, and quarterly, both before and since the promulgation of the railway report, and we almost despair of putting it in any new light. In the words of a fellow-labourer in this vineyard, we can only say, "that when society would derive a benefit from a public work, which private interest might not consider a sufficiently tempting speculation, or might not possess the means to accomplish, we hold it to be the part of the government, which represents the general interest, to be the undertaker. We apprehend this has been the case of Ireland for many a day, and we have already shown, in a former article, that the community have profited most amply by the little in the way of public works which the government have effected in that country."\* In fact, it is almost a waste of time to go much into the matter here, and those who can rise from the perusal of that division of the report which treats of the present condition of the population of Ireland, (in Part III, from page 79 to 97 inclusive,) with which their recommendations close, without answering our above question in the affirmative, will never heed any arguments of ours.

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\* British and Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XV. and No. XIII.

We shall leave this question with the following forcible paragraphs from a late number of the *Examiner*.

“We have already remarked, that there can be no greater mistake than to regard the report of the Irish railway commissioners, as a document calculated to check the ardour of public enterprise in railroad projects. The effect of the report will be, not to extinguish zeal, but most seasonably to enlighten and direct it. The commissioners have laid before the nation a most cheering view of the hopes and prospects of Ireland. Without taking into account the powerful impulse which would be given to the general industry of the country by the operation of railways, the evidences of growing prosperity, under *existing* circumstances, are sufficient of themselves to justify the liveliest faith in the success of such undertakings.

“The admirable section ‘on the influence of railways in developing the resources of a country,’ contains a multitude of statements calculated to inspire the fairest hopes of the success of those works in Ireland. ‘We have direct proofs,’ say the commissioners, ‘that Ireland is as capable as other countries of being influenced by the same cause, and of profiting by its operation,’ and they forcibly add, ‘there is this additional motive to recommend the subject for consideration, that the backward state of the country presents a *stronger obligation*, as well as a wider scope, for improvement.’

“Past misgovernment and neglect have certainly left us an ample field for benevolent exertion in Ireland; and decidedly, the moral obligation to commence the work of amelioration, grows stronger every hour. The nature of that obligation was never before so clearly stated to the people of England. The present is the first government that ever promulgated the doctrine that it was the duty of Englishmen to make the relief and improvement of Ireland their business; and the good sense, as well as the good feeling, of our countrymen, forbid us to doubt the success of the appeal.

“From the prosperous results that have followed other projects that have from time to time been undertaken, to better the state of Ireland, the fairest auguries are to be drawn for the enterprise now recommended. In every case, where a new common road has been opened through districts before impervious, an increase of traffic and intercourse has been the uniform consequence. The labours of Mr. Griffith in the South, and Mr. Nimmo in the West, have materially raised the condition of the population, by extending the field of their industry; and contributed to the tranquillity of the country, by opening and facilitating communication through tracts where guilt and outrage had previously found secure asylums. Results, equally happy, have attended other undertakings, proving the aptitude of Ireland, to profit by all the efforts of public or private enterprise, to develop her resources, and give her energies employment. The regular establishment of steam navigation upon the principal rivers, and along the coasts of Ireland, as well as between the ports of the



two islands, has given to mercantile and general social activity, a vast impetus. Not only have old branches of trade been extended, but *nine-tenths of the traffic at present carried on is new*; for instance, the trade in fattened cattle. That a well-arranged system of railways would have the effect of continuing and extending through the country, the advantages which the outports have thus obtained by the introduction of steam vessels, seems to be indisputable. In fact, in the present state of commerce, *the railway is an exigency of the country*, one of the principal wants of Ireland. Perhaps we might lay down a general proposition, and say, that a *railway is a corollary from a steam-ship*.

“Upon the moral effects of the extended intercourse likely to take place between England and Ireland, in consequence of an increased facility of travelling in the latter, considerable stress is very properly laid in the report. Most true it is, and not more true than deplorable, that ‘*Ireland is very little known to the British people* ;’ nor can we imagine any better means of promoting that most valuable of useful information (in fact, it is self-knowledge) than the execution of a great system of public works, forming an easy and rapid mode of communication through the island. Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*, interprets the text in the Prophet Daniel, ‘Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge be increased,’—of the effects to be anticipated from the progress of nautical adventure, and what he calls ‘the openness and thorough passage of the world.’ With how much more force would this application of the prophetic words have struck our great philosopher, had he seen the steam-ship and the railway. ‘*Multi pertransibunt!*’ may well be exclaimed of these days of ours, and yet we see but the infancy of these mighty instruments of civilization and enlightenment. The steam-ship was the first bond of real union, thorough and indissoluble. Most truly, observed the French minister of public works, in a late address to the chamber of deputies, ‘Railways are next to the invention of printing, the most powerful engine of civilization that the ingenuity of man has ever devised. It is difficult, if not impossible, to foresee and define the results which they must of necessity at some period produce on the fate of nations.’”

Let us now enter into the last and most important enquiry, and probably the most practical one.

*4th. How can public aid and control be best combined with private enterprise? or with what other than undivided government monies and management, can railways be instituted in Ireland?*

We think this question may be very easily answered, without the extremes of both the political parties in this country having any good ground for raising “objections to the proceedings



of the commissioners, from the motives alleged to have prompted it; the desire to make out a case for an advance of public money," "or public assistance," which in their opinion only "shows the clear outline of a contemplated job, and a filching attempt at John Bull's pocket, upon even a more than usually bold and large scale." One writer from the 'extreme left,' calls out to watch the progress of the *job*, adding, "It is not a trifling sum of the public money, some three or four millions, which is demanded; and the mode in which the funds, if obtained, would probably be expended, though very agreeable to proprietors having deeply-mortgaged land on the lines, and to the solicitors and engineers employed, would by no means tend to diminish corrupt influence or jobbing in Ireland;" while, from the 'extreme right,' the echo of "so gross a job," resounds in vituperative sentences, containing many personalities, but no arguments. Yet, even had the money been absolutely demanded to be positively expended by the government, some of the same writers admit, "that as far as one or two principal lines go, *railroads are perhaps the most useful mode in which public money could be expended in Ireland.*" Again, to quote from a writer, wholly unprejudiced we should think, inasmuch as his chief pursuits are literary, and who only touches on the railroad report as connected with statistics and science:

*"A nation may wisely spend money upon other considerations than those which govern a private capitalist."* "We know not, indeed, how the trading house of *Great Britain and Company* could lay out money to a greater advantage than by bringing its Irish resources into full operation." "If the expenditure of public money in Ireland can be rendered available to the regeneration of the labouring classes, to the restoration of the balance between demand and supply in the labour market, and consequently to the re-establishment of peace and of industry, *even as a pecuniary speculation, it must ultimately prove profitable.*" "Ireland is a farm in the worst possible condition; out of heart and unprofitable. In such cases, the wise proprietor applies his other resources in the work of amelioration: *he advances his capital on the prospect of remote, but certain returns.*"—*Athenæum*.

From these and from fifty other recorded sentiments of writers of all shades of politics, and of all classes of observers, it would not be difficult to infer that no very general opposition would be made to the appropriation of four or five millions of money for Irish railways. Fortunately, however, there is no absolute occasion for our honest neighbour, John Bull,

to put his hand into his pocket. We do not want his money, although his *credit* would be of great use to us.

All that is wanted is simply that a loan should be authorised by the issue of exchequer bills, or otherwise, from time to time as the occasion may require, to remain as a floating debt, or to be funded periodically: the same being raised, of course, on the credit of the imperial government.

Suppose this carried to the extent of five millions (only one-fourth of what was raised for the West India compensation loan), then let the first charge be on the Irish railways for the interest, say three per cent. and sinking fund, one per cent., the same being secured collaterally under the provision, that in the event of the nett returns not paying the stipulated amount of interest and sinking fund, the counties through which the railways pass shall supply the deficit by presentments, rateably; in such proportion as may be adjudged equitable by a proper commission or tribunal: but any surplus after discharging interest and sinking fund, to be made available for the reduction of the county or other rates.

Here is a plain simple plan, propounded (though not in these identical words) by the commissioners, by which the money can be raised, the disbursement of which may be guarded in any way that the caution and suspicion of the legislature may deem advisable; a plan which will be understood at a glance by all financiers and men of business, and which, so far as the application of the principle and mode of raising money, is *analogous to what has been repeatedly carried into effect* when legislating and providing for the Exchequer-Loan commissioners of England, for the Holyhead roads, for the Caledonian canal, for the roads and bridges in Scotland, and for a variety of public works throughout the empire, where the public credit was pledged, and the security offered as their guarantee undoubted, as would be the case in the manner suggested; and as the commissioners state, which is somewhat on the principle adopted for the improvement of the Shannon.

It may be objected, that it might be difficult to adjust the assessments of the county rate; we see no real difficulty, and we consider the advantages to the counties ought to smooth down any, if existing. If not, the security to John Bull would be the full assurance,

“That if the Irish peasantry were placed, in point of comfort, on a par with those of Great Britain, the result to the public revenue (by a very moderate calculation of Mr. Stanley) *would be an annual increase of six millions.* This consideration alone ought

to silence any objections, on the ground of expense, against affording public aid, such as may be required for these works; for it gives assurance of an enormous profit on the greatest contemplated outlay."—*Report, Part III, p. 85.*

Surely, then, such a probable return is ample security for any possible deficit of return of 4 or 5 per cent. on a capital of as many millions. John Bull risks £200,000 a year; and who, with a knowledge of all the effects which a judicious expenditure on public works in opening any country, but particularly Ireland, has produced, will venture to dispute that, through the districts to be pervaded by the railways, there is not a more than probable additional excise of ten times that amount? Another mode of effecting the same object has been propounded by an able contemporary, whose columns are almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of railway matters, but who takes different views from ours about government interference:—

"The plan proposed, of making the counties pay, if the railway should not, we think a capital one; but why should the government be the only party to 'undertake the execution of the proposed lines on such security? Why not any private company as well? Government cannot afford to lend money at lower rates of interest than other public bodies or private individuals can, and 'the lowest admissible rate of interest' must of course be the market rate of interest at the time of the money being advanced. If, therefore, the same power were given to associations of individuals, incorporated by act of parliament, for the making of railways in Ireland, as is here proposed to give to government, of making up any deficiency in the returns by means of county presentments, there would be an end at once of all difficulty in the matter; capital to any amount would be readily obtained from individuals on such terms, and the evil of *government interference* be thereby wholly averted."—*Railway Times, July 28th.*

Government interference appears to be a terrible bugbear to our railway advocate, as well as to many much less sensible, and less dispassionate writers; but we think he has completely answered his own questions and rebutted his own arguments in some of the preceding paragraphs of the same article. He says:—

"It does not seem likely that any body of capitalists would be so foolish as to sink millions of money in Irish railways to obtain a rate of interest which they can obtain through a hundred other channels."

He forgets also that government *can* afford to lend money, and can borrow it too, at lower rates of interest than other public bodies or private individuals can; that a nation may wisely spend money upon other considerations than those which govern a private capitalist; and that the reason why

government should undertake the execution of the proposed railways, is, that they own the “Irish farm, out of heart and unprofitable,” and should advance the capital to improve it, as any other landlord would. Capitalists will not speculate to get 3 per cent. interest, to be subject to *government control*, or at least to such regulations as we may be quite sure will be put by the legislature on all future railways, and most probably, even by *ex post facto* laws, on the present ones. And he refutes all his own arguments, and confirms all ours, when he writes thus :—

“Neither is it to be disputed, that there are strong public grounds for wishing that the extension of the railway system to Ireland *could* be safely left to the government, it being beyond all question in the *power* of the government, to supply that country with a much better general system of railway communication than it is ever likely to obtain from the unconnected and very probably conflicting projects of individuals studying only their own personal advantage—selecting only the best parts of the country for the expenditure of their capital, and leaving all the rest wholly unassisted.

“The commissioners have shown but too clearly, that there is no such profit to be expected from the investment of capital, in Irish railway speculations, as should induce individuals to embark in them for the sake of profit, (under such protection at least, as it is the present usage of the legislature to extend to this class of undertakings,) and we hold that the public, (the British public,) are much indebted to them for the manly frankness with which they have proclaimed this grave truth to the world. Even though the result of this frankness should be, to throw the whole business of Irish railway-making into the hands of government, to make another great Irish job of it, better that, than that individuals should be tempted, by high-coloured and delusive representations, to risk the fruits of their industry in undertakings which promise such doubtful and, at best, slender returns. Whether jobbed or not, the railways would, at all events, be made, if not so well or so cheaply as by private companies, yet sufficiently well to be, at almost any price, a great blessing to the country. Expensive, beyond all example, they would probably be, but the expense would fall where its heaviness would not be felt—on the community at large. Neither individuals nor families would be ruined by it, (as has happened but too often on both sides of the Irish Channel,) the only great sufferer would be the still greater gainer, the public. Small the returns might be in the shape of dividends, but so large in a thousand other shapes, as to make the great expense a matter of great indifference. We respect the frankness of the commissioners the more, that the conclusion at which they have arrived, appears to have grown irresistibly out of the inquiries which they have directed to be instituted into the nature and amount of the existing traffic of the country, and to have been only adopted at last as the lesser of two evils,

2d. *Are the railways such public works (being, in fact, the highways of the empire) as should be left to individuals, or to private bodies of capitalists, to execute, or, at least, solely to control?*

This point has been discussed by others before;—but we must make a few extracts from the reasonings which bear strongest on the point. Thus argue the commissioners:—

“But even were the work undertaken without public aid, we are still of opinion that it should, in a certain degree, be subject to the *control* of the state.

“It is a favourite opinion with many, that all undertakings of this description are best left to the free and unfettered exercise of private enterprise, and that the less the state interferes, either in prescribing their execution, or controlling their subsequent operations and management, the better. We are fully sensible of the great advantages to be obtained by allowing full scope to the vigour, energy, and intelligence, of individuals associated for such important purposes: and that it would be equally inconsistent with the rights of society, were such exertions crippled or restrained by unnecessary or impolitic regulations.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 95.*

And we cannot refrain once more pirating from the pages of our Quarterly friend, to complete all that is to be said in favour of a free exercise of individual exertion: “To check, to suppress, or to compete, with this enterprising spirit, would not only involve the Government in difficulty, but the nation in ruin; and we can conceive nothing more distasteful to our great capitalists, than to be told that they can never embark in a voyage of speculative discovery, until they shall have received from the government its *passe-avant*.”

“But,” continue the commissioners,—

“But we apprehend that the essential difference between railways and any other description of public works, has been overlooked, and that powers and privileges have been conceded to private companies, which should be exercised only under the direct authority of the state, or under regulations enforced by effective superintendence and control. So great are the powers, so vast the capabilities of a railroad, *that it must, whenever established, at once supersede the common road*: and not only will all the public conveyances, now in use, disappear, but even the means of posting will, in all probability, rapidly decline, and eventually, perhaps, cease to be found along its line. These effects may be expected, as the necessary consequences of opening a railway. Its superiority is too manifest and decided, to admit of rivalry.

“It therefore deeply concerns the public, whose welfare is inseparably connected with all that tends to improve the internal

resources, or to maintain the commercial and manufacturing superiority of these countries, that such works should be promoted: and, consequently, every encouragement, *consistent with the due regard to other interests*, should be given to capitalists who may be willing to undertake them. Their propositions should be submitted to a competent and duly constituted tribunal; and if approved, should be adopted and stamped *as national enterprises*. As such, they should be protected from all unnecessary expense—from extravagant demands for compensation—from vexatious opposition, *and from the ruinous competition of other companies*. *To that extent they have a strong claim to the protection of the state.*—*Second Report, Part III. pp. 95-96.*

And after this fair statement of what is due to private enterprise, the commissioners say:—

“ But, on the other hand, the public interest would require that they should be bound by such conditions, and held subject to such well-considered regulations, and effective control, as shall secure to the country at large the full benefit and advantage of this admirable system.

“ The practice hitherto followed in England, has been almost the reverse of that which we here recommend. No preliminary steps are taken, *on behalf of the public*, to ascertain whether the proposed railroad be well adapted to its specific object, or calculated to form a part of a more general system. The best and the worst devised schemes are entertained alike, being equally exposed to opposition, and left equally unprotected against the difficulties which interested parties may raise up against them. Nay, a railway bill may be passed, or it may be rejected; but the fate of the project merely proves the number and influence of its respective supporters or opponents. Its failure or success, is no test whatever of its merits as a measure of general utility,—for that consideration forms a very small part of the enquiry before parliament.

“ Should the parties succeed in obtaining a favourable report, they are usually empowered to proceed, and to hold the work as any other description of private property, subject to little or no external regulation or control. Hence are they enabled to establish a monopoly, in the most extensive sense, and to keep the intercourse of the country entirely at their command. The *rate of speed*, the choice of hours for departing, the number of journeys in the day, rest at their discretion; and as they have the unlimited right of fixing the charges for the conveyance of both passengers and goods, they have an opportunity of repaying themselves, not only for the legitimate costs of constructing and maintaining the railway, but for all the heavy expenditure incurred, either through their own extravagance, or in consequence of the various impositions practised upon them. Thus, every item of unnecessary expense falls eventually on the public.

“ Sanguine anticipations have been formed of the advantages



already enumerated, of rapidity, facility, frequency, and economy, which this mode of communication is unquestionably calculated to afford. *But it will depend greatly upon the will of the railway companies, as at present constituted, to what extent such expectations shall be realized.*

“ With respect to the first of these advantages, that of rapidity, it is known, that as the speed increases the expenses increase in so high a proportion that it may be apprehended there will be a strong temptation to bring down the velocity to a rate not much exceeding the best public conveyances which the railways have superseded.”—*Second Report, Part III. p. 96.*

And we particularly refer to the unanswerable statements, made on the manner in which the interests of the public, and the general economy and convenience, are affected, in pages 28 to 36 inclusive, in *Appendix No. II, to the Second Report* : when after detailing the commencement of some of the inconveniences by a striking example—it is mentioned—“ *The public in the meantime are far from enjoying the advantages which those establishments (the railways already opened from London to Liverpool and Manchester) are capable of affording* ; and it is a very fair sample of the countless ways in which the general interest may suffer from the unrestrained power given to railway companies.”

To this, indeed, we can ourselves bear witness, and the fact, that *the speed on the London and Birmingham Railway is now reduced to 18½ miles an hour including stoppages*, is quite a convincing proof of it. We have shown that the cost to a railway company of carrying a passenger 24 miles an hour does not exceed two-thirds of a penny per mile, all expense included, of which one-ninth of a penny is for fuel, when it is 23s. 6d. per ton. And supposing the cost of fuel to be doubled, and the rate of speed increased fifty per cent. or to 35 or 36 miles an hour, it is equally deducible from the recent facts and experiments we have alluded to in the former part of this article, that the expense of carrying a passenger at that rate would not exceed 1d. or, at the utmost, 1½d. per mile ; and, therefore, we have good grounds for demanding on the part of the public to know from the railway companies *why* they do not offer to the Post Office, and to that portion of the public who would pay for it, *even if it cost 2d. per mile to the railway company !*\* the advantage of that velocity, once at

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\* The inside fare on the Grand Junction Railway from Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester by the mail, is 23s. for 98 miles, or something above 2½d. per mile per passenger, the travelling being at the rate of 22 miles an hour : on



least in the twenty-four hours, which would take them to Liverpool and Manchester in six or seven hours (and hereafter to Holyhead or Porth-Dynllaen in seven or eight hours) instead of consuming a whole day or night in the journey? We can answer the question for them:—“*They have no competitors,*” and the public will no farther be accommodated, and will not travel any faster until “*government interference*” takes place; or to quote from the commissioners, who appear to have omitted the consideration of no one point which bears on this and on all the other questions they have so ably investigated:—

“Should there be eventually, two modes of reaching Liverpool, or any place beyond, by railway, the one by Birmingham and the other by a different line, the companies would adjust their arrangements (and increase the speed) *with a view to obtain a preference, but probably no farther*: and this consideration, which will form the best, and, perhaps, the only argument in favour of the *ruinous expedient of closely competing lines*, may be the means of their being established: a most extravagant remedy for what might so easily be arranged by a little mutual accommodation.”—*Second Report, Appendix A. II*, p. 31.

or still more *effectually* by a little “government interference.” And if this is already necessary on one set of lines only, still more so in a general system, which must require, if not government assistance, at least government *control*; and if already in England, where so much has been done, *a fortiori* in Ireland, where every thing is to do.

“In Ireland,” says Mr. Henry Booth, in his practical letter to the commissioners, (*Second Report, Appendix A. No. 9*, p. 78) “the position of things is different; but even there, the contemplation of what is passing in England, may not be without its lesson: for in all countries, and under all circum-

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the London and Birmingham Railway, the fare is 32s. 6d. for 112 miles, or rather under 3½d. per mile, and the travelling 18 miles an hour: on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway the fare is 6s. 6d. for 31 miles, or about 2½d. per mile, the travelling being nearly 24 miles an hour: and the fare on the North Union Railway (to Preston), at the same rate, or a trifle lower. On the Dublin and Kingstown Railway the fare is 1s. for 6 miles for the best coaches, (6d. for the outsides), or 2d. per mile, travelling 18 miles an hour. The average charge for inside passengers by the coaches and mails on common roads is something higher than 4½d. per mile per passenger, travelling 10 miles an hour. Who would object to pay at this latter rate to travel from 35 to 40 miles an hour, if it can be proved that the railway companies could afford to do so, which (without raising the points involved in the Great Western Railway Enquiry) we are satisfied they could do on the existing railways, having at the same time a proportionate increased charge for gentlemen’s carriages, horses, and the Post Office bags and caravans?

stances, it is an object worthy of a statesman to prevent the reckless waste of the national means, and to give a right direction to the public expenditure."

It has been most industriously asserted, that the English capitalists are only too eager to invest their monies in Irish railways. We find stated in one of the newspaper disquisitions on this subject, words just suited to express our own sentiments:—"It is not enough to shake the authority (of the railway commissioners) to tell us that English *capitalists* have been found willing to undertake such and such lines. No commission was needed to find out that. We know that English capitalists, *in times of excitement*, may be found to subscribe to any undertaking whatever, and would *catch at securities in the moon* if they should be proposed to them. We also know that the gentlemen of Connaught or any other district, are not averse to the outlay of English capital in such a manner (whatever else becomes of it) as must go to improve their property. All this is natural and unblameable, and, indeed, we must confess, for our own part, that we had much rather see English money invested in Irish railways than in American stocks, as a matter of patriotism. But the question is, how can '*English capital*,' for English capital will be in requisition in one shape or other, be employed on Irish railways with hope of return, and of *what return*? *How can railways be constructed, with some security of being kept up*?"

Sir Robert Peel once stated that, "on all occasions he should give his cordial support to such undertakings, (railways) *provided he was satisfied they would succeed as speculations*;" and so would we, and so would any man, but it does not at all follow that they should be left wholly uncontrolled, to levy their contributions on the public, and "make reprisals for all unnecessary expenses and vexations" they might have suffered in the progress of carrying their works into effect.

But the English capitalists feel, to our knowledge, that they owe a deep debt of gratitude to the railway commissioners, for stating the honest truth;—and "the times of excitement" have gone by, and it will, for the future, be very difficult to obtain capital even for English railways; and we are satisfied that the period has arrived, when "such public works, (being, in fact, the highways of the empire,) will not be left to private bodies of capitalists *to control*." Certainly not, since "the regulations of the highways ought in truth to be considered as one of the reserved rights of sovereignty,—one of those rights which cannot be transferred to private individuals, *except by an act of treachery to the community at large*." So speaks one metro-

politan journal. Another, proposes to re-establish coaches and posting, "to protect the public from the insults and inconveniences daily experienced from the railroad monopolists:"—rather a curious mode of protection! While a third thus expresses itself in a more sensible manner.

"The railway companies have received monopolies very injurious to the public comfort, and the public interest, *which new acts of parliament will be required to abate*, but which cannot be abated without causing a great outcry against a violation of vested rights. *Will such blunders be avoided in future?* If the report of the Irish railway commissioners, which shuts them out, is not to be carried into execution, will the private companies and speculators, who are condemning that report and seeking for railway acts, receive the monopolies they pray for, under a due subserviency to the public interests? We hope so, *though it is very plain that they and their partizans in the press are endeavouring to mislead the public, and procure injurious monopolies, under the pretence of promoting private enterprise, and of freely employing private capital.*"

Come we now to the third division of our enquiry:

3d. *Are the circumstances of Ireland such as would justify the government in undertaking, in that country, what might be impolitic or injurious in England?*

The discussion of this point has been almost exhausted, by friends and foes, who have given their sentiments to the public in the periodicals of all intervals, daily, hebdomadal, monthly, and quarterly, both before and since the promulgation of the railway report, and we almost despair of putting it in any new light. In the words of a fellow-labourer in this vineyard, we can only say, "that when society would derive a benefit from a public work, which private interest might not consider a sufficiently tempting speculation, or might not possess the means to accomplish, we hold it to be the part of the government, which represents the general interest, to be the undertaker. We apprehend this has been the case of Ireland for many a day, and we have already shown, in a former article, that the community have profited most amply by the little in the way of public works which the government have effected in that country."\* In fact, it is almost a waste of time to go much into the matter here, and those who can rise from the perusal of that division of the report which treats of the present condition of the population of Ireland, (in Part III, from page 79 to 97 inclusive,) with which their recommendations close, without answering our above question in the affirmative, will never heed any arguments of ours.

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\* British and Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XV. and No. XIII.

We shall leave this question with the following forcible paragraphs from a late number of the *Examiner*.

“We have already remarked, that there can be no greater mistake than to regard the report of the Irish railway commissioners, as a document calculated to check the ardour of public enterprise in railroad projects. The effect of the report will be, not to extinguish zeal, but most seasonably to enlighten and direct it. The commissioners have laid before the nation a most cheering view of the hopes and prospects of Ireland. Without taking into account the powerful impulse which would be given to the general industry of the country by the operation of railways, the evidences of growing prosperity, under *existing* circumstances, are sufficient of themselves to justify the liveliest faith in the success of such undertakings.

“The admirable section ‘on the influence of railways in developing the resources of a country,’ contains a multitude of statements calculated to inspire the fairest hopes of the success of those works in Ireland. ‘We have direct proofs,’ say the commissioners, ‘that Ireland is as capable as other countries of being influenced by the same cause, and of profiting by its operation,’ and they forcibly add, ‘there is this additional motive to recommend the subject for consideration, that the backward state of the country presents a *stronger obligation*, as well as a wider scope, for improvement.’

“Past misgovernment and neglect have certainly left us an ample field for benevolent exertion in Ireland; and decidedly, the moral obligation to commence the work of amelioration, grows stronger every hour. The nature of that obligation was never before so clearly stated to the people of England. The present is the first government that ever promulgated the doctrine that it was the duty of Englishmen to make the relief and improvement of Ireland their business; and the good sense, as well as the good feeling, of our countrymen, forbid us to doubt the success of the appeal.

“From the prosperous results that have followed other projects that have from time to time been undertaken, to better the state of Ireland, the fairest auguries are to be drawn for the enterprise now recommended. In every case, where a new common road has been opened through districts before impervious, an increase of traffic and intercourse has been the uniform consequence. The labours of Mr. Griffith in the South, and Mr. Nimmo in the West, have materially raised the condition of the population, by extending the field of their industry; and contributed to the tranquillity of the country, by opening and facilitating communication through tracts where guilt and outrage had previously found secure asylums. Results, equally happy, have attended other undertakings, proving the aptitude of Ireland, to profit by all the efforts of public or private enterprise, to develop her resources, and give her energies employment. The regular establishment of steam navigation upon the principal rivers, and along the coasts of Ireland, as well as between the ports of the

two islands, has given to mercantile and general social activity, a vast impetus. Not only have old branches of trade been extended, but *nine-tenths of the traffic at present carried on is new*; for instance, the trade in fattened cattle. That a well-arranged system of railways would have the effect of continuing and extending through the country, the advantages which the outports have thus obtained by the introduction of steam vessels, seems to be indisputable. In fact, in the present state of commerce, *the railway is an exigency of the country*, one of the principal wants of Ireland. Perhaps we might lay down a general proposition, and say, that *a railway is a corollary from a steam-ship*.

“Upon the moral effects of the extended intercourse likely to take place between England and Ireland, in consequence of an increased facility of travelling in the latter, considerable stress is very properly laid in the report. Most true it is, and not more true than deplorable, that ‘*Ireland is very little known to the British people* ;’ nor can we imagine any better means of promoting that most valuable of useful information (in fact, it is self-knowledge) than the execution of a great system of public works, forming an easy and rapid mode of communication through the island. Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*, interprets the text in the Prophet Daniel, ‘Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge be increased,’—of the effects to be anticipated from the progress of nautical adventure, and what he calls ‘the openness and thorough passage of the world.’ With how much more force would this application of the prophetic words have struck our great philosopher, had he seen the steam-ship and the railway. ‘*Multi pertransibunt!*’ may well be exclaimed of these days of ours, and yet we see but the infancy of these mighty instruments of civilization and enlightenment. The steam-ship was the first bond of real union, thorough and indissoluble. Most truly, observed the French minister of public works, in a late address to the chamber of deputies, ‘Railways are next to the invention of printing, the most powerful engine of civilization that the ingenuity of man has ever devised. It is difficult, if not impossible, to foresee and define the results which they must of necessity at some period produce on the fate of nations.’”

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We think this question may be very easily answered, without the extremes of both the political parties in this country having any good ground for raising “objections to the proceedings

of the commissioners, from the motives alleged to have prompted it; the desire to make out a case for an advance of public money," "or public assistance," which in their opinion only "shows the clear outline of a contemplated job, and a filching attempt at John Bull's pocket, upon even a more than usually bold and large scale." One writer from the 'extreme left,' calls out to watch the progress of the *job*, adding, "It is not a trifling sum of the public money, some three or four millions, which is demanded; and the mode in which the funds, if obtained, would probably be expended, though very agreeable to proprietors having deeply-mortgaged land on the lines, and to the solicitors and engineers employed, would by no means tend to diminish corrupt influence or jobbing in Ireland;" while, from the 'extreme right,' the echo of "so gross a job," resounds in vituperative sentences, containing many personalities, but no arguments. Yet, even had the money been absolutely demanded to be positively expended by the government, some of the same writers admit, "that as far as one or two principal lines go, *railroads are perhaps the most useful mode in which public money could be expended in Ireland.*" Again, to quote from a writer, wholly unprejudiced we should think, inasmuch as his chief pursuits are literary, and who only touches on the railroad report as connected with statistics and science:

"*A nation may wisely spend money upon other considerations than those which govern a private capitalist.*" "We know not, indeed, how the trading house of *Great Britain and Company* could lay out money to a greater advantage than by bringing its Irish resources into full operation." "If the expenditure of public money in Ireland can be rendered available to the regeneration of the labouring classes, to the restoration of the balance between demand and supply in the labour market, and consequently to the re-establishment of peace and of industry, *even as a pecuniary speculation, it must ultimately prove profitable.*" "Ireland is a farm in the worst possible condition; out of heart and unprofitable. In such cases, the wise proprietor applies his other resources in the work of amelioration: *he advances his capital on the prospect of remote, but certain returns.*"—*Athenæum*.

From these and from fifty other recorded sentiments of writers of all shades of politics, and of all classes of observers, it would not be difficult to infer that no very general opposition would be made to the appropriation of four or five millions of money for Irish railways. Fortunately, however, there is no absolute occasion for our honest neighbour, John Bull,



to put his hand into his pocket. We do not want his money, although his *credit* would be of great use to us.

All that is wanted is simply that a loan should be authorised by the issue of exchequer bills, or otherwise, from time to time as the occasion may require, to remain as a floating debt, or to be funded periodically: the same being raised, of course, on the credit of the imperial government.

Suppose this carried to the extent of five millions (only one-fourth of what was raised for the West India compensation loan), then let the first charge be on the Irish railways for the interest, say three per cent. and sinking fund, one per cent., the same being secured collaterally under the provision, that in the event of the nett returns not paying the stipulated amount of interest and sinking fund, the counties through which the railways pass shall supply the deficit by presentments, rateably; in such proportion as may be adjudged equitable by a proper commission or tribunal: but any surplus after discharging interest and sinking fund, to be made available for the reduction of the county or other rates.

Here is a plain simple plan, propounded (though not in these identical words) by the commissioners, by which the money can be raised, the disbursement of which may be guarded in any way that the caution and suspicion of the legislature may deem advisable; a plan which will be understood at a glance by all financiers and men of business, and which, so far as the application of the principle and mode of raising money, *is analagous to what has been repeatedly carried into effect* when legislating and providing for the Exchequer-Loan commissioners of England, for the Holyhead roads, for the Caledonian canal, for the roads and bridges in Scotland, and for a variety of public works throughout the empire, where the public credit was pledged, and the security offered as their guarantee undoubted, as would be the case in the manner suggested; and as the commissioners state, which is somewhat on the principle adopted for the improvement of the Shannon.

It may be objected, that it might be difficult to adjust the assessments of the county rate; we see no real difficulty, and we consider the advantages to the counties ought to smooth down any, if existing. If not, the security to John Bull would be the full assurance,

“ That if the Irish peasantry were placed, in point of comfort, on a par with those of Great Britain, the result to the public revenue (by a very moderate calculation of Mr. Stanley) *would be an annual increase of six millions.* This consideration alone ought

to silence any objections, on the ground of expense, against affording public aid, such as may be required for these works; for it gives assurance of an enormous profit on the greatest contemplated outlay."—*Report, Part III, p. 85.*

Surely, then, such a probable return is ample security for any possible deficit of return of 4 or 5 per cent. on a capital of as many millions. John Bull risks £200,000 a year; and who, with a knowledge of all the effects which a judicious expenditure on public works in opening any country, but particularly Ireland, has produced, will venture to dispute that, through the districts to be pervaded by the railways, there is not a more than probable additional excise of ten times that amount? Another mode of effecting the same object has been propounded by an able contemporary, whose columns are almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of railway matters, but who takes different views from ours about government interference:—

"The plan proposed, of making the counties pay, if the railway should not, we think a capital one; but why should the government be the only party to 'undertake the execution of the proposed lines on such security? Why not any private company as well? Government cannot afford to lend money at lower rates of interest than other public bodies or private individuals can, and 'the lowest admissible rate of interest' must of course be the market rate of interest at the time of the money being advanced. If, therefore, the same power were given to associations of individuals, incorporated by act of parliament, for the making of railways in Ireland, as is here proposed to give to government, of making up any deficiency in the returns by means of county presentments, there would be an end at once of all difficulty in the matter; capital to any amount would be readily obtained from individuals on such terms, and the evil of *government interference* be thereby wholly averted."—*Railway Times, July 28th.*

Government interference appears to be a terrible bugbear to our railway advocate, as well as to many much less sensible, and less dispassionate writers; but we think he has completely answered his own questions and rebutted his own arguments in some of the preceding paragraphs of the same article. He says:—

"It does not seem likely that any body of capitalists would be so foolish as to sink millions of money in Irish railways to obtain a rate of interest which they can obtain through a hundred other channels."

He forgets also that government *can* afford to lend money, and can borrow it too, at lower rates of interest than other public bodies or private individuals can; that a nation may wisely spend money upon other considerations than those which govern a private capitalist; and that the reason why

government should undertake the execution of the proposed railways, is, that they own the “Irish farm, out of heart and unprofitable,” and should advance the capital to improve it, as any other landlord would. Capitalists will not speculate to get 3 per cent. interest, to be subject to *government control*, or at least to such regulations as we may be quite sure will be put by the legislature on all future railways, and most probably, even by *ex post facto* laws, on the present ones. And he refutes all his own arguments, and confirms all ours, when he writes thus :—

“Neither is it to be disputed, that there are strong public grounds for wishing that the extension of the railway system to Ireland *could* be safely left to the government, it being beyond all question in the *power* of the government, to supply that country with a much better general system of railway communication than it is ever likely to obtain from the unconnected and very probably conflicting projects of individuals studying only their own personal advantage—selecting only the best parts of the country for the expenditure of their capital, and leaving all the rest wholly unassisted.

“The commissioners have shown but too clearly, that there is no such profit to be expected from the investment of capital, in Irish railway speculations, as should induce individuals to embark in them for the sake of profit, (under such protection at least, as it is the present usage of the legislature to extend to this class of undertakings,) and we hold that the public, (the British public,) are much indebted to them for the manly frankness with which they have proclaimed this grave truth to the world. Even though the result of this frankness should be, to throw the whole business of Irish railway-making into the hands of government, to make another great Irish job of it, better that, than that individuals should be tempted, by high-coloured and delusive representations, to risk the fruits of their industry in undertakings which promise such doubtful and, at best, slender returns. Whether jobbed or not, the railways would, at all events, be made, if not so well or so cheaply as by private companies, yet sufficiently well to be, at almost any price, a great blessing to the country. Expensive, beyond all example, they would probably be, but the expense would fall where its heaviness would not be felt—on the community at large. Neither individuals nor families would be ruined by it, (as has happened but too often on both sides of the Irish Channel,) the only great sufferer would be the still greater gainer, the public. Small the returns might be in the shape of dividends, but so large in a thousand other shapes, as to make the great expense a matter of great indifference. We respect the frankness of the commissioners the more, that the conclusion at which they have arrived, appears to have grown irresistibly out of the inquiries which they have directed to be instituted into the nature and amount of the existing traffic of the country, and to have been only adopted at last as the lesser of two evils,

*railways under government direction, or no railways at all for many years to come.*"—*Railway Times*, July 28.

Soon after, we find the same talented editor still farther arguing on our side of the question, in the following way:—

"The commissioners' report is attacked by a contemporary, on what we cannot help characterizing as very frivolous grounds indeed. It is first assumed that government interference was unnecessary, 'as parties of ample means, assisted by experienced engineers, were ready to raise funds for railways in different parts of the island. And then it is argued that the plan recommended is a 'job,' 'a vast scheme of political corruption.' And why? Principally it would seem, because 'were there not secret and sinister objects in view, nobody in his senses would dream of proposing, in the present state of our finances, an investment of several millions of public money, in an undertaking, which is only, on the most favourable calculation, to return  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, and might yield no return at all!'

"With respect to the non-necessity of interference, it surely will not be asserted that admitting the possession of means the most ample by all the railway companies ever projected in Ireland, the execution of their several lines would have supplied a complete railway system for Ireland. That railways would have been raised 'in different parts of the Island,' and with considerable profit to the parties embarking in them, so far from being denied by the commissioners, is distinctly and unequivocally admitted. But the report must have been read to very little purpose, if it has not been seen, that this very fact forms one of the main reasons why government should interfere, and by balancing the profitable against the unprofitable 'parts of the island,' secure to the whole a participation in the benefits to be derived from an improved system of internal communication, rather than suffer 'parts' to remain altogether unassisted, inasmuch as they are admitted on all hands to be by themselves wholly unattractive, in fact absolutely ruinous, to private companies. *If the interests of private bodies, or of small sections of the country, are to be considered paramount, then government ought not to interfere; but if the advantage of the whole island is to be consulted, if the inhabitants of thinly peopled districts, or of districts not easily accessible, have an equal right to receive the same facilities, and would be equally benefitted by the enjoyment of them, as the residents of more favoured tracts, then, we say, a general system of railways is indispensable, and how this is to be effected in the present instance, without the intervention of government, we should be glad to know. In fact, as far as the great body of the Irish people are concerned, it must be no railways at all, or railways constructed in the first instance with the public money.*

"As regards any prospective jobbing, we are quite as hostile as our contemporary can be, to anything of the kind. We admit, that previous experience justifies but too well our contemporary's suspicions on the subject, but we are inclined to think, that the manner

in which the commissioners recommend that public assistance should be granted, would be found to guard very materially against a recurrence of the enormities which have heretofore been perpetrated in that land of jobs. Should any additional preventives be required, we would be the first to recommend and enforce their adoption; but so important do we deem the establishment of some general plan of railway communication in Ireland, that we should be inclined to recommend its adoption, even if it must have in its train a system of corruption worthy of the best days of public plunder. Get railways economically and without jobbing, if you can; but at all events, get them. We are somewhat surprised, however, to find the *Spectator* suspecting the presence of a job, from the circumstance, that the commissioners limit the profits on the whole system to about three and a half per cent. It does seem to us, that this limitation is *primâ facie* evidence that no jobbing was contemplated. Had the commissioners been as anxious to secure 'a job,' as some would represent them, they would probably have been less scrupulous as to the incitements which they held out in regard to anticipated returns. Above all, they would have taken care to conciliate the promoters of competing or conflicting lines, so as to obviate all opposition from them; and this might easily have been done, had the commissioners suffered any consideration other than the permanent good of Ireland to have weight in their deliberations." —*Railway Times*.

The fact was, and is, that there never was any real English capital seriously devoted to Irish Railways. Although we admit, that the basis of all speculation on the subject has been the hope of drawing English capital to Ireland; and an inordinate disposition to embark in railway schemes on a few of the most promising lines, arose in the minds of those whose speculative tendencies were fostered by the notion, that English capital was in some way or other to stand the brunt of the experiment; and so, perhaps, it would, and we believe did, in the late "times of excitement;" but the moment a reaction on the London Stock Exchange took place, the bubble burst, and the real English capitalist, or rather the real searcher after a certain investment, ignorant of the latent resources of Ireland, and prejudiced against the imputed turbulence and uncivilization of the people, easily became alarmed, and were no longer willing to trust their money in Irish investments. We have used the language of the *Athenæum*, and will add the final paragraph of the same article in that literary and enlightened periodical, from which we have abstracted the substance in the above sentence. Speaking of the general proposed railway system, it says:—

"To the realization of such a project, there are, we are fully aware, great obstacles. There is not only the fearful argument

(in these countries, an all but invincible fallacy) of innovation, but the still more fearful ignorance and prejudices of the public, on Irish affairs in general. How few are there who even see the impending avalanche of nine millions of discontented subjects, or dream of the sweeping ruin which is implied in its fall. On the subject of Ireland, the infatuation is an absolute epidemic; and we scarcely venture to hope, that they who are most especially opposed to its tranquillization, will pretermitt their hostility till the power to oppose it is struck from their hand. Nor even can we foresee that their fears will let them consent to any merely statistic measure, that shall tend to increase the power of the Irish people, although it should, at the same time, remove a part of their discontents. Time, however, does wonders; and the report before us will at least contribute to hurry on events, by the knowledge of details which it will disseminate. In adding the mite of our own convictions, we do our duty as journalists, and ease our hearts as men. We repeat, then, that the project of a grand and comprehensive system of railways for Ireland, is a godsend to the cause of humanity, of peace, and of national prosperity."—*Athenæum*.

All who are acquainted with the real state of these matters in Ireland, know that it is a farce to talk of "*private enterprise*" in Ireland. "We have capital," cry out certain chivalrous promoters; "we are willing to embark it in a general system of railways, and we claim the unfettered right to apply our money to the construction of railways, a right which Englishmen exercise to an extent that knows no limit in the constitution."

What says one of the evening journalists of London, who has all along shown an accurate knowledge of these matters?

"We dispute the fact that they do possess the capital requisite for any extensive enterprise of this nature. They have never yet produced a list of persons capable of furnishing the means for constructing even a single railway project between the capital and any considerable town, without aid from the Exchequer. It is notorious that the Dublin and Kingstown line, the subscribers to which are believed to be possessed of more ample private resources than any company yet incorporated for railway purposes in Ireland, would have come to a serious pause but for the assistance of the Treasury. It is equally well known that the railway now in progress from Armagh to Belfast, could not have proceeded without a loan from government. The company at first required an advance of £40,000. They have received £15,000, which very probably would have been refused if the commissioners had not adopted that line as a portion of their northern system.

"The history of the railway projected between Cork and the entrance to its magnificent harbour at Passage, furnishes an amusing commentary on 'private enterprise' speculations in Ireland. The whole distance does not exceed seven statute miles. An act was



obtained for it, splendid offices were constructed for it, displaying brass plates and gay sign-boards, with the words ‘Cork and Passage Railway Office,’ and it would have seemed that the only thing remaining to be done was to open the doors to the public for the purchase of tickets. But the doors are still shut; the offices are ‘to be let.’ No symptom of the railway has as yet made its appearance; after considerable expenditure, all of which was consumed by parliamentary agents, surveyors, lawyers, secretaries, clerks, and all such costly appendages to companies, there were no funds left for the main thing—the road!

“So it happened, too, with respect to a line proposed between Limerick and Waterford, for which somewhere about £30,000 were actually paid up, and wholly wasted amongst a crowd of retainers, and the attornies, who contrived to engraft a Chancery suit on the tender sapling, even before it took root.

“It is a farce, therefore, to talk of ‘private enterprise’ capital in Ireland. The actors in it cannot but know that they have no chance of getting on with any project beyond the point of incorporation; but if they succeed so far as to get their long bills paid, then the project is too often, as a matter of course, abandoned.”—*Courier*.

One of the most virulent abusers of the commissioners, for *not* giving private enterprise fair play, is obliged to acknowledge, “that he is perfectly satisfied that no great speculation, such as a railroad of considerable extent, can ever be successfully effected in Ireland. The public treasury can alone achieve such an object.” An admission which draws down the following apposite remarks from the *Railway Times*:—

“If there be any truth in the doctrine of our contemporary as here stated, what becomes of the long-vaunted sufficiency of private enterprise? The inference which it was attempted to draw from the fact that several lines had been projected in Ireland—that, therefore, private energy would prove equal to the wants of the country—was too preposterous to gain credence among any class of men who had turned their attention to the present state of the sister kingdom; and, accordingly, it is now all but abandoned, save by those whose own experience might have taught them better *than to confound projected lines with lines actually executed*, or to assert that, because some few speculations continue to have a lingering existence, a general system of railway communications must, under similar circumstances, go forward with healthful vigour.”

And the candid editor of the *Railway Times*, sums up the whole of the argument very conclusively, as follows:—

“The deplorable condition of this sort of speculation on the continent, is attributed, and, probably, not without good cause, to the monopolizing, centralizing, and all-grasping spirit of the French government;” and he states very truly, “that its effects will bear no comparison with those produced by the free agency and unaided enterprise of individuals in Great Britain. The inference which is

deduced from this, is, in effect, that private enterprise, and public interference, would produce similar results in Ireland. The cases of the two countries, France and Ireland, are, however, totally dissimilar, as we shall endeavour in a very few words to show.

“In the first place, the French government attempted, with what object it matters not to inquire, to take into its own hands, works, which the private capitalists of the Kingdom *solicited* to be allowed to undertake;\* the Irish commissioners base their recommendations on the fact, that hitherto there has been no sign of any wish on the part of private individuals, or of corporate bodies, to confer upon Ireland the benefits of internal communication by railways, and on the absence of any sufficient inducement to lead such individuals or bodies to attempt the task. It is true that a few, and taking into account the extent and natural capabilities of the country, only a *very* few railways have been projected in Ireland by private bodies; but how have they been supported by the public? Has not the hopelessness of a return, upon the capital embarked, at all proportioned to that which may be secured in similar speculations on this side of the channel, turned aside British capital from these Irish projects? Without a prospect of a recompense in keeping with the risk, private enterprise will never be tempted to embark in railway schemes; and had such prospect existed, Ireland would, long ere this time, have been furrowed with railways, as extensively as the more favoured portions of the United Kingdom. It is absurd to talk of what private energy may do, when the fact is so notorious that nothing *has been done*; for nothing, comparatively, should we esteem it, were all the lines ever projected in Ireland, prior to the report of the commissioners, fully carried into effect. If the opponents of the report would show the sufficiency of private enterprise, and the non-necessity of government interference, they ought to show that the calculations of the commissioners, in regard to expected revenue, are greatly under probable results. If they could succeed in doing so, they would present an attraction which private

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\* We have good reason to know that it was because the French government did *not* undertake the railways, but left “private enterprise” to shift for itself, that the railroad speculations of France are in their present “deplorable state.” As in Ireland, there is no capital (we ought rather to say *no confidence*) for such works as investments. The French railroads advance not, because private enterprise cannot raise the capital: and the government either cannot or will not help them either by loan, grant, or guarantee, although they are willing enough to saddle them with all sorts of restrictions; plenty of “government interference” in France, but no money. Until the government guarantee a certain interest to capitalists (and we are credibly informed they would be satisfied with a small rate) as it is said Russia is about to do, to tempt *millionaires* to make railways for her through Poland; or, until Louis Philippe, under the wise (and probably fast approaching) administration of such men as Thiers and Guizot, institute a railway system on the principle recommended by the Irish commissioners, throwing the cost of supplying the deficit revenue on the departments to be benefitted (which with the government guarantee would soon produce funds)—until something of this kind is done, there is not much probability of railways for France, except in one or two very choice directions.

enterprise would greedily snatch at ; but under present circumstances such a consummation is scarcely to be looked for.

“The distinction between the mode of constructing national lines, adopted by the French government, and that recommended by the Irish commissioners, is equally apparent in regard to the mode of raising the necessary funds ; but upon this point our space will not permit us, at present, to enter. It should be borne in mind, however,—and the recollection would save the expenditure of much virtuous indignation on the enormities of treasury grants—properly so called—that the assistance which the commissioners recommend partakes much more of the character of a loan, than of an absolute gift ; that, in fact, it is little more than an easy and certain plan for raising the requisite capital, by a mortgage on the works which such capital will call into existence.”—*Railway Times*.

It would seem to us, therefore, to be clearly made out that private enterprise is not likely to be combined with public aid and control for Irish railways ; and that by no other than undivided government *credit (not monies)* and management can they be instituted.

The more we reflect on the subject, the more strong is the conviction brought to our mind, that the railways must be undertaken by the government, or that there will be no railways in Ireland. Every discussion tends invariably to this result. In order to control and keep open, for the greatest benefit to the public, the ‘Queen’s Highways,’ which it has been well characterized as ‘an act of treachery to the community at large’ to contemplate handing over to the monopoly of private enterprise : in order to give Ireland at once the full benefit of the railway system, instead of suffering her to linger in the rear, during farther centuries of neglect : in order to produce the greatest amount of such benefit with the least expenditure : to prevent the waste of the national means, and to draw out the hidden treasures of national resources, again we say, and the voices of all well-wishers of good order and social comfort join in the cry, *the government must make and control the railways in Ireland.*

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ART. VIII.—*Sixteenth Report of the Inspectors General of the General State of the Prisons of Ireland, 1837, with Appendixes.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th March, 1838.)

2. *England and Wales. Tables showing the number of*

*Criminal Offenders committed for trial, or bailed for appearance, at the Assizes and Sessions, in each County, in the year 1837, and the result of the proceedings. (Made out by order of her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.)*

WE recollect that, about two years ago, our attention was drawn to the subject of the comparative amount of crime in Ireland and in England, in consequence of the ignorant, but not less common than ignorant, assertion, "that there is incomparably a greater proportion of public vices, whether all the world, or only the British Empire, furnish the arithmetic, among a thoroughly Catholic population, than in any other." We remember that the conceited and half-informed Pharisee, who thus congratulated himself that he and his brethren of England were not such odious sinners as the papistical Irish, attempted to vindicate his valiant assertion by a series of most ridiculous blunders in calculation, respecting the criminal and population returns for England and Ireland. With these, however amusing, we will not trouble our readers. We exposed those blunders at the time, and in the locality where they appeared, and made other, and, we believe, more accurate calculations, which established the fact, that, if Ireland exceed England in the *number* of crimes, England fully makes up for it in *greater enormity*. This is proved by the following table of sentences passed on those *convicted* in England and Wales, and Ireland, respectively, in 1834 (the latest returns then published), by which it appears that Ireland has much less than eight-fourteenths, its due proportion, of crimes most heavily punished.

	Ireland.	England and Wales
Death .....	197 .....	480
Transportation for life.....	244 .....	864
"        14 years...	11 .....	688
"        7 years...	781 .....	2,503
Imprisonment for 3 years...	2 .....	6
"    2 yrs. and above 1 yr.	151 .....	308
"    1 yr. & above 6 mths.	1,053 .....	1,582
"    6 months and under .	11,190 .....	8,825
Fine .....	624 .....	413
	Whipping .....	59
	Discharge on Sureties	256
	Respite and Pardon .	7
<hr/>		
Total convictions in Ireland	14,253	England and Wales 15,995
<hr/>		

This table, when properly dissected, will demonstrate, that, if Ireland have about double the proportionate number of crimes, compared with England, it is the minor offences that swell out the Irish list; whilst England and Wales have very much more than their due proportion of those crimes visited with the heaviest punishments of the law. In order to this demonstration,—

Deduct from the convictions in Ireland, viz. ....	14,253
Punished with only 6 months'	
imprisonment, and under...	11,190
Only fined.....	624
	<hr/>
	11,814

Leaving of more heinous crimes in Ireland...2,439

Deduct from the convictions in England and Wales, viz. ....	15,995
Punished with only 6 months'	
imprisonment, and under...	8,825
Fined only .....	413
	<hr/>
	9,238

Leaving of more heinous crimes in England and Wales...6,757

And as there were in Ireland 7,767,401 inhabitants, and in England and Wales 13,897,187 inhabitants, according to the census of 1831, the result will be:—

In Ireland 1 heinous crime in 3184 inhabitants.

In England and Wales, 1 heinous crime in 2056 inhabitants.

The subject is, intrinsically, of sufficient importance, to require our anxious examination, and to command the careful attention of our readers, even if no circumstances had occurred, if no speeches had been made, if no discussions had ensued, if no alarms had been created, if no outrages had been perpetrated, if neither report had been circulated, nor paragraph penned, published, copied, or exaggerated, to give it peculiar interest at the present moment. All these causes, however, concur to bring it just now into a prominent position before the public; they have imparted to it an adventitious, temporary, and exciting interest, which adds nothing to the real and instructive value of its results; though it makes an accurate elaboration of those results, from authentic and unimpeachable documents, peculiarly needful. We want not the ever ready vehemence of the clerical or political declaimer, who asserts what all bigoted Englishmen have, from time immemorial, asserted of unfortunate Irishmen,—only more posi-

tively, more hotly, more loudly, with a great deal more theatrical action, and in a great many more words, than it ever was asserted before. Nor does empty declamation of the most thundering character, or even the bitterest invective, become one whit more just, because it happens to be reiterated, unto nausea, in morning and in evening print. We want facts, drawn from undoubted sources, and clearly stated ; and let *them* go for what they are worth. Prepared, as we ever are, to defend the Irish from unjust attack, we would not, if we could, screen them from merited rebuke ; it were not the act of a friend to do so. We will state the facts plainly, and as clearly as we can ; and let that statement serve to vindicate the character of the Irish people, by a proof of their comparative innocence, if they be unjustly maligned ; or to make them blush for their greater national guilt, if it be really established against them.

We are aware that the above analysis of the English and Irish criminal returns, for 1834, may not give perfect satisfaction, because it was not till 1835 that the returns for these two portions of the United Kingdom were prepared, according to the same tabular form ; but they give a very near approximation to the truth, although there may be some slight discrepancies in the comparison of 1834. But we have, before us, returns for the three subsequent years, exactly coinciding in form and arrangement, and, therefore, capable of being tested by the most exact comparison. Proceeding to the year 1837, the latest for which returns are published, we find the total number of convictions in England and Wales, and in Ireland, respectively, divided or classified as to punishment, and of consequence as to guilt, in the following manner :

Convictions,—Ireland.		Convictions,—England & Wales.	
Death .....	154	.....	436
Transportation for life.....	266	.....	636
„ for 14 years.....	17	.....	545
„ for 7 years .....	818	.....	2,592
„ for other periods..	7	.....	12
Imprisonment, above 3 years ....	0	.....	0
„ 3 years and above 2 years	0	.....	14
„ 2 years and above 1 year...	82	.....	394
„ 1 year and above 6 months	1,035	.....	1,628
„ 6 months and under.....	6,186	.....	10,258
Whipping .....	6	} .....	562
Fine .....	378		
Discharge on Sureties .....	592		
Respite and Pardon.....	15	.....	11
Total 9,556		Total 17,090	



And the proportion of population in Ireland, to that in England, being as 8 to 14, or 4 to 7, as near as it can be stated in round numbers, the total convictions in England and Ireland, respectively, are in a proportion with each other so marvellously corresponding with that of their respective populations, that the proportions may be termed identical,—there being in England 1 conviction to every 813 inhabitants, and in Ireland 1 conviction to every 812 inhabitants.

But when we proceed to deduct on each side the convictions for *petty offences*, then England stands out in the bold relief of its deeper and darker criminality.

Deduct from convictions in Ireland, in 1837, viz.	9,536
Six months' imprisonment, and under .....	6,168
Whipping.—Fine.—Discharge on sureties.—Respite, and pardon.....	991
	<hr/> 7,159
Leaving of more heinous crimes in Ireland	<hr/> 2,377
Deduct from convictions in England & Wales, viz.	17,090
Six months' imprisonment, and under .....	10,258
Whipping.—Fine.—Discharge on sureties.—Respite, and pardon .....	573
	<hr/> 10,831
Leaving of more heinous crimes in England & Wales	<hr/> 6,259

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In Ireland, one heinous crime in 3,267 inhabitants.

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Showing thus, that in 1837, as in 1834, Ireland exhibited a very much smaller proportion than England, of the more heavily punished offences.

A distinction here obtrudes itself upon our notice, which must occur to any one instituting a comparison between England and Ireland, with respect to the state of crime in each country, viz.—that there are two prominent causes of criminality existing in Ireland, which do not prevail to the same extent in England; and that, therefore, we should, from the agency of those two causes, naturally expect to find, *ceteris paribus*, more crime, in proportion to population in Ireland than in England: and these causes are poverty (which besides its ordinary aspect, includes the excessive competition for land) and religious animosity. The religion of the state, to the support of which the law obliges *all* to contribute, is, in Ireland, the religion of the *minority*. This fact is calculated to excite haughtiness in the favoured minority, discontent in the op-

pressed majority. This fact, in its present operation, and even in the most mild operation of which it is by possibility capable,—but still more, in all the bitter recollections of the past, which are interwoven with it in the Irish mind,—must engender a state of feeling in the two portions of the population towards each other, which would be apt, occasionally, to develope itself in acts of criminal violence. This is a consequence which, whether on English or on Irish soil, we should expect, in the ordinary condition of human nature, to follow, from the cause stated. It does follow in Ireland; its agency may be discovered in the Irish criminal returns, throughout the cases of violent aggression, and malicious injury; but the far greater part of these should more justly be attributed to the excessive competition for land, which is also a peculiar feature in Ireland.

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Capital sentences in 1835 .....	523
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So that, in the capital sentences, instead of being up to the English scale—that is, in the proportion of four to seven—Ireland can hardly furnish more than one-third of the English number. We would not wish to conceal the fact, and would to God that Irishmen would take warning from it, that there were, during the above three years, forty-one executions in Ireland, and only thirty-seven executions in England. And this other fact is also one conveying an awful lesson to Ireland; that there were in those three years, seventy-four capital sentences for murder in Ireland, and only thirty-five such sentences for murder in England and Wales. The number, however, in each country, both of capital sentences, and of convictions for murder, has diminished in each successive year.

The convictions for manslaughter in Ireland, and in England and Wales, respectively, were as follows:—

	Ireland.	England and Wales.
In 1835 .....	218	72
1836 .....	226	99
1837 .....	154	89

Again, with respect to assaults, which, from causes which we will not attempt more minutely to explain, unhappily add so largely, and at one fell swoop, to the catalogue of Irish offences, there were—

	Ireland.	England and Wales.
In 1835 .....	5266	540
1836 .....	5457	78
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One more instance, that of riot and breach of peace,—the convictions were—

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These are instances which we have endeavoured fairly to select from the class of violent offences against the person. They show what particular description of criminality it is which swells the list of Irish guilt; and we hope they may serve to convey a useful and instructive lesson. We know too well how the passions have been aroused,—what provocation has been given; how the landlord has ejected the cottier, and the proctor has taken the bed from beneath the dying wife;—we know that these things have been, and are, in Ireland, and neither have been, nor are, in England. But, with a full knowledge of these facts, we must still say, that the number of these, and such like, acts of violence, is a stigma upon the Irish nation. If this odious spot upon her national character were removed, (and we are rejoiced to observe, from the returns, that it lessens every year) Ireland would then be as distinguished for her peculiar abstinence from *every* description of crime, as she is now from many.

For though the other cause of crime, to which we have already referred, exists to an intense degree,—though the famishing poor have not only the positive cravings of hunger to withstand, but have also a keen consciousness of their relative misery, from a personal observation of the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by some of their neighbours,—yet are they singularly, and, under the circumstances, most extraordinarily, free from invasions of property from the motive of lucre. Inglis, Binns, and most other recent travellers in Ireland, concur in assuring us, that robberies and larcenies are of very unfrequent occurrence. The tables before us,—matters of fact, and not of opinion,—confirm this testimony.

To take first the crime of burglary, or forcible entry by night into a dwelling-house,—a crime, which, perhaps, as much as any other, excites the feeling of insecurity and dread,—the convictions were—

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In these, and in all the other comparisons, it should still be borne in mind, that the proportion of crimes between Ireland and England, ought to be as that of the population, or 4 to 7.

There were convictions for house-breaking—

	Ireland.	England and Wales.
In 1835 .....	9 .....	304
„ 1836 .....	42 .....	327
„ 1837 .....	16 .....	403

For simple larceny, the convictions were—

	Ireland.	England and Wales.
In 1835 .....	1868 .....	8309
„ 1836 .....	2239 .....	8591
„ 1837 .....	2664 .....	10409

And for larceny by servants, the convictions were—

	Ireland.	England and Wales.
In 1835 .....	33 .....	682
„ 1836 .....	77 .....	773
„ 1837 ..	69 .....	846

This last table it gives us peculiar pleasure to quote, in testimony to the character of the domestic servants of Ireland.

If we had found that property was less secure in Ireland than in England, we could have accounted for it by the more pressing poverty of the Irish people; but, finding that it is more secure, notwithstanding the pressure of that poverty, we are urged to the conclusion, that there is a stronger moral feeling in the main body of the poor population of Ireland, which keeps them honest in spite of the keenest temptation to fraud and theft. And how is this moral feeling to be accounted for? We do not hesitate to say, that it is owing to the zeal and exertions of those Catholic Priests, who have visited the poor in their miserable cottages, sympathized, we had almost said participated, in their sufferings; assisted them in want and sickness; and exhorted them to virtue, whilst they were saving them from famine. It is owing to them, that Ireland can justly claim to rank higher than England in the scale of national virtue; and it is because her morality is owing to her Catholic Priests, that she is so vehemently attacked and calumniated by the specchmakers, pamphleteers, editors, and penny-a-liners, of Scotland and England, and—alas! that there should be such recreants—of her own country, too.

ART. IX.—*Summary Review of German Catholic Literature.*

## THEOLOGY.

*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (Manual of the History of Dogmas)* by Dr. Klee. Vol. 1, Mayence, 1837.—Three of the greatest stars of German Catholic theology, at the present day, are Möhler, Döllinger, and Klee. Möhler\* (alas, this great luminary hath set for ever) represents the metaphysical part of Theology; Döllinger, the critical and historical; and Klee, the dialectical part. This new work by Professor Klee is worthy of his high reputation. Its object is to trace the gradual developement of the truth “once committed to the Saints,” to state the doctrine of the Church on the various articles of faith, and to point out the occasions on which she more explicitly enounced, and more authoritatively enforced, those traditional truths she had received from her divine Founder. In all heretical Churches, and still more in the anarchical communities of Protestantism, “the History of Dogmas” is the history of new, ever-changing, inconsistent, and contradictory opinions. In the Catholic Church alone, it is the history of divine truth, essentially one, and immutable, but with increasing developement, always implicitly believed, yet not always explicitly declared by the Church.

The first volume of this “History of Dogmas” is divided into two parts. In the first part, the author treats of general theology; the topics which here engage his attention are, revelation, Christianity, the Church, the hierarchy, the sacred Scriptures, tradition, and heresy. In the second part, the author treads on the ground of special dogmas, and treats successively of the existence and unity of God, the Trinity, the several divine persons, next of the creation, of the angels, of the material world, of man, of the divine image in man, of the soul, of man’s primitive state, of original sin, and of Providence. On all these important subjects the reader will find the tradition of the Church, briefly but distinctly stated, the occasions on which it promulgated its doctrine, pointed out, as well as the nature of the heresies by which that doctrine was assailed. From the copious citations and references to the fathers, the book may well be called a *clavis patrum*. The work is distinguished not only for the extraordinary extent of erudition, but for the great skill, with which that learning is brought to bear on the points at issue. Professor Klee often reminds us in this respect of his great countryman, Niebuhr, who, from the most diverse and scattered fields of knowledge, out of the “disjecta membra” of learning, could construct a most ingenious and elaborate body of evidence. The work before us is, moreover, remarkable for its clearness of arrangement, its vigour and perspicuity of reasoning, and great condensation of thought.

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*Criminal Offenders committed for trial, or bailed for appearance, at the Assizes and Sessions, in each County, in the year 1837, and the result of the proceedings.* (Made out by order of her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.)

WE recollect that, about two years ago, our attention was drawn to the subject of the comparative amount of crime in Ireland and in England, in consequence of the ignorant, but not less common than ignorant, assertion, "that there is incomparably a greater proportion of public vices, whether all the world, or only the British Empire, furnish the arithmetic, among a thoroughly Catholic population, than in any other." We remember that the conceited and half-informed Pharisee, who thus congratulated himself that he and his brethren of England were not such odious sinners as the papistical Irish, attempted to vindicate his valiant assertion by a series of most ridiculous blunders in calculation, respecting the criminal and population returns for England and Ireland. With these, however amusing, we will not trouble our readers. We exposed those blunders at the time, and in the locality where they appeared, and made other, and, we believe, more accurate calculations, which established the fact, that, if Ireland exceed England in the *number* of crimes, England fully makes up for it in *greater enormity*. This is proved by the following table of sentences passed on those *convicted* in England and Wales, and Ireland, respectively, in 1834 (the latest returns then published), by which it appears that Ireland has much less than eight-fourteenths, its due proportion, of crimes most heavily punished.

	Ireland.	England and Wales
Death .....	197 .....	480
Transportation for life.....	244 .....	864
"        14 years...	11 .....	688
"        7 years...	781 .....	2,503
Imprisonment for 3 years...	2 .....	6
"    2 yrs. and above 1 yr.	151 .....	308
"    1 yr. & above 6 mths.	1,053 .....	1,582
"    6 months and under .	11,190 .....	8,825
Fine .....	624 .....	413
	Whipping .....	59
	Discharge on Sureties	256
	Respite and Pardon .	7
<hr/>		
Total convictions in Ireland	14,253	England and Wales 15,995
<hr/>		



This table, when properly dissected, will demonstrate, that, if Ireland have about double the proportionate number of crimes, compared with England, it is the minor offences that swell out the Irish list; whilst England and Wales have very much more than their due proportion of those crimes visited with the heaviest punishments of the law. In order to this demonstration,—

Deduct from the convictions in Ireland, viz. ....	14,253	
Punished with only 6 months'		
imprisonment, and under...	11,190	
Only fined.....	624	
	<hr/>	11,814

Leaving of more heinous crimes in Ireland...2,439

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Deduct from the convictions in England and Wales, viz. ....	15,995	
Punished with only 6 months'		
imprisonment, and under...	8,825	
Fined only .....	413	
	<hr/>	9,238

Leaving of more heinous crimes in England and Wales...6,757

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And as there were in Ireland 7,767,401 inhabitants, and in England and Wales 13,897,187 inhabitants, according to the census of 1831, the result will be:—

In Ireland 1 heinous crime in 3184 inhabitants.

In England and Wales, 1 heinous crime in 2056 inhabitants.

The subject is, intrinsically, of sufficient importance, to require our anxious examination, and to command the careful attention of our readers, even if no circumstances had occurred, if no speeches had been made, if no discussions had ensued, if no alarms had been created, if no outrages had been perpetrated, if neither report had been circulated, nor paragraph penned, published, copied, or exaggerated, to give it peculiar interest at the present moment. All these causes, however, concur to bring it just now into a prominent position before the public; they have imparted to it an adventitious, temporary, and exciting interest, which adds nothing to the real and instructive value of its results; though it makes an accurate elaboration of those results, from authentic and unimpeachable documents, peculiarly needful. We want not the ever ready vehemence of the clerical or political declaimer, who asserts what all bigoted Englishmen have, from time immemorial, asserted of unfortunate Irishmen,—only more posi-

tively, more hotly, more loudly, with a great deal more theatrical action, and in a great many more words, than it ever was asserted before. Nor does empty declamation of the most thundering character, or even the bitterest invective, become one whit more just, because it happens to be reiterated, unto nausea, in morning and in evening print. We want facts, drawn from undoubted sources, and clearly stated; and let *them* go for what they are worth. Prepared, as we ever are, to defend the Irish from unjust attack, we would not, if we could, screen them from merited rebuke; it were not the act of a friend to do so. We will state the facts plainly, and as clearly as we can; and let that statement serve to vindicate the character of the Irish people, by a proof of their comparative innocence, if they be unjustly maligned; or to make them blush for their greater national guilt, if it be really established against them.

We are aware that the above analysis of the English and Irish criminal returns, for 1834, may not give perfect satisfaction, because it was not till 1835 that the returns for these two portions of the United Kingdom were prepared, according to the same tabular form; but they give a very near approximation to the truth, although there may be some slight discrepancies in the comparison of 1834. But we have, before us, returns for the three subsequent years, exactly coinciding in form and arrangement, and, therefore, capable of being tested by the most exact comparison. Proceeding to the year 1837, the latest for which returns are published, we find the total number of convictions in England and Wales, and in Ireland, respectively, divided or classified as to punishment, and of consequence as to guilt, in the following manner:

Convictions,—Ireland.		Convictions,—England & Wales.	
Death .....	154	.....	436
Transportation for life.....	266	.....	636
„ for 14 years.....	17	.....	545
„ for 7 years .....	818	.....	2,592
„ for other periods..	7	.....	12
Imprisonment, above 3 years ....	0	.....	0
„ 3 years and above 2 years	0	.....	14
„ 2 years and above 1 year...	82	.....	394
„ 1 year and above 6 months	1,035	.....	1,628
„ 6 months and under.....	6,186	.....	10,258
Whipping .....	6	} .....	562
Fine .....	378		
Discharge on Sureties .....	592		
Respite and Pardon.....	15	.....	11
Total		9,556	Total 17,090

And the proportion of population in Ireland, to that in England, being as 8 to 14, or 4 to 7, as near as it can be stated in round numbers, the total convictions in England and Ireland, respectively, are in a proportion with each other so marvellously corresponding with that of their respective populations, that the proportions may be termed identical,—there being in England 1 conviction to every 813 inhabitants, and in Ireland 1 conviction to every 812 inhabitants.

But when we proceed to deduct on each side the convictions for *petty offences*, then England stands out in the bold relief of its deeper and darker criminality.

Deduct from convictions in Ireland, in 1837, viz.	9,536
Six months' imprisonment, and under .....	6,168
Whipping.—Fine.—Discharge on sureties.—Respite, and pardon.....	991
	<hr/> 7,159
Leaving of more heinous crimes in Ireland	<hr/> 2,377
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The convictions for manslaughter in Ireland, and in England and Wales, respectively, were as follows:—

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Again, with respect to assaults, which, from causes which we will not attempt more minutely to explain, unhappily add so largely, and at one fell swoop, to the catalogue of Irish offences, there were—

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ART. IX.—*Summary Review of German Catholic Literature.*

## THEOLOGY.

*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (Manual of the History of Dogmas)* by Dr. Klee. Vol. 1, Mayence, 1837.—Three of the greatest stars of German Catholic theology, at the present day, are Möhler, Döllinger, and Klee. Möhler\* (alas, this great luminary hath set for ever) represents the metaphysical part of Theology; Döllinger, the critical and historical; and Klee, the dialectical part. This new work by Professor Klee is worthy of his high reputation. Its object is to trace the gradual developement of the truth “once committed to the Saints,” to state the doctrine of the Church on the various articles of faith, and to point out the occasions on which she more explicitly enounced, and more authoritatively enforced, those traditional truths she had received from her divine Founder. In all heretical Churches, and still more in the anarchical communities of Protestantism, “the History of Dogmas” is the history of new, ever-changing, inconsistent, and contradictory opinions. In the Catholic Church alone, it is the history of divine truth, essentially one, and immutable, but with increasing developement, always implicitly believed, yet not always explicitly declared by the Church.

The first volume of this “History of Dogmas” is divided into two parts. In the first part, the author treats of general theology; the topics which here engage his attention are, revelation, Christianity, the Church, the hierarchy, the sacred Scriptures, tradition, and heresy. In the second part, the author treads on the ground of special dogmas, and treats successively of the existence and unity of God, the Trinity, the several divine persons, next of the creation, of the angels, of the material world, of man, of the divine image in man, of the soul, of man’s primitive state, of original sin, and of Providence. On all these important subjects the reader will find the tradition of the Church, briefly but distinctly stated, the occasions on which it promulgated its doctrine, pointed out, as well as the nature of the heresies by which that doctrine was assailed. From the copious citations and references to the fathers, the book may well be called a *clavis patrum*. The work is distinguished not only for the extraordinary extent of erudition, but for the great skill, with which that learning is brought to bear on the points at issue. Professor Klee often reminds us in this respect of his great countryman, Niebuhr, who, from the most diverse and scattered fields of knowledge, out of the “disjecta membra” of learning, could construct a most ingenious and elaborate body of evidence. The work before us is, moreover, remarkable for its clearness of arrangement, its vigour and perspicuity of reasoning, and great condensation of thought.

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\* A Translation of the “Symbolik” of this great writer is in preparation by J. B. Robertson, Esq. the able translator of Schlegel’s *Philosophy of History*.

We strongly recommend this excellent work, to those among our readers, lay as well as clerical, who make theology and philosophy a part of their studies.

*Die Apologetik als wissenschaftliche Nachweisung der Göttlichkeit des Christenthums in seiner Erscheinung dargestellt. Von Dr. Johann Sebastian von Drey. (Apologetical Divinity exhibited as the scientific demonstration of the divinity of Christianity in its manifestation.) Mayence, 1838. Vol. 1.*

Dr. von Drey has been long known as one of the most eminent divines of Catholic Germany. He has hitherto, we believe, published few works, and hence his reputation is not as extensive as his great genius and learning merit. But a series of the most valuable papers, which he has for many years published in the Theological Review of Tübingen, would alone suffice to transmit his name with honour to posterity. He has long held the theological chair at the University of Tübingen, where he has trained up, for the service of the Church, many excellent theologians, and among others, had the honour of reckoning in the number of his pupils the illustrious Möhler. His new work on Apologetical Divinity is one of extraordinary merit. The lucidness of its arrangement, the force and acuteness of its reasoning, the elegant perspicuity of the style, and the depth of the reflections, will secure to this production a very high place in the theological and philosophical literature of the age. The first volume only has appeared; and in this the author gives the most elaborate exposition of the theory of revelation which we ever remember to have met with. The limits of this summary notice of German literature will not permit us to give an analysis of this work; and without a full analysis, it would be difficult to convey to the reader an adequate idea of its nature and plan. Suffice it to say, that the nature and the necessity of religion, the necessity of a divine revelation for the establishment, the perpetuation, and the development of religion, the criteria and proofs of divine revelation, are the important topics to which this first volume is devoted. We regret we have no room for extracts.

We hope, soon to have the opportunity of bestowing a lengthened critique on this production, when the second volume, containing the application of the principles laid down in this introductory part, shall have made its appearance.

*Breuner's speculative Dogmatik. (Speculative Dogmatic Theology, by Dr. Breuner.) 3 vols. Ratisbon, 1837.—*Dr. Breuner has been long known as a very able and learned theologian. The present work is the last and third form in which he has cast his dogmatic theology. His proofs of the divinity of Christianity, are mostly of an historical kind. The work is certainly very erudite, but is often wanting in profound and enlarged views.

*Die vornehmsten Lehren und Gehäuche der Katholischen Kirche. Von Dr. N. Wiseman. Ratisbon, 1838. (The principal Doctrines and*

*Practices of the Catholic Church. By Dr. Wiseman.*)—It will be pleasing to the British Catholic public generally, and to the readers of the *Dublin Review* in particular, to learn that these excellent discourses of Dr. Wiseman have been translated into German, and have found in Germany many enlightened appreciators. As, on this subject, we might be suspected of partiality, we shall transcribe a passage from a notice of this work, that has appeared in an esteemed German periodical, "the Sion." "It is," says the journalist, "with peculiar pleasure we point out this important production, first, because its author is an eminent scholar in the Catholic Church, secondly, because, in a preface to a successful translation it has been recommended to the notice of the German public by one of our first theologians, Professor Döllinger; and lastly, because we know its translator, M. Haneberg, to be a young man distinguished for his talents and learning, who, we hope, is destined to accomplish much good, for the honour of God and his Church."—*Sion*, August Number. We see that Dr Döllinger, in his preface, characterises Dr. Wiseman's "Connexion of Science and Revealed Religion," as being distinguished for various learning, consummate skill of arrangement, and dignified eloquence. We are happy to say that translations of the work have appeared in Germany, Italy, and Spain, and it is extensively read in America.

*Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen durch das Gebiet der Protestantischen Litteratur. Von Dr. Julius Höninghaus. Asschaffenburg, 1837. (The result of my Travels through the territory of Protestant Literature.)*—This work has excited a great sensation in Germany. Dr. Höninghaus is a learned convert to our Church, and his long peregrinations through Protestant literature, independently of many other grounds of credibility, have convinced him that the Catholic Church furnishes the only resting-place to the human race.

This work is composed entirely of Protestant testimonies in favour of the Catholic Church, declaratory of the weakness, the insufficiency, the errors, and the dangers of Protestantism. At the head of each chapter, the author gives, in his own words, a short analysis of its contents, and then proceeds to cite the Protestant testimonies. By these authorities he shows, in the first part, the present dissolution of Protestantism to be the natural consequence of its fundamental principle—private judgment; he then proves the utter insufficiency and inconsistency of this principle, on the part of those who admit a revelation; expounds the Catholic system, showing it to be alone compatible with the idea of a Christian revelation, and examines the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants, according to Scripture, tradition, and reason. In the second part, conducted still by Protestant guides, he enters the domain of history, examines the Reformation, in its ecclesiastical and political bearings, tracing its progress through Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, France, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Ice-

land, and then gives an historical sketch of the rise and progress of different sects, in the Lutheran, Calvinistic, Anglican, Anabaptist, and Socinian communities, from the Reformation to the present times. In the third and last part, the questions relating to worship, discipline, and other important matters, are examined; and after all these glorious confessions, which the truth, the holiness, and beneficent influence of the Catholic Church, have wrung from those whom the prejudices of birth, education, and profession, had alienated from her, the learned and estimable author draws his final inference. Our readers may form an idea of the extensive reading and indefatigable industry of Dr. Höninghaus, when we tell them that his work contains upwards of *two thousand testimonies*, and that not fewer than *three hundred and sixty authors* have been cited. This list includes the most eminent Protestant theologians, philosophers, and historians, that have flourished, not only in Germany, but in France, Holland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, and especially England, from the earliest period of the Reformation down to the present day. But let it not be supposed that learning is the only characteristic of this able production. The immense mass of evidence which the author has collected, has been arranged with consummate analytic skill. A translation has appeared in Holland; and met with the same success which the original experienced in Germany. We should like to know, what some of our stiff-necked Anglicans would say to it. We forgot to add, that the author, in an appendix, gives a list of the most memorable conversions to the Catholic Church from Protestantism. The list includes seven hundred converts, consisting of preachers, professors, statesmen, princes, and kings.

*Döllinger über die Gemischte Ehen. (On mixed Marriages.)* 1838. This is a clear, well-reasoned treatise, written in a most amiable temper.

*Der verlorne Sohn. (The lost Son.)* by John Emanuel Veith, Preacher at the metropolitan Church of St. Stephen's, Vienna. 1838.—Dr. Veith is allowed to be the greatest living spiritual writer in Germany. One of his best spiritual works\* has recently been translated into English, by a learned and able clergyman of the London District. In the present work, Dr. Veith exhibits the same qualities which have so often distinguished his other writings—the talent of ingenious combination—great lucidness in his catechetical arrangement—the most diversified reading—and a power of vivid delineation.

#### ECCLERASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY, &c. &c.

*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, von Dr. Döllinger. (Manual of Church History, by Dr. Döllinger.)* Vol. ii. Ratisbon, 1838.—It is with pleasure we hail the appearance of the 2nd volume of Dr.

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\* The words of the enemies of Christ, translated by Dr. Cox. Keating and Brown, London.

Döllinger's excellent Manual of Church History. This volume embraces the external history of the Church, in two successive periods, from the year 680 to 1073, and from the year 1073 to 1517. This volume is distinguished for the same clearness of arrangement, the same laborious enquiry after the original fountains of information, the same critical sagacity, and elegant perspicuity of style, which characterize all the productions of this great theologian. Professor Döllinger possesses a wonderful grasp of research. There is scarcely a book, however recent, appearing in the different countries of Europe, in anywise connected with the subject of his investigations, that he has not perused, or, at least, consulted.

Could the limits of this summary notice permit, we would willingly translate several interesting passages from this work, which is allowed to be the best of the kind that has appeared in Germany. We understand that an able divine intends favouring the British public with a translation of this valuable manual, or of the author's larger ecclesiastical history. The translation of either would be a most acceptable gift. The British and Irish Catholics are very well provided with spiritual and devotional books; they are tolerably well furnished with popular works of polemical theology; but, with few brilliant exceptions, they have to plead a lamentable deficiency in all books relating to ecclesiastical and civil history.

*Schweden und seine Stellung zum heiligen Stuhl unter Johann III, Sigismund III, und Karl IX. (Sweden and its relation to the Holy See under John III, Sigismund III, and Charles IX.) Compiled from secret state papers by Augustin Theiner. Augsburg, 1838.*—The history of the apostacy of Sweden from the Church, has been most copiously and accurately detailed in the present work. Its object is to exhibit the endeavours and exertions of the Holy See, during the three last centuries, to reunite to its communion the northern nations separated by schism and heresy. The author has drawn many of his materials from the rich archives of Rome, to which, by the gracious indulgence of his holiness Pope Gregory XVI, he gained access, as well as from the Bourbon library, and that of the Brancacci family at Naples. By these means he has been able solidly to confute a multitude of falsehoods and misrepresentations, of which modern historians had been guilty in regard to the Holy See and its ministers. He promises, in the course of his work, to show up many of the insidious artifices—the *suppressio veri* which Professor Ranke has had recourse to, in his History of the Popes. The work abounds with interesting details, and is, altogether, a most valuable accession to the historical literature of Germany. The first volume only has appeared.

*Hurter's Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz des Drittens; Dritter Band; 1838.*—The third volume of this excellent work has recently been published, and is even still more interesting than its predecessors. In this we find a vivid picture of the age in which the



great Pontiff, Innocent III, flourished. The character of the episcopacy, of the secular clergy, of the religious orders of both sexes, is brought under review; and the good and the bad qualities, the virtues and the vices, which characterized individuals in these several orders and professions, are pointed out with impartial accuracy. Though the production of a Protestant minister, it is written in a noble Catholic spirit. Our next number will contain a review of this work.

One of the most valuable accessions to the historical literature of the present year, is the new periodical that has appeared at Munich, entitled, *Historish-Politische Blätter*, edited by Professor Phillips, and the younger Görres. It numbers among its supporters, the elder Görres, Moy, Döllinger, and a number of the most eminent literati. The principles are most Catholic, its historical views most sound, and it abounds in interesting articles, on religion, politics, and history, written in a very captivating style. All who wish to get an insight into the present state of Germany should peruse this journal.

*Athanasius*, by Joseph Görres. Ratisbon, 1838.—The French translation has, doubtless, made not a few of our readers acquainted with this admirable production. We cannot bestow a higher eulogy on the work, than by pronouncing it, in every respect, worthy of its illustrious author. It has excited an extraordinary sensation in every part of Germany, more especially in Bavaria, Westphalia, and the Rhenish provinces, where, in despite of the prohibition of the Prussian government, many even of the common people have bought and perused it with avidity. The subject which it treats, the circumstances to which it owes its origin, were calculated, even had its literary merit been far inferior, to give interest and importance to the work. In the persecution which afflicts a portion of the Catholic Church of Germany, it has had the effect of sustaining the courage of many, restraining the violence of others, removing the doubts and uncertainties of a few, and directing all to a steady, pacific, legal assertion of their civil and ecclesiastical rights, wantonly violated, as they have been, in the person of the venerable Archbishop of Cologne.

It is not our intention to discuss the question of the captivity of that venerable prelate. The case of this intrepid confessor of the faith, has already, in a former number of this journal, been clearly and succinctly stated. Görres examines successively every charge, which his enemies have made against the illustrious prelate, shows the utter untenableness and absurdity of each, and proves that his conduct, in relation to the Hermesians, (a party whose doctrines have been condemned by the Holy See,) as well as to the Prussian government, was strictly in accordance with the laws of the Church. We meet, in the course of the work, with most interesting episodes on the past and present state of Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany, on the ecclesiastical and political institutions of Prussia in particular,



the political parties which there contend for supremacy, the spirit of the two great Protestant sects, the Rationalists and the Pietists, their mutual contentions, as well as common hostility to the Catholic Church. Our limits will permit us to give but one extract, which we shall select from those passages of the work which possess a general and enduring interest.

In the following passage, the author traces with a masterly hand that general decline of piety and discipline, which characterized the Catholic clergy, secular and regular, in the course of the eighteenth century. His observations, though unfortunately susceptible of very general application, refer with peculiar force to the state of the German Church at that period.

“ That a number of such co-operators, says he, in the work of destruction, should have been found in the very body of the clergy; argues the existence of a very deeply rooted and wide-spread evil, which had not for the first time to-day or yesterday afflicted the clerical order. To all well-thinking minds, indeed, this presents a painful, a most melancholy spectacle, which justice, however, will not permit us to pass over in silence. It can neither be denied nor concealed, that many members of this clergy, had already, in the times anterior to the last revolutionary epoch, as well in the conduct of some of their noblest corporations, as in the personal deportment of numerous individuals, manifested signs of an ever-increasing moral relaxation. This laxity reached such a pitch, that as these churchmen heedlessly came in and went out of those splendid minsters, which the enthusiasm of their forefathers had erected to the faith, and saw in those images, wherewith their artist-like hands had decorated their interior, nought else but ancient frippery, so they scarcely retained any longer an idea of the rich treasure confided to them to guard and to transmit. Beside the departing generation, who sought to uphold, in ancient earnestness and vigour, the last remnants of ecclesiastical tradition, there sprang up a new one, which, despising the former, looked upon its zeal as gloomy monkery, its austerity as an useless self-crucifixion, and declaring both no longer suitable to the times, entered into various compacts with the spirit of the age. Protestantism stood as a luminous model before their eyes, an approximation to which, would, by producing a rapid transformation, renovate what had become obsolete. They proceeded to the work, which was, however, to be at first conducted with all gentleness and respect, and without detriment to essential points. The first steps were taken with dogmatic theology. This contained much, the comprehension of which, in the growing shallowness of the times, was gradually lost. This was denounced as absolutely unintelligible, and, as such, banished from the department of all true science. The sacred mysteries of worship, which, to be rightly understood and duly appreciated in their still light, require a spiritual intuitive glance, and which, to be fathomed in their mysterious depths, demand a corresponding profundity of intellect, found this glance of intuition dead—

these spiritual depths filled up with the wisdom of the world. In the glare of physical objects, their spiritual light waxed dim; and as they exceeded the age's powers of conception, they were barely, even in their outward symbols, maintained and tolerated. The ancient doctrine had, if I may so speak, poured out all the hidden fulness of its soul in a multitude of such external rites and practices, which constituted its outworks against the world. But now, as the chill had passed from the seat of life in the heart to the furthest extremities, these outward practices were given up, and wherever it was practicable, cast off as superfluous.....

“In respect to discipline, the same course was pursued. Here also, all sense of the importance of ascetic practices was become extinct, and a conviction of their absolute importance for the ecclesiastic had been utterly lost. Hence the old discipline must appear an intolerable hardship against nature, which, like all excess, so far from conducing to its object, was likely, by provoking the resistance of the wronged, to defeat its own ends. So there was a general disposition to contribute towards the emancipation of the oppressed. The close-drawn bands of discipline were every-where relaxed, and even partially dissolved, while at the same time, in the outward service, the more commodious chlamys was substituted for the antique and wide-folding toga. From the practice of individual churchmen, the general relaxation spread to the religious corporations; the monastic rules and customs, through all degrees of the religious profession, were every-where softened down; the lax observance in all places substituted for the strict; and the youth, in the seminaries, brought up in the new discipline. The secular governments in every country encouraged this tendency of the public mind, because it promoted their plan of subverting the ancient order of things; till at last, in the growing insolence of power, they made violent encroachments on spiritual authority:—encroachments, which, in Germany, led to the ecclesiastical revolution of Joseph II, and, abroad, first, to the promulgation of the Gallican maxims by the Bourbons, and, afterwards, to their abolition of the order of the Jesuits. Even the ecclesiastical governments, partly with well-meaning views, but led away by the general spirit of thoughtlessness, assisted in this undertaking, which accordingly found, in the very bosom of unity, in the person of a Pontiff of that period,\* its most concentrated expression.

“In this state did the revolution find the clergy of Europe at large, and, more particularly, of Germany. The Lord permitted that the wild wind-storms should be unbound, that they might winnow his barn, and scatter the chaff in all parts of the world. The second great spoliation, after the first, which had occurred some centuries before, was inflicted on the Church; but it would have had little effect, had the revolution found the guardians and administra-

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\* Pope Clement XIV.

tors of the Church in that mien and bearing, that, while they surrendered to rapine such of her treasures as could not be saved, they were prepared resolutely and courageously to avert the seizure of those better and nobler treasures committed to their care. But the preparatory training of the clergy had not been of a kind, to form characters capable of answering those high calls of duty."—pp. 116-7.

But we must here conclude. *Athanasius* possesses several passages of a merit and an interest equal to the one we have translated.

*Die Triarier, H. Leo, Dr. P. Marheinecke, und Dr. K. Bruno.* (*The Triarii, H. Leo, Dr. Marheinecke, and Dr. K. Bruno.*) By Joseph Görres, Ratisbon, 1838.—In this pamphlet Görres vindicates his own character, as well as his book of *Athanasius*, from the assaults of his three ablest opponents, whom, in allusion to the veteran legionaries of Rome, that served in the third rank, he calls *triarii*. Henry Leo fills the chair of history at the university of Halle, and ranks among the most learned, intelligent, and impartial of the Protestant historians of Germany. Dr. Marheinecke professes theology at the university of Berlin, and enjoys a high celebrity in his own Church. Dr. Bruno is a name hitherto unknown in the literary world: but his pamphlet, in the estimation of Görres, displays no inconsiderable powers of humour.

In his replies to Leo and Marheinecke, Görres has even risen superior to himself. These writers had the imprudence to drag the subject of Catholic polemics into the dispute regarding the Archbishop of Cologne. They must, we opine, have sorely repented them of their rashness, for a severer *thwacking* it was impossible to have sustained, than they have met with at the hands of Görres. In repelling their attacks on the discipline of our Church, its liturgy, ecclesiastical tradition, the blessed eucharist, the hierarchy, the papal supremacy, the relations between church and state, as well as between the church and science, Görres has revealed all the riches of his wonderful mind. Never have those important subjects been treated with greater depth and originality of observation, nor illustrated by greater copiousness and splendour of fancy. We regret our limits will not permit us to cite a passage of exquisite beauty, where the meaning and importance of the symbols and ceremonies of the Church are pointed out, and where the author concludes by observing, that "all these symbols are a reflection of the beauty of God, which, in its turn, intertwines the truth of God;" and, again, "that where, under the pretext of a more undisturbed enjoyment of the true, the beautiful is set aside, as is the case in the Mohammedan religion, there we may be sure truth fares but badly."

In treating of the adorable Sacrament of the altar, while he indignantly repels a blasphemous sally of Leo, Görres proves that the Catholic doctrine, in opposition to the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Zwinglian theories, is alone consistent, rational, and in harmony with the general economy of religion. Equally admirable and profound

are his reflections on the ecclesiastical hierarchy and papal supremacy, in his letter to Dr. Marheinecke. In his reply to Bruno, Görres displays that rich vein of humour which is not one of the least remarkable characteristics of this great genius. He concludes by pointing out the triumphs, which, in Ireland and Belgium, have attended the Catholic cause, and predicting the same success to that holy cause in his own country.

*Die Heilige Schrift, alten und neuen Testamentes. Von Dr. J. F. Allioli. (The Holy Bible, Old and New Testament, translated by Dr. J. F. Allioli, Royal Ecclesiastical Councillor of the kingdom of Bavaria, and Prebendary at Ratisbon.) Landshut, 1838. 3d edition, revised and improved.*—This excellent German version of the Bible by Dr. Allioli, has received the sanction of the Holy See, and of more than thirty prelates of the German Church. It bears on its title-page the modest inscription, “Translated from the Latin vulgate, with constant reference to the original text, and illustrated by short annotations.” The translation bears a high reputation for its fidelity, as well as for the clearness and vigour of the style. Like all his predecessors, the author has made ample use of former versions; yet, in the text, he invariably follows the vulgate, and has endeavoured, he says, to preserve the antique raciness, strength, and simplicity of the biblical style, which, in many modern translations, is utterly lost. Wherever the Latin vulgate gives a feeble, obscure, or incorrect version of the Hebrew and Greek originals, there the translator subjoins, in a note, the accurate translation; or where a passage will admit of several renderings, he gives the different interpretations. The notes are brief, clear, and pertinent. “They are,” to use the author’s own words, “in those passages which relate to faith and to morals, taken partly from scripture, where it explains itself, and partly from the decrees of councils and the writings of the holy fathers.” On historical and archæological subjects, the author frequently supports his own views by the authority of the most approved commentators. This work being intended for general edification, the notes are not too learned; yet are they sufficiently full and explanatory, to solve and illustrate most of the difficult and obscure passages in holy writ. What a service any clergyman, or body of clergymen, would render to the British Catholic Church, were they to translate these valuable annotations from the German, and, with the sanction of their ecclesiastical superiors, append them to the next new edition of the Douay Bible! There is prefixed to this work, an excellent preface, by the Bishop of Linz, wherein he lays down the Catholic rule of faith, examines the Protestant one, proves the impossibility of establishing, by this rule, the canonicity and divine inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, and concludes by pointing out the advantages of reading the Bible, when that reading is performed in the spirit, and according to the conditions, which the Church demands.

“We desire,” says the venerable prelate, “that no book in the

world were more diffused and read than the Bible. But we also desire, with the same earnestness, that no one should take this sacred book in hand, but with that awe and preparation, which its divine contents, the high mysteries of revelation, its antiquity, and the object of its composition, require. This indispensable, but certainly equitable demand, presupposes certain restrictions on the diffusion and reading of the Bible."—Preface, p. 21. This version was first published in 1830, and it has already reached a third edition. This edition will be completed in thirteen numbers, ten of which have already appeared. Each number consists of about sixteen sheets of print, and is adorned with an elegant engraving; and the whole work may be purchased by subscribers (in Germany) at the moderate price of thirteen shillings of our money.

*Die gemischten Ehen von dem Katholisch-Kirchlichen Standpuncte aus betrachtet. (Mixed Marriages considered from the Catholic point of View.)* By Dr. J. B. Kutschker, Professor of Moral Theology. Vienna, 1838.—The question of mixed marriages has been much discussed in Germany of late years; but, as it is now the chief, if not sole, subject of controversy between the Prussian government and the Catholic Prelates in Prussia, a multitude of works have been published on the subject within the last year. Among others, this learned and judicious treatise is particularly worthy of notice. Here the question of mixed marriages is examined by the light of Scripture and tradition. The estimable author proves how little conformable to Scripture, to tradition, and to the very nature of the sacrament of matrimony, are nuptial alliances between Catholics and persons of a different faith.

*Die Gefangenehmung des Erzbischofs von Cöln und ihre Motive, rechtlich erörtert, von einem practischen Juristen. (The imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne and its motives, legally investigated, by a practical Jurist.)* Frankfort on the Maine. 1838.

*Die fortwährende Gefangenschaft des Erzbischofs von Cöln, beleuchtet von einem Protestanten. (The continued captivity of the Archbishop of Cologne, illustrated by a Protestant.)* Strasburg, 1838.

In the discussion of this all-important event, the highest intellects on the Catholic and the Protestant side have descended into the arena of combat. Never, perhaps, since the disputes of the sixteenth century, have the two religious parties of Germany so fairly measured their strength: yet are we happy to say that the Catholics have triumphed, not only by the justice of their cause, but by the superior skill and ability which they have manifested in its defence. The work by the practical jurist was the first to open the lists on the Catholic side. It is a judicious, temperate, well-written treatise, in which the conduct of the Archbishop, in respect to the Hermetian heresy, and the question of mixed marriages, is examined and defended.

The work which stands second on our list, is the last publication

that has appeared in this controversy. The author is not the only Protestant that has taken up the cause of the Archbishop, and proved that the plea, by which his enemies attempt to justify the captivity of the illustrious Prelate, not only strikes at the very root of the spiritual independence of the Catholic hierarchy, but subverts all the foundations of religious liberty. The treatise, as displaying uncommon courage, generosity, and ability, is highly creditable to its author.

#### WORKS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

*Die Segnungen des Katholischen Christenthums in der Sicherung unserers Heiles bei den Gefahren im Verkehr mit der Welt. (The blessings of Catholic Christianity, in insuring our salvation amid the dangers incurred by an intercourse with the world.)* By Prince Alexander von Hohenloe. Ratisbon, 1838.—Six sermons delivered during the season of Lent. These excellent discourses are worthy of their saintly author, and are remarkable for a warmth and unction of piety, and an intimate acquaintance with the disorders and wants of the human heart.

*Preces quotidianæ in usum Seminarii Archiepiscopalis Coloniensis omniumque Clericorum et Sacerdotum. Collegit ac composuit Andreas Gase, SS. Theologiæ Doctor et Seminarii Archiepisc. Coloniensis subregens. Colonia, 1838.*—Prayers, collected and compiled chiefly from the old Oriental and Western liturgies, and the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. A beautiful compilation.

The prodigious fertility of the German press may be estimated by the simple fact, that one Catholic bookseller at Ratisbon, has alone published, in the half-year from April to September, 1838, no less than fifty works, nearly all of a religious nature. We have to record one important omission we have made in the notice of Theological works. This is, the "*Life of Christ*," by Dr. Kuhn, Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. It is the first refutation, published by a Catholic, of the blasphemous work of Strauss, entitled, *Das Leben Jesu*, wherein this author attempts to reduce to a series of Myths, the actions and miracles of our divine Redeemer. Dr. Kuhn's work we have not yet received from Germany; but we are credibly informed that it is much read and admired in that country.



# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

MAY 1839.

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ART. I.—1. *Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II und sein Jahrhundert*; von Dr. C. F. Hock. *Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II and his Age*; by Dr. C. F. Hock. Vienna, 1837. 1 vol. 8vo.

2. *Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII et de son siècle, d'après les monumens originaux*; par J. Voigt, Professeur à l'Université de Halle; *traduite de l'Allemand, augmentée d'une introduction, de notes historiques et de pièces justificatives*; par M. l'Abbé Jager, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

THE author of the first work on our list, M. Hock, doctor in philosophy, belongs to the Catholic school of philosophy, formed at Vienna; and is already known to the public, by a philosophical work, entitled *Descartes and his Adversaries*, in which he discusses with much discernment, the question, what advantage a new system of philosophy in our times, might derive, from the study of the doctrines of that philosopher. The second work was published as long ago as 1815;\* but has been so little known out of Germany, that the French translator presents to the rest of Europe an almost new work. The Protestant author was at that time employed, in the college and university of Halle, whence he was transferred to the chair of history, which he still occupies, in the university of Königsberg, where he has published a series of works, on the history of Prussia Proper, and the Teutonic order.

We shall endeavour to embrace these two works within the limits of one article, not only because they contain the history of two popes, who lived within the same century, but chiefly because two successive epochs in the history of the papacy, are centered in Sylvester II and Gregory VII.

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\* *Hildebrand oder Papst Gregorius der Siebente, und sein Zeitalter, aus den Quellen dargestellt* von Johannes Voigt, &c. Weimar, 1815.



When the kings of the Franks had been declared by the popes, patricians of the Church and emperors of Rome, this very rank, of itself superior to that of the other princes of the west, naturally placed them in a condition to protect, not only the Roman Church against external enemies, as its most powerful opponent had fallen with the kingdom of Lombardy, but it was likewise necessary for the free exercise of the papal dignity, that the popes should live in undisturbed tranquillity at Rome. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, (799) pope Leo III had been attacked by an adverse faction of the Roman nobles, while attending a procession from the Lateran to the church of St. Lawrence in Lucina, insulted and thrown into prison, whence he with difficulty escaped to the court of the king of the Franks. Still greater troubles arose, during the reign of the weak successors of this great emperor. It is unnecessary to dwell on the disorders that took place in the last years of the reign of Leo III, or under his successors, Stephen IV, Paschal I, and Eugenius II; it will suffice to mention, that Lothaire, eldest son of the emperor Louis, was sent to Rome to restore peace and tranquillity. With the consent of the pontiff, all ecclesiastical or lay dignitaries, who had any share in the papal elections, were obliged to promise, that for the time to come, they would not allow any pope to be consecrated, save in the presence of the emperor or his ambassadors; and the pope was to promise, on his accession, to maintain the existing relations between the Roman Church and the emperors of the west, (*anno* 825). This constitution was observed in most of the succeeding elections, and although abrogated by Adrian III (884), it was renewed shortly afterwards by Stephen VI or VII (897). In this manner the emperors of the west gained a privilege, which those of the east had exercised by their exarchs at Ravenna, down to the election of Gregory III (731), when it ceased altogether.\* This superintendence on the part of the new emperors, ceased in like manner with the extinction of the German branch of the Carolingian race; and the system of government was so completely undermined, that the disorders and tyrannical influence of the noble families at Rome, which, during the ninth century, had been interrupted by intervals of discipline and order, became the usual state of things during the first half of the tenth century.

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\* Francisoi Pagi, "*Breviarium historico-chronologico-criticum illustriora Pontificum Romanorum gesta, &c. complectens.*" Vol. II. pp. 28, 128, 145, Éd. Venet. 1730, 4to.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Germany had taken a new form, under the kings of the house of Saxony; and king Otho the Great had already extended his frontier into the north of Italy, when he was called to Rome, by pope John XII, and crowned emperor on the second of February, 962. This measure, which the pope had adopted as one of policy, became, in the hands of Providence, the means of restoring the ancient splendour of the pontificate. Although Otho adopted measures of great violence, and although the election of Leo VIII, made under his auspices, was schismatical, and fresh disorders broke out during the reigns of his son and grandson, they had broken the tyrannical power of the Roman nobles, the liberty of the Church in its own city was secured, and for the first time after a long interval, the chair of St. Peter was worthily filled, by Gregory V (996-999), and the subject of this article, Gerbert, under the name of Sylvester II (999-1008).

Gerbert was born of poor parents, in the mountains of Auvergne, during the first part of the tenth century. The monks of the convent of Aurillac, of the order of Cluny, received the orphan at a tender age. He took the monastic vows while yet very young; and after having finished the usual course of studies in his own convent, chiefly under the scholastic doctor Raimond, he visited the most famous convents of France and the neighbouring countries, as Paris, Liege, Tours, Verdun, Treves, &c. to study under the able professors in those cities. In these ages, before the press had spread instruction and books over the most distant countries, and when even manuscripts were scarce and difficult to procure, it was more necessary than in ancient times, to visit eminent professors in their own countries. Gerbert had made himself master of the sciences taught in the convents of France; but for dialectic and the mathematics, which at that period formed the principal branches of learning, Spain enjoyed the highest reputation; and the Arabs and Jews were held superior to the rest of Europe. Gerbert repaired, about the year 967, to the court of Count Borel at Barcelona, to study these sciences. According to the account of a contemporary writer, Ademar of Chabanne, he went even to the celebrated school of Cordova, and as we are informed by Hugh of Flavigny, bishop Hacton was his instructor in mathematics.\*

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\* Ademar Cabanens, chron. (Bouquet X. p. 146) "*Gerbertus . . . causâ sophiæ primo Franciam, dein Cordubam lustrans.*" Hugon Flaviniacens chron. Verdunens. (Labbe Bibl. Nov. MSS. I. p. 157, Ed. Paris, 1657, fol.) (Gerbertus) "*Borello, citerioris Hispaniæ duci commissus, ut in artibus erudiretur, et ab eo Hactoni cuidam Episcopo traditus est instituendus, apud quem plurimum in mathesi studuit.*"

About the year 972, he accompanied Count Borel to Rome, where he became known to the emperor, Otho I, the empress Adelheid, Otho II, and his empress Theophania, as well as to the most distinguished personages, lay and ecclesiastical, of the imperial court. This visit determined the future life of Gerbert. For not only did he keep up a continued connexion with the imperial court, during his residence as professor in the celebrated school at Rheims, whither he was now summoned—over which he shed new lustre; but when he attended the emperor Otho II in his Italian expedition, in 981-2, he was placed by him over the famous abbey of Bobbio, in the north of Italy, which possessed estates in every part of that country (982); this dignity soon became a source of innumerable troubles to him. Many hated him as a foreigner and a favourite of the imperial family, which was unable to give him any support, on account of its own misfortunes, the death of Otho II, and the minority of Otho III; others opposed him from motives still more personal. A large portion of the possessions of his convent had fallen, either through the rapacity of the nobles, or by the negligence of the abbots, into the hands of powerful laymen, by all of whom his endeavours to reclaim them, were most strenuously resisted. Even from John XIV little encouragement could be expected; as the pope himself, while bishop of Pavia, had distributed the property of the convent of Bobbio amongst his vassals. Persecuted or abandoned on all sides, Gerbert declared “That he had nothing left except the apostolic benediction, and his pastoral staff.” His enemies would not allow him to return to Rome, or to pass the Alps to request the support of his friends in Germany. At last he left a country, where every thing conspired against his peace, and returned to his old and intimate friend, Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, without however resigning his rights as abbot, which, on the contrary, he took every opportunity of asserting.

At Rheims, under the modest title of rector of the school, he was the most influential person of the diocese, and directed all the actions of the archbishop. He received several fiefs, and in the city itself, several churches with their revenues, were placed at his disposal.\* His influence was considerable in ecclesiastical as well as in temporal affairs, a result produced in those times by the position of the clergy in general, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular as the first bishop of France. Two things are worthy of especial notice; the first

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\* Gerbert ep. 24, apud Duchesne *Hist. Francorum Scriptores*, p. 833.

is, that he secured the throne of Germany to Otho III. After the death of Otho II, at Rome (December 25, 983), quarrels arose in Germany respecting the office of guardian to the young prince; and Henry, duke of Bavaria, made an attempt to seize the crown. At the same time, Lothaire, king of France, led armies into the frontier provinces, for the purpose of reconquering the territory which he had ceded to Germany. In this crisis, Gerbert was the centre of the party attached to the lawful sovereign. He laboured, by letters, to strengthen the archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, and other German barons, in their fidelity to the royal house, and offered them Rheims as a place of refuge in case of defeat. He succeeded in gaining over the duke Hugh Capet, with his wife and sister, to the interest of the young king. We see in the letters written by him at this period, the surprising energy and activity with which he wielded the resources, and moved at will all the springs, of his party; chiefly through his means, about the year 985, peace was at length concluded between France and Germany, without any loss to the former, and with a general acknowledgement of the justice of the claims of Otho III. The second remarkable circumstance is the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne of France, after the extinction of the royal branch of Carolingians, (987). He sought to secure to the new king the more powerful barons, such as Siguin, archbishop of Sens, and count Borel, of Barcelona, whom scruples prevented from taking the oath of allegiance; and wrote to the Byzantine emperors, describing in lofty terms the virtues and power of king Hugh, for whose heir-presumptive he requested a Byzantine princess in marriage. He displayed increased activity, when, six months after the coronation of Capet, Arnulphus, who was related to the Carolingian family, succeeded, on the death of Adalberon, to the archbishopric of Rheims. For the brother of Lothaire, the late king, and his real successor in virtue of descent, Charles of Lorraine, had asserted his claims to the French throne, and had commenced open hostilities against the new king. Arnulphus entered into alliance with him, and surrendered into his hands the important city of Rheims; and Gerbert, with others of the king's party, were loaded with injuries. He found means to escape from the city, wrote a solemn letter of renunciation to the archbishop, and fled to the royal court. The civil war ended in the total defeat of the Carolingian party, and all its leaders were made prisoners (991). Arnulphus was summoned before the council of Rheims, and deprived of his see,

as a perjured rebel to king Hugh, and the author of the surrender and sacking of Rheims. At the same council, Gerbert was chosen archbishop, and, with much reluctance, was prevailed upon to accept this dignity (June 991), the duties of which he discharged for some time, with his usual firmness and circumspection.

Meanwhile a letter arrived from John XIV, declaring null and void the acts of the council of Rheims, as the deprivation of Arnulphus could not take effect, without the approbation of the holy see. A question had before been raised in the council itself, respecting the legality of its proceedings on this head, and the friends of Gerbert, unable to prove their validity, advised him to end the dispute, by resigning his bishoprick. Vain were his endeavours to convince them, that the condemnation pronounced by the pope, would fall not only upon himself, but upon all who had assisted at the council; in other letters, he openly questioned the power of the pope to pronounce any such judgment upon a synod of bishops. He implores them to retain their ancient affection and friendship for him, and tells them that his enemies had spread false reports against him, while all France could testify that Arnulphus had not been imprisoned, accused or deprived at his seeking. The same sentiments are repeated in his letter to the pope. But although he retained his see for some time longer, his partizans gradually fell away from him, the ecclesiastics and vassals of his church deserted him, and no one would assist him during the celebration of the divine office.\*

These troubles continued until the autumn of 994, when king Otho, then in his fifteenth year, with whom Gerbert had always corresponded, sending him verses and other trifles suited to his years, invited him to his court as his director and master. Although the empress Theophania, of the imperial family of Byzantium, died in 991, the young king had not yet lost his early prepossessions in favour of the system of manners and education she had introduced, which was so much opposed to the rude and fierce manners of the Germans. His letter begins thus: "To Gerbert, the most learned of philosophers, and crowned in the three branches of philosophy, Otho wishes every happiness that he can wish for himself." He goes on to express his anxious desire of attaching to his person a guide of such rare endowments, whose learning had always met with his respect; wherefore, he requests him to correct by his writings and instruction, and by the exercise of his wonted

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\* Gerbert, ep. 159; Duchesne, p. 836.

prudence, a king, whose education had been defective, and to serve him as his faithful counsellor in public affairs. "We wish you," he continues, "to destroy our Saxon rusticity, and bring out any traces of Grecian elegance that may be in us; for, if we had some one to undertake this task, he would find us not without some sparks of the application of the Greeks. Join, therefore, the flame of your culture to the spark we possess; we humbly beseech you to teach us the science of numbers, and to enkindle in us the lively genius of the Greeks." In his answer, Gerbert expresses his willingness to serve his Majesty, bestows many encomiums on him, and declares that for all he possesses, he is indebted to the king, his father and grandfather.\* He repaired at once to the king in Germany, and accompanied him in all his wars, never relaxing in his application to mathematical studies and dialectic, in which he gave lessons to his royal pupil.

To settle the differences about the see of Rheims, the pope had sent Leo, abbot of St. Boniface's at Rome, across the Alps, to examine the points in dispute at Mouzon, in company with several lords, lay and ecclesiastical, of France and Germany, who were not interested in favour of either party. Gerbert attended the council, and defended himself in an account of the life he had led during the whole period of his stay at Rheims, of the conduct of Arnulphus, and of the manner in which he had been raised to the episcopal chair. It was resolved that a new synod should be held at Rheims, and in the meantime, Gerbert, by the legate's injunction, was forbidden to perform any ecclesiastical function.† The synod of Rheims, it appears, was prevented from assembling by political disorders, and the cause remained undecided: Gerbert did not resign his dignity, but continued his attendance on the king.

In 996, he accompanied Otho during his expedition into Italy, and John XIV dying during the course of it, the king, by the consent of the clergy and people of Rome, nominated his kinsman Bruno to the vacant see. He took the name of Gregory V, and one of his first acts was to place the imperial crown on the head of Otho. Gerbert remained in Italy, probably at Rome, after the emperor's return into Germany. In 997, Otho returned to Rome, to punish the rebellion of Cres-

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\* Gerbert, ep. 153-4, ap. Duchesne, p. 824.

† The acts of this council may be seen in "Labbe Collect. Conc." ed. Venet. xi. p. 1007.



centius, who had expelled the pope from the city. Gerbert was then at Rome, and when the archbishoprick of Ravenna became vacant by the retirement of the archbishop into solitude, he was installed by the pope as his successor in the see, which, with that of Milan, ranked second after that of St. Peter. Gerbert introduced many useful reforms in his diocese, and presided in the name of the pope, who suffered from bad health, at several synods in the north of Italy. Before the end of two years from the time of Gerbert's election to the see of Ravenna, Gregory V died in February 999, and at the recommendation of the emperor, he was chosen his successor,\* under the name of Sylvester II.

The encyclical letter of the new pope to his brother bishops contains the most earnest admonitions.† He declares that he does not feel within his own breast any ambition to pre-eminence over them, when he undertakes to excite his brethren in the episcopacy, nor does he consider himself perfect, when he exhorts them to a life of perfection, but, on the contrary, he considers all that he is about to say as addressed to himself. The dignity of the episcopacy is great, instituted by Christ himself, communicated by Almighty God, superior to the power of princes, because kings themselves bow their heads before priests, and seek to have their laws and decrees confirmed by their blessing. Such dignity requires that its possessor should pursue a line of conduct worthy of it, and the fall of those who are placed on high, is most of all others dangerous and fearful. He then traces, chiefly after St. Paul, the qualities which a bishop ought to possess, and declaims in strong terms against simony, a vice which, even in his days, infected a great portion of the Church.

His character derives additional lustre from his conduct towards his former opponent Arnulphus, who had returned to his see during the pontificate of Gregory, but was not fully reinstated before the present period. "It is meet," he says, "that the holy see should not only reprove sinners, but should likewise raise up the fallen and restore honours to such as have been deprived thereof; that the power of loosing given to St.

\* The initial letter of the name of this see was the third R in the series of bishopricks filled by Gerbert, who is said to have played on this circumstance in the well-known line

"Scandit ab R, Gerbertus in R, post papa viget R."

† See "*Sermo Gerberti Philosophi Papæ urbis Romæ, qui cognominatus est Sylvester, de informatione episcoporum*," ap. Mabillon *analect.* p. 103, fol. Paris 1723, which is an encyclical instruction in the form of a discourse.



Peter, may be freely displayed, and the glory of Rome may shine in all places. Wherefore, we have judged it fitting to assist thee, Arnulphus, archbishop of Rheims, who hast been deprived of thy see for certain faults, in such manner that thou mayest be reinstated by the mercy of Rome, forasmuch as thy deprivation wanted the papal consent. We restore, therefore, to thee, by this letter, the ring and staff, and allow thee to exercise the dignity of archbishop. And farther, we command that no one shall presume to reproach thee in any synod or any other place with the fault of thy deprivation, or to use any injurious language whatever in thy regard.”\*

During his pontificate, we have fewer eminent actions to recount than in the reigns of succeeding popes. He had no powerful adversaries to contend against; and, as no important events took place during his reign, it passed over without confusion or disturbance. He watched carefully over the purity of doctrine; and when Wilgard, a scholastic doctor at Ravenna, carried away by too passionate a study of antiquity, inclined to the errors of Gentilism, he summoned him before his tribunal. The possessions of several churches and convents were increased or confirmed by him; moreover, the Catholic religion gained a new territory, precisely in the very year, when, at the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, the alarming belief was everywhere spread, that the end of the world was at hand. A part of Prussia and of Poland renounced idolatry, and in the year 1000, the first archiepiscopal see was erected at Gnesen. At the same time, Stephen, the holy king of Hungary, was baptized, with the greater part of his subjects, and received from the pope the crown and insignia of a prince,—to the possession of which he joined the power of a king, and the activity of an apostle. From this time, dates the title of “*apostolic majesty*,” which the kings of Hungary still bear.

Sylvester kept up all his former relations of amity with the emperor, and gave him every assistance in his power during the troubles which disturbed the peace of the empire, both at Rome and in its neighbourhood. Thus, when Otho had laid siege to the city of Tivoli, the pope entered it in company with the bishop Bernward, of Wildesheim, and with his assistance, succeeded in bringing over the inhabitants to obedience to the emperor, whose forgiveness he obtained for them. At a later period, Otho was forced to fly from the perjured

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\* Gerbert, ep. 55; Duchesne, p. 843; Hock, p. 132.

Romans, whom he had loaded with favours. While he was preparing an army to attack the rebels, he fell sick, and was attended by the pope at his death, which took place at Paterno, near Civit  Castellana, January 1002. It does not appear that Gerbert exercised any influence over the course of events after the death of the emperor. We do not find him at least mentioned as taking any part in these transactions; he appears to have discharged the ordinary duties of the government of the Church down to the time of his death, on the 2d of May, 1003. His body was interred in the portico of the ancient Lateran basilica; and as late as the year 1648, when the tomb was opened, the body and papal vestments were found entire, but they fell to dust as soon as the air was admitted. When the church was afterwards restored by Innocent X, the ashes were removed into it, and buried near the third pillar of the first side-aisle on the right, where they still repose, with the ancient inscription above them.

So far we have recorded only the political and ecclesiastical life of Gerbert, and it remains for us to mention the qualities on which his literary and scientific reputation rests, and they have entitled him to rank amongst the first men of learning in the middle ages. Philosophy and the mathematics formed the groundwork of his learning; he had devoted his youth to the study of them, and he returned to them amid the troublesome and important actions of after-life. When forced to quit Bobbio, he wrote to his former abbot Geraldo; "We have yielded to misfortune, and have taken up anew the studies which have ever remained in our heart, although they have been interrupted for a time." (*Ep.* 16.) In philosophy he followed, like all his contemporaries, the Aristotelian system, as explained by Porphyry and Boecius, and adopted that system of reasoning and of distinctions in his theological works, especially in his treatise on the Eucharist. In mathematics, he applied much of his attention to the theory of numbers, in which he profited by the progress which had been made in Spain in this science. He frequently quotes from the work of Joseph, a Spaniard, on the multiplication and division of numbers,\* and it is highly probable, that to Gerbert we are indebted for the introduction of the Arabic numerals on this side of the Pyrenees. His writings on geometry follow the method of the Greeks and Arabs, but contain no demonstrations, and are wholly confined to practical objects. His

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\* Gerbert, ep. 17, 25, ap. Duchesne, p. 792-3.

knowledge of astronomy is surprising. He even constructed globes, and has left us a special treatise on the manner of making them.\* He took observations of the heavens by means of a hollow cane, and constructed a clock for the emperor Otho, from his observations of the polar star.† To astronomy was joined, according to the Spanish practice, the study of astrology, and in one of his letters, he requests the abbot Lupitus, of Barcelona, to send him a work on astrology, which the latter had translated.‡ He studied the works of the ancient author Manilius for the same purpose. In medicine, which was at that time in the hands of the Jews or of the monks, he followed Demosthenes for diseases of the eye, and Celsus.§ This brief sketch will be enough to show that Gerbert surpassed all his contemporaries in the physical sciences; hence arose, at a later period, the fable that he had formed an alliance with Satan; of which legend, we find the first faint traces about the end of the eleventh century; and in the middle of the twelfth, William of Malmesbury relates at full length all the circumstances connected with it.||

Besides the pursuit of natural philosophy, Gerbert devoted himself to the study of the classics, more than any other person, from the days of Cassiodorus down to the close of the thirteenth century. As in the want of books lay his principal obstacle, he exerted himself to collect a large library, and bought manuscripts, or caused them to be copied for him in every country which he visited. He wrote to the abbot Ecbert of Tours: "I go on collecting books for my library with the utmost diligence; and at Rome, as in other places of Italy, Germany, and Belgium, I procure, by the aid of my friends in the provinces, copies of authors at a great expense; I request you to assist me in like manner, in your neighbourhood.¶ Writing on another occasion, when in the midst of the greatest misfortunes, he says: "We possess nothing more ancient, than the wisdom of the most illustrious men, which is explained in their numerous works. Quench then our thirst in the flowing streams of Cicero. Let him divert us from

\* Gerbert, ep. 148; ap. Duchesne, p. 833; *Epistola de Sphæræ constructione* ap. Mabillon *Analect.* p. 102.

† Dethmar Merseburgens; Hock, p. 229; "In Magdeburg horologium fecit (Gerbertus) illud rectè constituens consideratà per fistulam quâdam stellâ nautarum duce."

‡ Gerbert, ep. 24; Duchesne, p. 793. § Gerbert, ep. 16; Duchesne, p. 833.

|| Hock, p. 159.

¶ Ep. 44, Duchesne p. 799, compare ep. 130.

our cares since the taking of our city," (Rheims).\* He frequently mentions the writings of antiquity; thus he receives or asks for copies of Pliny, of the *Republic* and *Orations* of Cicero, of Cæsar, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Statius and others.† On this account, his style of Latinity is more pure and more conformable to classic models, than that of any other writer after Cassiodorus. In many passages, particularly in his address to the council of Mouson, are traces of real eloquence, which had not been acquired without a successful study of the Roman orator. His poems, which are for the most parts epitaphs, are not inferior to the productions of his contemporaries. We possess most of the works composed by him; consisting of upwards of two hundred letters, published in the second volume of Duchesne's collection; fragments of the acts of the councils of Mouson and Rheims, in the collections of Labbé and Mansi, and a series of treatises on theology, philosophy, and mathematics, published by Mabillon in his *Analecta*, or by Pez, in his *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*. His philosophical and mathematical writings were much studied in the middle ages; and he exercised considerable influence on the learning of his times, by the number of pupils who attended his lectures in the school of Rheims.‡

Gifted with all these endowments, Sylvester II must be considered as one of the most eminent pontiffs who have filled the chair of St. Peter. His sweetness and affability are praised by all his contemporaries. The ties of gratitude which bound him to the imperial family of the Othos, were strengthened by a long course of years spent in the service of three successive emperors, and by the many favours received from them. When his enemies had sought to incense Otho III against him, he had reason to say, that though he had often offended God, he had nothing to reproach himself with, in his obedience to the emperor's family.§ His conduct was worthy of a noble and grateful heart; but there were rocks in the course of it, of which not even he was able to steer clear. For after making every allowance for the spirit of his age, when all the political affairs were managed by ecclesiastics

\* Gerbert ep. 13, Duchesne p. 831.

† Compare ep. 7, 8, 9, 40, 87, 134.

‡ Most of these, who afterwards became abbots or bishops, are mentioned in the "Histoire littéraire de France," vi. p. 559; Hock, p. 150, sqq.

§ Ep. 30, Duchesne, p. 836. The titles of *divinity* and *divine*, which he gives to the empress Theophania and the young emperor Otho, are to be understood in the sense in which they were used at the Grecian courts, whose manners were, at that time, prevalent in Germany, and not in the ordinary acceptation of the words.

which required prudence, a good education, and a power of managing the hearts of men, it must be confessed he appears too much occupied in worldly concerns, at times, even when this does not seem to have been required by duty ; and he entangles himself so completely in the labyrinth of political negotiations, that not unfrequently we lose sight of the sublime dignity of the priest. With this he was reproached by his contemporaries, especially by the two historians Hugh and Aimoin, monks of Fleury ; and the same charge has been repeated by the learned authors of the *Literary History of France*, in our own times.\* The manner in which he opposed the pope, when he refused to sanction his election to the see of Rheims, has been severely reprehended ; and this censure would have been more severe, if John XIV had himself been wholly free from reproach ; but when raised to the papal chair, he acknowledged the principle against which he had contended, and repaired his fault.

By his connexion with the imperial family, he restored that harmony between the spiritual and temporal power, which had been interrupted since the reign of Leo III or IV. But as he had been advanced by the emperor's influence, this harmony implied a kind of dependence on the temporal power, which, although voluntary, sprang from the nature of things, and, was, for the time, in no wise prejudicial to the Church. Sylvester II is the last pope, for several centuries, who appears in such a light. Within less than fifty years from the time of his death, the first germs of the new development of the papal dignity appear, which we can trace to Gregory VII, whose history forms the subject of M. Voigt's work, the second on our list.

After the death of Sylvester II, the ancient factions re-appeared at Rome, and the popes were, in general, elected under the influence of the counts of Tusculum : other factions opposed their choice, and each party elected a pope of its own ; so that in 1046, there were three popes at once. Henry III, king of Germany, caused them all to be deposed at the council of Sutri, and another to be elected, in the person of Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who took the name of Clement II. Unfortunately this excellent pontiff died within a very short time, as well as his successor, Damasus II ; new disorders arose ; until Bruno, bishop of Toul, a relative of the emperor,

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\* *Histoire littéraire de France*, vi. p. 562. "On ne peut dissimuler qu'il entra plus qu'il ne convenait à sa profession dans ces intrigues politiques."

was proposed by him to the electors. At this period, Gregory VII entered the career which closed with his reign.

Gregory VII was born of poor parents at Saona, in the Maremma of Siena, about the beginning of the eleventh century. His name was Hildebrand. At an early age he was placed under the care of his uncle, the abbot of the convent of St. Mary on the Aventine, (now the priory of the knights of Malta), and was instructed by the priest John Gratian, afterwards Gregory VI, whom he accompanied into Germany, after his deposition, by the council of Sutri. He travelled into several parts of Germany and France, and then retired to the celebrated convent of Cluny, of which he was chosen prior. Here Bruno, bishop of Toul, visited him, on his way to take possession of the see of St. Peter, the insignia of which he had already begun to wear. Hildebrand convinced him, that notwithstanding the certainty of his election, he could not consider himself pope, until he had been received as such by the clergy and people of Rome. Bruno continued his voyage in a pilgrim's weeds, accompanied by Hildebrand; and, on his election being approved at Rome, mounted the papal throne, under the name of Leo IX. This action of Hildebrand appears unimportant in itself, but it proceeded, and may be almost considered a mathematical result, from that principle, which was the spring of his future life.

In the west, and the Germanic empire especially, the Church had acquired considerable real property, by the donations of pious individuals, of princes, and of emperors. On this property, many of the institutions of the empire depended, and to it were attached services to the emperor or the feudal lord, of which, although many were discharged by the bailiffs of the Church, the most important, such as to be present at the diets, and to attend the armies of the emperor, were necessarily performed by ecclesiastics in person. Their temporal duties were considerably increased, when the custom was introduced of appointing none but the sons of the first noblemen, to ecclesiastical preferments; and when the kings and emperors gave to the bishops and abbots, in addition to the services belonging to their possessions, other privileges and offices, such for instance, as the rank of counts in their dioceses or in their neighbourhood. The possession of these estates or offices, was given by the sovereign to the bishop or abbot for his life-time; and whenever the election of any one was contrary to his wishes, he refused this confirmation, and excluded the elect from the possession of his church. These disputes were not



easily terminated, and in the end were generally decided in favour of the temporal power. Many were in this way attached to the prince, more on account of their possessions and employments, than of their ecclesiastical position; and candidates were less anxious to recommend themselves to the clergy and people, than to secure the favour of the sovereign by public or private services, courtly influence, promises, or the payment of sums of money. Ecclesiastical dignities began to be considered as fitting rewards for those, who enjoyed the prince's favour. The writers of the times supply innumerable instances of these abuses, which crept even into the lowest offices of the Church. The name of *Simony* was, from the well-known conduct of Simon Magus, (*Acts viii. 18*) given to this traffic in the dignities of the Church. Sylvester II and Clement III, as well as other virtuous pontiffs, had inveighed against it in several councils; but so long as at the court of the pontiff similar abuses were unfortunately allowed to exist, no effectual reform could be introduced. The German emperors had indeed delivered the popes from the factious tyranny of the Roman nobles; but they themselves appointed to the chair of St. Peter in a manner not less arbitrary; and although their choice might fall on deserving persons, there was no guarantee, for the time to come, in case of a collision between the spiritual or temporal power, or the accession of a wicked emperor. To restore the freedom of the Roman Church, it became necessary to circumscribe the emperor's power on this head, and to place the choice in the hands of the Roman clergy and people, to whom the most essential portion of it justly belonged. We may thus understand how it was of the utmost consequence in the case of Bruno, who had been appointed by the emperor, that the usual recognition on the part of the Romans should be as much attended to as possible, and be considered the proper means of giving legal effect to the election of the imperial candidate, who without it could not rightly assume the papal insignia, or take possession of his throne. The form was to be maintained, in order to save the whole.

To remedy these two evils—to abolish simony, and to render the Roman Church independent of the emperors, was, in pursuance of the advice of Hildebrand, the leading object of every succeeding pontiff's life; and to its attainment, all their measures were directed. Leo IX nominated Hildebrand, abbot of the convent of St. Paul without the Walls, and sub-deacon and proctor of the Roman Church. Everything approaching to simony, in the election of bishops and abbots,



was condemned in the most rigorous terms. On the death of Leo (1054), Victor II, his successor, was again nominated by the emperor, and the people of Rome were content with making a simple recognition of his election; any resistance to it being hopeless with an emperor so jealous of power as Henry III; but after his death (1056), the successor of Victor, on account of the urgency of circumstances, Stephen IX, was elected, in 1057, without consulting the court. Under all these popes, Hildebrand was the most influential member of the Roman Church. Victor sent him with legatine powers into France, to extirpate the Simonist heresy. He conducted important negotiations with the court of Germany, as the representative of Stephen IX, who raised him to the dignity of cardinal and archdeacon of the Roman Church, and, on his deathbed, exacted a promise from his clergy, that no steps would be taken towards the election of a successor before the return of Hildebrand. But, in the interval, Rome was disturbed by factions; and the counts of Tusculum and Galeria placed Benedict X on the papal throne, by the most violent and tyrannical means. To dethrone the usurper, Hildebrand and the orthodox party were forced to have recourse to the German court, and elected Nicholas II, with the consent of the regent-mother, Agnes, and brought him to Rome, with the assistance of the imperial party in Italy.

Nicholas II (previously Gerhard, bishop of Florence), was the first pope who expressed, in a law, the principles which guided and directed the conduct of his successors. In a council, at Rome (1059), it was enacted, that no one should be received as lawful pope, who had not been elected by the clergy and people of Rome, "saving the honour due to our beloved son Henry, now king, and to be hereafter emperor, by the will of God, as we have already promised; saving, also, the like honour to be paid to all his successors, to whom, for their lifetime, the Roman pontiffs shall have granted the same. If, by the power of wicked men, a lawful election cannot take place at Rome, the cardinal-bishops, with the clergy and laity, however few in number, shall elect the pope in any place appointed by themselves. If any one shall be, by violence or tyranny, elected, ordained, or enthroned, despite this law, let him be, with his accomplices, anathematized, and deposed." (vol. i. p. 62, sqq.) By this canon, the emperors could have no influence over the election, except such as might be granted by the popes themselves to the em-

perors, for their lifetime. Farther, the cardinals might elect the pope out of Rome, and withdraw, during the election, from the troubles and disorders of the city. The same council denounced, in the severest manner, and under the most rigorous penalties, the crimes of simonists, and priests, who should infringe their vows of celibacy. Hildebrand was sent into France to cause these decrees to be observed.

The reign of Nicholas II is still more remarkable; as, during it, was fully established the new political system of Lower Italy, by which succeeding events were much swayed. Until the beginning of the eleventh century, it was divided into a number of petty states—Byzantine, Lombard, and native; which, besides being powerless of themselves, were weakened by continual wars with each other, and were unable to withstand the invasions of the German emperors. But, after the year 1024, the Normans invaded them, and soon succeeded in founding a kingdom amongst them. Leo IX had endeavoured to drive them from Italy, on account of their cruelty to the inhabitants, but his attempts were fruitless, and he was taken prisoner at the battle of Civitella; and was glad to make a treaty, by which, the Normans were to receive the whole country as a fief of the Holy See, on payment of a nominal tribute, and on condition of supplying troops in case of war (1053). Stephen IX was maturing plans for a new war of expulsion, when death interrupted his design. Under Nicholas II, the mutual relations between the popes and the Normans were definitively settled; the latter acknowledged themselves vassals of the Church of Rome, and aided the pope, for the first time, against his rebellious subjects in the neighbourhood of Rome. Thenceforth, the popes could command the assistance of a warlike people, who became their barrier against the aggression of foreign powers.

After the death of Nicholas II (1061), the power of the popes, thus strengthened, first came in collision with the temporal. The party of the Roman nobles, opposed to the late pontiff, who, by the above-mentioned canon, had considerably diminished their power, sent messengers to the German court, praying the emperor to appoint a successor. The orthodox party likewise sought to obtain the support of the guardians of the young prince, the regent-mother, and the princes of her party; but their messenger was not well received at the court, in its turn displeased with the late enactment of Nicholas II. He returned to Rome, and the cardinals, with Hildebrand at their head, elected Anselm, bishop of Lucca,

who, though fully understanding the high prerogatives of his position, was known to be attached to the imperial party. He took the name of Alexander II, and was enthroned by the aid of the Normans. The imperial party protested against his election, and chose Cadolus, bishop of Parma, under the name of Honorius II. Cadolus, supported by the imperial troops, held out for several years, as master of a part of Rome, and of the castle of St. Angelo; and it was not until 1067, that Alexander II was universally acknowledged at the council of Mantua. He had appointed Hildebrand chancellor of the Roman Church, in which capacity, as we learn from St. Peter Damian's letters, he advised the pope in all matters of importance. Alexander laboured vigorously to extirpate the spreading evils of simony. His predecessors had been content with proceeding against the ecclesiastics who had been guilty of it; and had merely admonished and reproved the princes, who were its real authors. These abuses increased rapidly at the court of Germany; the king and his favourites distributed ecclesiastical benefices to the most undeserving, as a mark of favour, or on payment of a sum of money. Alexander addressed the strongest remonstrances to the king; pronounced sentence of excommunication against the most guilty of his favourites, and summoned them before his tribunal at Rome. These measures produced considerable alarm; the king himself dreaded their effects, and seemed disposed to remedy the disorder, when the Christian world was deprived of its pastor, by his sudden death, on the 21st of March, 1073.

“ Alexander has acquired,” says M. Voigt, “ in the eyes of posterity, the glory of having begun and ended the great work which his times needed, of having laid the foundation of the development of the papacy; of commencing that career in which an illustrious man was destined to run, to the astonishment of the whole world. If we do not acknowledge this pope to have been more than a powerful arm wielded by a more powerful mind, he will still deserve the praise of having allowed that master-spirit to act. But Alexander was not a mere tool in the hands of Hildebrand. He shared, it is true, in his lofty ideas, he was fully persuaded that they were justified by necessity, not less than by their manifest utility; although, in his own conduct, they were not sufficiently active. The character of Alexander is to be found in his actions. He displayed in them great strength and firmness of soul, unyielding determination, sincere piety, and active genius, willingness to receive, and readiness to adopt good advice. He was experienced in worldly affairs, and learned in the things of God. His conduct was without a shadow

of reproach, his manners easy and gentle. He was generous to the poor, and full of zeal for the freedom of the Church."—i. p. 232.

The death of Alexander excited in the breasts of all a feeling that a crisis of difficulty, perhaps of danger, was at hand. Even the people of Rome, who, on the pope's death, were accustomed to indulge in every kind of excess, remained tranquil and peaceable. Hildebrand, as chancellor, ordered solemn prayers, with fasting and alms-deeds, to be offered for three days, to draw down the blessing of God upon their choice. But, on the very day of Alexander's death, during the ceremony of interring his body in the Lateran basilica, several voices in the crowd proclaimed Hildebrand pope. He endeavoured to mount the tribune to quell the commotion, but cardinal Hugh Candidus prevented him, and exhorted the people to elect Hildebrand, who, since the time of Leo, had watched over the Roman Church, and had brought her out of bondage; who was known to all, and than whom no one was more worthy of the rank of sovereign pontiff. The prescribed prayers being ended, the clergy and people assembled in the church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*; the clergy proclaimed Hildebrand, and the people assented by loud acclamations thrice repeated. He reluctantly consented, and took the name of Gregory VII. To save the rights of Henry, king of Germany, as confirmed by the canon of Nicholas II, he sent legates to the German court, before he would allow his consecration to take place. At the court there were many bishops, particularly of Lorraine, who, being conscious of having incurred the guilt of simony and other crimes, advised the king not to ratify the election, as having taken place without his participation, and Henry sent ambassadors to Rome to examine into the circumstances. Hildebrand proved to them that he had not sought his election, and had taken no measures to procure it, but had protected the emperor's rights, by not allowing his consecration to be performed without consulting him. The ambassadors thereupon confirmed the election, and, as Hildebrand was in deacon's orders only, he was ordained priest, and afterwards consecrated pope, on the feast of St. Peter and Paul (June 29, 1073).\* The liberation of the Church from the temporal

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\* We have related the election of Gregory VII from the exact account given by Bonizon, bishop of Sutri, a contemporary, and probably an eye-witness. His work, published by Oefele, "*Rerum Boicarum Scriptores*," vol. ii. p. 810, has escaped the notice of M. Voigt and his translator, and furnishes us with the means of correcting several errors in the work before us.

power was considerably advanced by the success which attended the election of Gregory VII. The election was secured, in the first instance, to the clergy and people of Rome, and the temporal power was circumscribed within the same limits as under the first emperors.

Gregory commenced his career with an energy and a consciousness of his dignity, suited to the circumstances of the age, and his own exalted character. We are fortunately enabled to follow him in every stage of his progress, in the accounts furnished by several of his contemporaries, as well as by his own letters, published in the collections of the councils by Labbé and Mansi, which have come down to us, and extend to the beginning of the ninth year of his reign. From the moment of taking possession, he began to concert measures for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in the Germanic empire, which became the central point and aim of his whole reign. King Henry was gifted by nature with extraordinary courage and noble endowments of mind; but these qualities had been obliterated by the vices of an education of the worst description; his political and moral conduct were guided by no fixed principle; carried away by the impulse of the moment, and wholly devoted to licentiousness and pleasure; yielding, without a struggle, to the attacks of a more powerful, or haughty and overbearing to a weaker rival, he plunged the empire into a state of disorder and confusion, in which ecclesiastical and temporal interests suffered alike from his violence and rapacity. He was guilty of and encouraged simony in the most open manner; and was imitated, and even surpassed, by his favourites. Gregory felt the deepest concern for the young king, with whose father he had been so closely connected, and endeavoured to place the amicable relations between the king and himself on a basis of the most perfect unity.

“We wish your excellency,” he writes to Rodolph, duke of Suabia, “distinctly to understand, that we entertain no feelings of ill-will towards Henry, to whom we are many ways indebted; forasmuch as we chose him king, and his father, of happy memory, honoured us above all the Italians at his court, and that prince on his deathbed recommended his son to the pope Victor, and through him to the Roman Church. . . . But, as this concord between the priesthood and the empire ought to be sincere and inviolate, it seems advisable to consult respecting it with you and with the empress Agnes [Henry’s mother]. . . . For, if the human body is directed by the light of the world by means of the two eyes, so the body of the

Church ought to be guided by the spiritual light of the two powers acting in concert, and directed by the interests of religion."

Still Gregory was resolved to bear up against every obstacle, resisting alike the attacks of fear, and the feelings of compassion and affection. His future conduct is thus traced in one of his first letters :—

" You are acquainted," he writes to count Godfrey, " with our intentions and desires respecting the king; for, God is our witness, that no one feels greater anxiety, or prays with greater fervour, than ourselves, for his present and future welfare. We have resolved to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to send legates to him, to concert with him, in our paternal solicitude, those measures which we deem most fitting for the good of the Church, and his royal dignity. If he listen to our counsel, we shall rejoice as much in his welfare as if it were our own; and happiness will assuredly attend him, if, walking in the ways of God, he gives ear to our warning and advice. But if (which God forbid) he returns hatred for our love; if, mocking the justice of God, he renders to the Almighty contempt instead of the honour he has received from Him, we will not allow that menace of Scripture to fall upon our own heads, ' Cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood.' (*Jerem. xlviii. 10.*) We cannot sacrifice the law of God to personal considerations, nor turn aside from the path of justice, to keep the favour of men."\*

In another letter, he says :—

" With regard to the king, you know, by our former letters, that it is our intention to send prudent men to him, to bring him back, by the grace of God, to the love of his mother, the Church, and to trace out for him a better form of government. If, contrary to our anxious desires, he refuse to hearken to our counsel, we neither can nor ought to turn aside from the laws of the Church, which hath fostered us, and hath full often brought forth *children* at the cost of the blood of her sons. And it is surely better for us to resist him, even at the risk of life, for his own salvation, than consent to injustice to satisfy his caprice, and to cast ourselves with him into the abyss."†

Henry, menaced at this juncture with a rebellion of the Saxons and Thuringians, against his violent and oppressive government, gave ear to the paternal exhortations of the pope, and wrote him a letter full of respect and submission, and holding out the most flattering hopes.

" As the priesthood and the empire," he says, " stand in need of mutual aid, in order to subsist, it is necessary that the two chiefs

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\* Gregorii ep. lib. i. 19. Voigt i. p. 277.

† Greg. lib. i. ep. 9, 11. Voigt i. p. 274, sqq.



thereof should be closely united. This is the only means by which the concord of Christian unity, and the welfare of religion, can be preserved in the bonds of charity and peace. We, who by the permission of God, have held the reins of government for some time past, have not always respected, as we ought, the rights of the priesthood, nor rendered to it those honours to which it is entitled. Not without meaning have we received from God the sword of vengeance, but we have not always wielded it against the guilty, as justice would have required. Now that from the divine mercy, we have received a contrite heart, and have entered into ourselves, we confess our sins to you, our indulgent father, trusting in the Lord, that we are worthy to be absolved from them, by your apostolic authority. Alas! perverted and led astray by the disorders of youth, by the abuse of sovereign power and wicked counsels, we have sinned against you and against heaven, and are no longer worthy to be called your son. We have not been content with laying our hands on the property of the Church; we have even left the Church without protection, we have sold her to unworthy persons, guilty of simony, and belonging to foreign countries. As we are unable to reform the Church without your authority, we earnestly entreat you to grant to us your aid and advice on this head, as well as on every other object that may concern us. . . . We shall not fail to support you in every thing you shall undertake, only praying you to act indulgently towards us."

The pope, overjoyed at these sentiments, exerted himself, though without effect, to restore peace between Henry and the Saxons, and to obtain a hearing of the matters in dispute, before a diet of the empire, in the presence of his legates. The wars which ravaged Germany for several years, interrupted his negotiations with Henry for a time, and Gregory endeavoured during the interval, to reform the internal condition of the Church, by a revival of discipline and ecclesiastical institutions; which was chiefly effected by the two councils of Rome in 1074-5. He re-enacted the ancient canons respecting the celibacy of the clergy; as well on account of the superior excellence of that state, as to withdraw the clergy, freed from family ties, more than ever from the influence of the civil power, by rendering them attached to the Church alone. To secure the execution of these canons, it was ordained that the people should refuse the service of priests who had not separated from their wives. In the extirpation of simony, he advanced a step farther: as the investiture of the temporalities, by giving the ring and crosier to the candidate, had been the principal cause and occasion of it, he strictly forbade such investitures

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\* Henry's letter is published among those of Gregory, between Nos. 29 and 30, vol. i. p. 281.



for the time to come. The former canons against simony were of course reinforced in the strictest terms; and were promulgated by the legates in the different countries; and offenders were cited to appear in the pope's court at Rome. As Henry had not reformed his conduct, he was again admonished, and summoned to expel from his presence all who had been excommunicated for this crime.

The king had just vanquished the Saxons and Thuringians; victory had rendered him proud and haughty, and he kept in prison, contrary to the treaty of peace, the captured leaders, several of whom were bishops. He requested the pope to punish them by ecclesiastical penalties. But, in the meantime, the Saxons had in their turn, sent messengers to the pope, to expose to him the state of the empire, and of their country, and implore his protection. Henry had again appointed to the principal sees in a manner contrary to the canons. The pope, by the most earnest letters, endeavoured to dissuade him from these measures, requiring the liberation of the Saxon bishops, who were to appear before a synod and to be judged by the laws of reason and equity: and the dismissal of the counsellors who had been excommunicated or had been guilty of simony. If the king refused to obey, sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced against him. Henry returned a contemptuous answer. The legates summoned him about Christmas (1075), to appear on the 22nd of February, 1076, at Rome, to defend his conduct before a council to be assembled by the pope; if he failed to appear, without assigning valid reasons for such default, the sentence would be pronounced on that day. The king, annoyed by these humiliating demands, and excited to more violent irritation by the simoniacal bishops, convoked a synod at Worms, on the 24th January 1076, and caused a sentence of deprivation to be pronounced against the pope by the assembled bishops and princes. Gregory, whose principal accuser was the excommunicated cardinal, Hugh Blancus, was charged with the most frightful crimes, with having attempted to assassinate the king, and the emperor his father; with injustice, cruelty, heresy, and even necromancy. The king exhorted the Romans, by letters, to choose another pope under his auspices, and to expel their actual sovereign. A similar letter was sent, by the hands of Roland, a Lombard priest, to the bishops, who were to compose the council at Rome. Roland arrived on the very day it opened, (22nd February), but stirred up a commotion by his demand, and his life would

have been taken, had he not been rescued by the pope himself; who even ordered the letter of the king to be read. It began thus: "Henry, king, not by usurpation, but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, the false monk and pretended pope." In the course of the letter, the pope was accused, in the most insulting terms, of having mounted the papal throne by illegal means, of having committed during his reign the most gross injustice towards the clergy, and latterly against the king, and concluded in the following terms: "Since thou hast been cursed with the anathema, and condemned by the judgment of all our bishops, and of ourselves, come down. Leave the holy throne which thou hast usurped. Let the chair of St. Peter be filled by another, who will not seek to cover violence under the mantle of religion, and who will teach the wholesome doctrine of St. Peter. We, Henry, king by the grace of God, say to thee, with all our bishops, come down, come down." (ii. p. 116). The bishops present at the council, declared their willingness to shed their blood for the pope, and exhorted him to proceed against the king according to the rigour of the law. On the following day, (23rd February), Gregory pronounced, amidst the unanimous acclamations of the council, sentence of excommunication against Henry and his advisers, and deprived him of the title of king, and heaped upon his head the most awful anathemas.

The sentence of the pope spread the greatest consternation throughout Germany; many of the bishops submitted to his judgment, and were followed by most of the princes. The diets summoned by the king were attended by none; on the contrary, the princes held a diet apart, at Tribur, in October 1076, to inquire into the state of the empire. Henry advanced into the neighbourhood; and, with his usual inconstancy, passing from the most overbearing and haughty to the most pitiful and cringing conduct, professed himself ready to submit to all their demands, provided they would not strip him of his dominions. It was agreed that a grand diet should be held at Augsburg, in February of the following year, where the cause was to be carefully examined before the pope, as president and chief of the assembly. In the meanwhile, the king was to abstain from the exercise of his royal functions, and to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication within the space of a year, beginning from the day on which it had been pronounced. If the king should not observe the terms of the contract, the princes would at once proceed to the choice of another. Gregory was invited to come into

Germany: he immediately began his journey, and arrived, in the beginning of January, in the north of Italy, with the intention of crossing the Alps without delay.

The king, who had remained quiet, saw the necessity of obtaining absolution from the excommunication before the meeting of the diet of Augsburg, in order not to make his appearance as one already condemned. With this intention, he crossed, about Christmas, the Swiss Alps, in the midst of the greatest sufferings and difficulties, and passed into Italy by Mount Cenis, the other passes being in the possession of the German princes, his enemies. He performed the necessary penance, and received absolution at Canossa, almost in spite of the pope, who had been induced to yield only by the intreaties of the Countess Matilda and the Abbot Hugh of Cluny (26th of January, 1077). Henry promised to appear before the diet of Augsburg, to submit to the pope's judgment, to abstain from nearly every act of royal authority, and to drive from his court all the excommunicated counsellors. But he did not fulfil any of these conditions, and was content with the momentary success he had already obtained. The bishops of Lombardy, who had been the most opposed to the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline by Gregory, moved the king to greater irritation, and all hope of pacification was at an end, when the princes of the empire declared the king's journey to be a violation of the agreement concluded between themselves and Henry, and proclaimed Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, king in his stead. Gregory refused, for a time, to recognize the election, being unwilling to incur the reproach of partiality, after having been acknowledged as judge in the cause. He in vain endeavoured to proceed on his journey; for Henry refused to grant him a safe-conduct. Still, he was so far from wishing to condemn his adversary without a solemn hearing, that, even after his return, he declared, in the council held at Rome in 1078, to the ambassadors of the two kings, that it was his intention to send legates into Germany, to receive informations in the cause; and excommunicated none except such as should prevent the legates from performing their mission of peace and justice (vol. ii. p. 262). It was not until Henry had refused to comply with any of the preliminary requests, and had acted with the greatest cruelty towards the partizans of Rodolph and the pope, that he renewed the sentence of excommunication against him, and declared Rodolph lawful king (1080).\*

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\* If any credit could attach to the story of the pope having sent Rodolph a

Henry had, in the meantime, obtained considerable advantages over Rodolph; the excommunicated bishops joined his party; and at the council of Brixen (25th of June, 1080), Guibert, Bishop of Ravenna, was chosen antipope, under the name of Clement III. The king, in person, entered Italy in the beginning of 1081, to dethrone Gregory, and expel him from Rome.

The pope's temporal power depended upon the Countess Matilda and the Normans. The former, who by her courage, prudence, and piety, ranked amongst the first of her sex, had ever been the most zealous partizan of Gregory, was the rallying point of his party in the north and middle of Italy, and stood by him in the midst of misfortunes and dangers. With the Normans, on the contrary, Gregory had been in continual war ever since his accession; and their leader, Robert Guiscard, had seized a portion of the possessions of the Roman Church. At the approach of Henry, the pope concluded a treaty with him, by which he relinquished to him a part of his conquests, and received him as a vassal of the Roman church (1081).

In Rome itself, a strong party amongst the nobles had formerly been attached to the king: Crescentius had, on the night of Christmas 1075, made the pope prisoner in the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, but had been forced by the Roman people to set him at liberty; and the faction opposed to the pope had since that time been wholly broken and scattered. Nevertheless the inhabitants were so much liable to corruption and the influence of bribes, that their immorality had become proverbial, and the pope could place but little reliance on them.

Henry advanced to the city, and laid siege to it for several winters, retiring during the summer, on account of the malaria. At length, in 1084, he succeeded in gaining over the inhabitants by bribes, and took possession of the whole of the city, except the castle of St. Angelo. The antipope, Guibert, was enthroned in St. Peter's, and Henry received from him the imperial diadem. Gregory remained besieged in St. Angelo, and would have been obliged to surrender, if the Duke Robert Guiscard had not come to his deliverance with a powerful army. Henry did not dare to resist, and fled from the city. Guiscard entered, and ravaged a great part of it;

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crown, with the inscription, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho," this would be the proper place for inserting it; but M. Voigt has already remarked, that it is not mentioned by the original writers (ii. p. 342).

and, after having punished the emperor's partizans, carried the pope away with him (July, 1084). Gregory spent some time in the convent of Monte Casino; after which he accompanied Robert to Salerno, where he died, on the 25th of May, 1085, exiled from his see, and surrounded by few attendants, but with the consolation of having pursued through life an object the noblest and most sublime. "*Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio*" were his last words, and the summary of his whole life. His body was interred in the cathedral of Salerno, which he had dedicated, at the request of duke Robert, to St. Matthew, near the end of the right side aisle. The church was adorned, by the celebrated John of Procida, with a chapel, dedicated to St. Matthew, which, in the sixteenth century, was consecrated to this illustrious pontiff, who was enrolled amongst the martyrs of the Roman Church.

We have endeavoured to trace the life of Gregory VII, in connexion with the acts of his predecessors. The principles followed by every pontiff since the time of Leo IX, had been his own; but whilst the others paid more attention to individual cases, and asserted their principles respecting them, Gregory was, in a manner, identified with the ideas on which the whole of his life revolved. Gregory saw the line of conduct that he ought to pursue, from the very beginning; it was not to spring from circumstances, but was to be called into action by them. It was the great and unwavering conviction of the people of the middle ages, that the Church was the supreme institution in which every other was embraced, and to which every other interest was to yield; as, in our notions, the advantages of individuals must be subservient to the interests of the state. The pope, as head of the Church, was, therefore, by an unavoidable consequence from this principle, superior to kings and princes, who were only the representatives of the temporal interest. It must be confessed, that this principle was not at all times *explicitly* acknowledged; nevertheless, many passages in the history of the popes during the earlier period of the middle ages, as, for instance, the dethronement of Childeric, and the re-establishment of the western empire, prove that the idea of it existed in the minds of men. The manner in which this idea was developed and called into action by Gregory, in individual instances, is not to be judged by the famous *dictatus papæ*, inserted between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth letter of the second book of his epistles, which Pagi has sufficiently proved to be apocryphal,

in his annotations on Baronius (ann. 1077-8), but solely by his letters, in which all the circumstances of the particular cases are detailed. From them, M. Voigt traces the system of his life in the following terms :—

“The Church of God should be independent of every temporal power ; the altar is reserved to him alone, who, by uninterrupted succession descends from St. Peter ; the sword of the prince is subject to, and is derived from him, because it is of this world ; the altar, the see of St. Peter, depends upon God, and proceeds from Him alone. The Church is, at the present moment, in sin, because she is not free ; because she is linked to this world, and to worldly men ; her ministers are not legitimate, because they have been raised up by the men of the world, and exist in their present position solely by their aid. Wherefore, in the anointed of Christ, the guardians of the Church, criminal desires and passions are found ; they seek only for earthly things, because, being connected with the world, they stand in need of them : hence, they who ought to dwell in the peace of God, are subject to dissension, hatred, pride, avarice, and envy ; hence, the Church is in a state of imperfection, because, they who ought to serve her, busy themselves with things of earth ; because, being subject to the emperor, they do nothing but what is pleasing to him ; because, serving the state and the prince, they neglect the Church.....Thus, the Church ought to be free ; she ought to become free by means of her chief—of the first man in Christendom,—the pope. The pope holds the place of God, because he governs his kingdom upon earth.....As the things of the world are moved by the emperor, in like manner the things of God are moved by the pope. It is then the duty of the latter to strike off the ministers of the altar, the bonds that rivet them to the temporal power.....Religion cannot exist without the Church, and the Church is not without possessions, which secure her existence. The spirit is nourished in the body by earthly things, as the Church maintains herself by means of temporal possessions. It is the duty of the emperor, who holds the sovereign power in his hands, to enable her to obtain and preserve these possessions.....If the Church and the empire must subsist, the priesthood and royalty must be closely united, and must labour in unison for the peace of the world. The world is enlightened by two luminaries, one of which is larger, the sun,—the other smaller, the moon. The apostolic authority is like to the sun, the royal power to the moon. As the moon gives not light, save from the sun ; emperors, kings, and princes, come from the pope, because he comes from God. Wherefore, the power of the see of Rome exceeds that of princes, and the king is subject to the pope, and owes him obedience.....By Peter, the Roman Church exists, in whom dwells the power of loosing ; on Peter, the Church of Christ is founded. She is the mother of all the Churches of Christendom ; all owe obedience to her, as daughters to



their mother. The Roman Church is the guardian of the other Churches; she can require honour, respect, and obedience, from them. As mother, she commands them all, with all the members belonging to them: such are emperors, kings, princes, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the rest of the faithful. By virtue of her power, she can install or depose them. They owe, therefore, humble obedience to the Church; and when they abandon themselves to ways of wickedness, this holy mother is bound to stay them, and to place them in a better path; otherwise, she would share in their crimes. But, whoever places his trust in this tender mother, whoever loves her, follows her counsel, and protects her; receives from her protection and generous favour. Whatever resistance he, who holds the place of Jesus Christ on earth, may meet with, he must struggle, stand fast, and suffer, after the example of Jesus Christ. The world is full of scandal—our age is an age of iron; over the whole extent of the globe, the Church is reduced and straitened; her servants are sinners; they must be converted, and must amend their lives. From the chief, reform and regeneration must proceed; he must declare war against sin, extirpate vice, and lay the foundation-stone of the peace of the world: he must hold forth a strong hand to all those who are persecuted for justice and virtue. The Church must be independent; all who belong to her must be pure and blameless. To accomplish this great work, is the duty of the pope.”—vol. i. p. 251.

We have already seen in what manner Gregory laboured to effect this liberty of the Church, which he made the sole object of his whole life, by forbidding the marriage of the clergy, and the investiture to ecclesiastical dignities by laymen, in order to stop that fruitful source of simony. The power of supreme judge, which belonged to the papal dignity, was exercised by Gregory not only with regard to the Germanic empire and the two rivals, Henry and Rodolph, but, moreover, the holy see became the refuge of all who were oppressed by injustice, and was considered as the tribunal of God upon earth; or, to use the vulgar and not very religious expression of our times, it represented the force of public opinion in our own age with regard to justice and equity. Who could put a stop, in that iron age, to the injustices of princes and people, save the Church? We see that Gregory discharged this duty in every country of Christendom with equal prudence and circumspection. In Spain he asserted his ancient right of vassalage, he supported the wars against the infidels, and struggled to maintain the purity of doctrine, and its conformity with that of the Roman Church.\*

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\* Gregor. epist. I. 64, vii. 6.



The king of England, William the Conqueror, had received considerable succours from Gregory, while deacon of the Roman Church, in his expedition against England; and their amicable relations continued after Gregory had ascended the papal chair; and he glories in the fact, that William was the only prince who had not been guilty of simony, and had obliged others to abandon this vice. On this account, the pope was more indulgent to the king when he infringed on the jurisdiction of the Church, by preventing the free intercourse of his bishops with the see of Rome.\* His relations with France were of a much less favourable kind; not only because the ecclesiastics of that country had been guilty of simony, but because the king had unlawfully divorced his own and taken the wife of another. Frequent intercourse was maintained with the princes of Poland, Russia, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Dalmatia, &c., whom Gregory sought to confirm in a life of virtue and concord with the holy see. Whenever he observed faults in their conduct, he hastened to correct them. It was usual, for instance, in Denmark, according to the heathen custom, to persecute priests and old women, as guilty of sorcery, when the country suffered from drought or excessive rain. Gregory severely reprehended this custom,† which was revived after the reformation in most of the countries of Europe. When the duke of Poland had carried off a considerable sum of money belonging to the prince of Russia, the pope at once interfered, and exhorted him to restore it.‡ By other decrees it may be seen that the pope was considerably in advance of his age, whose vices he endeavoured to correct. By a barbarous custom, of immemorial antiquity, shipwrecked persons were plundered by the people of the coast on which they had been cast. Gregory proscribes this atrocious custom in the most severe terms in the council of 1078.§ On another occasion, when the duke of Dalmatia received the crown from him, Gregory imposed on him the condition that he should not again suffer in his kingdom the sale of men.|| He entertained serious thoughts about expelling unbelievers, and freeing the Holy Land. On this account, notwithstanding the schism of the Church of Constantinople, he exhorts the faithful of the west to succour that city; yet he had so entirely won the respect of even the followers of the prophet, that the

\* Gregor. ep. i. 70; vi. 30; vii. 1, 23; ix. 5.

† Greg. ep. ii. 73.

§ Voigt. ii. p. 265, *note*.

† Greg. ep. vii. 21.

|| Baronius an. 1076.

prince of Mauritania requested him to consecrate a bishop for his dominions, and released his Christian slaves from bondage.\*

The personal character of Gregory was unblemished ; not a single man of probity, amongst his very enemies, ever ventured to lay any serious crimes to his charge, and no importance is attached to the calumnies spread by men of abandoned character, such as Benzon, bishop of Alba, and others. His leading qualities were irrepressible energy of soul and invincible courage, which yielded to no obstacle, and despaired not of fulfilling its obligations in spite of difficulties and misfortunes. To the gifts of nature he added an unshaken confidence in God, strengthened by frequent prayer, for Gregory was not more fortunate, in the ordinary sense of the word, than the generality of those whom Providence has called to perform extraordinary actions ; and there are moments in the life of such persons, when the weight of their duty, compared with the difficulties in which they are placed, overpowers them ; while the difficulties are increased by their deeper penetration and sagacity, which enable them to see more clearly the dangers by which they are surrounded. It is the tribute which the most exalted natures pay to the common lot of humanity, and is deeply interesting to the human heart. We are going to cite an example or two in illustration of our remark, from the letters of Gregory, which will serve, at the same time, to show that his soul was full of tenderness and feeling.

In the second year of his pontificate, after his recovery from illness, he wrote to the countesses Beatrix and Matilda, “ With respect to our recovery, we have more cause of sorrow than of joy, for our soul longs, with the most ardent desire, to see that country, where God weighs our pains and sorrows, and gives repose and peace to the weary. But, being reserved for other troubles and cares of our station, we suffer unceasingly the pains and throes of a mother, since we are unable to save the Church, which is perishing almost before our eyes ; for the law and religion of Christ have been everywhere violated to such an extent, that the Saracens and the pagans are more constant in their faith than those who bear the name of Christ.” † And a few months afterwards, upon receiving the news of the Greek schism, he wrote to the abbot Hugh, of Cluny, “ I have often prayed my Saviour to

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\* Greg. ep. i. 49 ; ii. 37 ; iii. 21.

† Gregor. ii. ep. 9

take me out of this life, or to procure, by my means, some advantage to our common mother, the Church, yet he has not delivered me from great temptations, nor has my life been profitable to our mother, whose bonds still link me to her. For an exceeding sorrow and a universal sadness have come upon me, because the eastern Church, seduced by the devil, has abandoned the Catholic faith. On the other hand, looking at the western countries from north to south, we find not bishops who have received their dignity in a lawful manner, and who lead the life prescribed by the canons, who guide the faithful for the love of Christ, and not for worldly ambition; and amongst the princes, I know not one who prefers the honour of God to his own, or justice to his own advantage. They amongst whom I live, the Romans, Lombards, and Normans, are worse than the Jews and Pagans, as I have often, with reproaches, told them. If I did not hope for a better life, and that I could be of use to the Church, I would not remain at Rome, where, God is my witness, I have lived against my will for twenty years. Thus it is, that between these sorrows, which increase daily, and hope too long deferred, I am beaten about by a thousand storms, and live, as it were, at the point of death.\*

The energy of soul which we trace in his character, appears still more strongly, when we compare him with his contemporaries who struggled for the same glorious cause. St. Peter Damian furnishes a striking instance. He was, however, one of the most distinguished men of that period; a zealous champion of ecclesiastical discipline, especially against the heresy of simony; the best writer of the time; well versed in the holy Scripture, the fathers and classical authors; but, wanting in that unshaken courage which was the leading feature in the pontiff's character, he chose rather to serve God in retirement, than to fight for the holy cause, amid the troubles of the world. Gregory, particularly while archdeacon, kept him in the world, and overcame, with the mastery of a superior mind, the scruples of his friend; on many occasions, not without a certain degree of violence, for which the virtuous St. Peter revenged himself in pleasantries and witty sarcasms. Thus, when Hildebrand blamed him for a letter which he had written to Hannon, bishop of Cologne, St. Peter replied, "For the rest, I humbly beseech my saintly Satan, not to be so angry with me, nor to allow his commendable pride to lash

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\* Gregor. epis. ii. 49.

me with so many stripes."\* Elsewhere, he calls him *virga Assur*, and on many occasions, *meus sanctus Satanus*.† Some of his epigrams on the same subject are well-known; as for instance,

"Vivere vis Romæ, clarâ depromito voce

Plus Domino papæ quam Domno pareo papæ." *Epig.* 149.

meaning, that he would rather obey Gregory, the master of the pope, than the pope himself. He speaks in the same manner in another epigram, (No. 195), and in another, (No. 150), he beseeches God, who quells the fury of tigers and lions, to change Hildebrand, who had acted as a wolf towards him, into a meek lamb. Many of the pope's adversaries amongst modern authors, such as Mr. Waddington, in his *Church History*,‡ have taken advantage of these passages, without paying attention to others, in which St. Peter solemnly pronounces the high opinion he entertained of Gregory. He addresses him, "Inexpugnabilibus Romanæ ecclesiæ clypeis, domino suo Hildebrando," and "domino Hildebrando sanctissimi et piissimi consilii viro;" and he everywhere speaks of him with the highest respect and reverence.§

It was in the nature of things, that the energy and firm consistency with which Gregory acted throughout, should often seem too rigorously severe, and that the execution of his plans should at times occasion violence and disorders amongst the people. But no important change in the world has ever

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\* "De cætero sanctum Satanum meum humiliter obsecro ut non adversum me tantopere sæviat nec ejus veneranda superbia tam longis me verberibus atterat." S. Pet. Damiani epist. i. 16.

† "Sed adhuc fortasse blandus ille tyrannus, qui mihi Neronianâ sæmpet pietate condoluit, qui me colaphizando demulsit, qui me certè aquilino, ut ita loquar, ungue palpavit, hanc querulus erumpet in vocem: Ecce latibulum petit et sub colore pœnitentiæ Romæ subterfugere quærit accessum, lucrari machinatur de inobedientia otium et cæteris in bella ruentibus hic sibi degeneris umbræ quærit opacum. Sed ego sancto Satanæ meo respondeo." Opusc. xx. opera S. Petri Dam. vol. iii. S. Petri Dam. ep. i. ii.

‡ We should have included in this class Sir Roger Greiseley, if his book ("The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh," London, 1832, 8vo.) possessed the slightest pretensions to be considered a historical work. We had proposed to review its contents in the present paper, but with all the patience of reviewers, we judge it impossible to lead our readers, without wearying them to death, over four hundred pages, not one of which, in the strictest meaning of the word, is free from the grossest errors; such as, for instance, in the present case, at p. 160 *note*, where he throws four of these epigrams into one, printing the title of the second in the context, as a hexameter verse; and at p. 300, where he mistakes the Roman word "Regno," which properly denotes the kingdom of Naples, for the name of a town or country.

§ S. Petr. Dam. epist. i. 7, ii. 6. 9. opusc. xix.

been brought about by smooth words or pure philanthropy. The very author of the religion of love declares, that he came not to bring peace, (*St. Luke* xii. 51). The candid historian should endeavour to raise himself above the prejudices of his nation and his age, and on this subject, we cannot express our own feelings better, than by adopting the language of M. Voigt.

“Gregory lived in a barbarous age, an age of iron, possessing nothing in common with our own; and, therefore, his conduct must not be judged by our principles and our customs. We must, in the first place, bring before our eyes the period and the circumstances in which Gregory lived; the situation and constitution of the Church, its relations with the state, and its disorders; we must examine closely the state of the clergy, their spirit, tendency, rudeness, degeneracy, forgetfulness of duty and discipline, their ignorance compared with their pride. We must form a precise idea of the situation of Germany, and understand well the character of his opponent, Henry. Then, indeed, we may form our judgment of Gregory. Following this method, considering his thoughts, his actions, his intentions and his efforts, with reference to his times, we may succeed in forming, if we lay aside our prejudices, a judgment far different from the one formed by men who wish to prescribe to the pontiff, as his rule of conduct, the views and ideas of their own times.

“But, we shall be asked, do we really discover in him that sincerity, and that full conviction, of which he so often boasts, of the goodness of his cause and the justice of his pretensions? Did not cunning and perfidy guide his actions? Did he not seek to build his mighty monarchy on assumed facts, on erroneous inductions and false interpretations of Scripture? Does not this opinion, considered by him so certain, which attributed to the pope such extensive power, deserve to be stigmatized as the heresy of Hildebrand? Was not Gregory, in truth, a heretic, a hypocrite, an impostor? To this objection we must reply,—either Gregory was the most vicious and most wicked man who has ever appeared on the earth, or he is such as his actions and writings present him to us. His letters are full of lively sentiments, an ardent love of religion, and an unshaken faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. We discover, throughout, a conscientious discharge of his duty, an intimate conviction of the justice of his cause and of his actions, a firm belief in the rewards and punishments of the other life. Throughout, we perceive nobleness, dignity and magnanimity; on every occasion, his language is the purest and most expressive of his piety, his generous designs, and constant efforts to attain a noble object. Where then are the proofs to overturn such evidence? Are they to be found in

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\* This is the opinion of Mr. Bower, in his history of the popes.

his actions? Impossible;—that he acts as he speaks, facts attest, and it is vain to deny them. Gregory has maintained, we shall be told, many things that history does not acknowledge as exact, that his contemporaries and posterity have denied. But is it therefore impossible, nay, is it not extremely probable, that Gregory supposed them to be true? Could he possess that critical penetration, that knowledge, and those ideas, which have sprung up in the course of ages? Let us grant him he was unconsciously deceived,—is that a crime? he has never fabricated anything intentionally and knowingly. He acted from notions which he might innocently entertain, and of which he was fully persuaded. Who could trace other principles for his guidance? Who hath looked into his conscience, who hath read his heart, who hath sounded the depths of his soul? In condemning him thus, we condemn ourselves. If Gregory had not adopted measures to effect his designs, if he had not studied the circumstances or taken his times into account, we might blame his prudence and judgment, but not his heart. But it was precisely his ability against which men have struggled, without admitting his uprightness of soul. It is difficult to exaggerate his praises, for on all his conduct true glory is built. But, it should be the wish of every one to give honour where it is deserved, and not to throw stones at him who is guiltless. The man should be respected and honoured by all, who laboured for his contemporaries with views so exalted and so generous. Let him who feels himself guilty of calumny against him, look into his own conscience.”—ii. 464.

With these words M. Voigt closes his work.

We have dedicated so much space to the subjects of these two works, that we have little left to speak of the works themselves. They are written with very dissimilar objects. M. Hock, as the reader at once observes, is a philosopher; and treats with marked predilection and precision everything connected with literature, philosophy, and theology; while, wherever he speaks of the political history of his epoch, there are numerous omissions, which are least pardonable in a biographical work. His account of the state of Rome during the time of Sylvester II, is incomplete, and generally incorrect. He gives the original, and a translation, of the decree published by Otho III on occasion of that pontiff's accession, without making the slightest allusion to the serious historical difficulties which raised well-grounded doubts of its genuineness in the minds of Baronius and other critics.\* This question was sufficiently important to require the most scrupulous examination. The appendix contains documents which will

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\* Baron. ad Ann. 1191, s. 57. Cf. Muratori, “*Piena Esposizione dei dritti Imperiali*, Ed. Estensi, sopra la Città di Commachio,” par. 93.



prove highly valuable and acceptable to such as have not within reach the great collections of historical documents; but its value would have been increased, if the author had taken the pains to correct the errors and corruptions in the letters of Gerbert with the aid of the manuscript of Paris, or if he had even amended the most flagrant of them from conjecture. The epitaph of Sylvester might have been corrected from the original, still preserved in the Lateran Basilica. We mention these mistakes not in a spirit of censure, but from a sincere desire that a subject so well chosen should be treated in the most perfect way.

M. Voigt, on the contrary, is a historian by profession, and unfolds the political history connected with his subject at great length; while the literary and theological portion of it, is, on the whole, imperfect. He displays throughout a perfect acquaintance with his materials; impartiality and talent in the management of his subjects, and in appreciating the spirit of the period of which he writes. He adopts the judgment of his great predecessor, John von Müller, the celebrated historian of Switzerland, respecting this holy pontiff, in his small work on the *Travels of the Popes*: but he treats the subject in all its details, minutely examining every circumstance. Since the publication of his work, it has not been usual, at least among M. Voigt's countrymen, to speak in such harsh and unbecoming terms of the character of Gregory. The only fault of consequence that we find with M. Voigt is, that he has not been sufficiently careful in distinguishing between contemporary testimonies and those of a later date. Who, for instance, would quote Platina as an authority for the history of distant times, by the side of the same contemporary writers from whose works the materials of the rest of the history are taken? To correct these mistakes would have been a useful employment for the translator, and would have cost him but little trouble,—at least, in the most important portion, the history of Germany, if he had consulted the work of Professor Stenzel, of Breslau, on the *History of Germany under the Emperors of the House of Franconia*, who, although in general too partial to Henry, has treated this branch of his subject with much accuracy. The translation would have thus become more valuable than the original itself; whilst the introduction, and additional notes, display the good intentions of the writer, rather than an intimate knowledge of his subject. In other respects, the translation has the advantage of the perfect knowledge of the German language possessed by its



author, and ranks high above those productions of the workshop, with which the French press teems in such abundance, when foreign books are concerned; and the public is indebted to M. Jager, for having employed his talents in placing this excellent work within the reach of all.

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ART. II.—1. *Historya Prawodawstw Slowianskich, przcz Wacława Alexandrn Maciejowskiego. Tom. I i II w Warszawie, i Lipsku, 1832. History of the Slavonian Legislature, by Venceslas Alexander Maciejowski, Vol. I and II, Warsaw and Leipsic, 1832.*

2. *Quelques mots sur l'état des Paysans en Pologne, par un Polonais. Paris, 1833.*

3. *La Pologne Pittoresque; Scènes Historiques, Monumens, &c. &c. redigée par une Société de Littérateurs. Paris.*

THE discontent which pervades the east of Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the Oder to the Borysthenes, cannot be mistaken for a momentary distemper, but must be acknowledged as the forerunner of an approaching reorganization. History has taught us how to discern the characteristics, how to draw the line of distinction between these two classes of movement, by an examination of their respective causes, tendencies, and conditions.

In a family of nations, like that of the Slavonians, dismembered by foreign aggression, and insulated by different vicissitudes, momentary discontent would assume various forms, according to the tendencies of their separate interests, nationalities, and religions. But, under similar circumstances of territorial separation and forced estrangement, a complete, though distant, regeneration and reconstruction of society will always be heralded by moral union and identity of purpose. The intellectual reform, the birth of a new and thoroughly popular literature, and that religious attachment to every monument which tends to prove the community of origin, which have of late contemporaneously sprung up amongst all Slavonians; finally, their sympathy,—which, if it could not save, has supported the struggle, and ennobled the fall of Poland,—bear testimony to the truth of our assertion, that with this respect their requisite condition has been attained to. This moral power, were it confided, like the Caaba, to the custody of a privileged caste, might probably be lost amidst

inglorious feuds : but, happily, it has found a safe protection. The people, whose rights have been disregarded for so many centuries,—whose very name has been obliterated by the supremacy and monopoly of the nobles,—must now form the foundation, the essence of the reconstructed society. The union of privileged castes would lead, sooner or later, to local animosities, nourished by rivalry, or recalled by ancient jealousies; but the concord of the Slavonian people of different countries will partake of the strong love of brothers, who, long unknown to each other, discover a mutual and instinctive affection springing into life and vigour, confirmed by a blessed revelation that they are sons of the same mother. Establishing his system upon that conclusion, the democratic enthusiast will see, by anticipation, in the east of Europe, a set of flourishing republics; another politician will perceive there the rise of powerful monarchies; a wise man, without pronouncing on the form, will, in the future destinies of that land, anxiously watch for the rise of free institutions, and the supremacy of justice and religion.

We shall not encumber our pages with quotations from Jornandes and Procopius, for the early histories of the institutions of the Scythian world; their story is told in a brief, but explicit, sentence. A writer, whose industry and knowledge of the Byzantine historians cannot be questioned, and whom tenderness to Rome, and classic hatred towards “the barbarians,” disposed rather to under-value, than over-rate, their merits,—Gibbon, in the 42nd chapter of his *History*, thus describes the constitution of the Slavonian community: “Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour, but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic; and all must be persuaded, where none could be compelled.”

This state of equality continued from the fifth to the tenth century; and, according to the same authority, they “disdained to obey a despot or a prince.” Then came the long night of Slavonian darkness, where all was torpid and benumbed, and the last spark of vitality appeared to be extinct. But, happily, it was only in appearance: the seed was buried, which in time would burst and bear fruit, in the re-organization of institutions worthy of the sons of freemen.

We will not stop to trace the causes, and to blame the authors, of these ten centuries of Slavonic slavery. If they were occasioned less by the force of circumstances, than by the rapacity and supineness of the upper classes, to them we must look for an acknowledgment of their error; we must

call on them to imitate the Emperor Constantine, and to erect a monument with the inscription, "To my son, whom I have unjustly condemned." Let that monument be a careful inquiry into the rights, the former sufferings, and the future emancipation, of their country.

The learned labours of the Slavonian literati of the present age, have already thrown great light upon the history of their race. Poland, aided by her intellectual eminence, her superiority in experience, and the authority of glorious deeds, leads the way on the road of investigation. Naruszewicz and Lelewel are remarkable:—whether sauntering on the gay and verdant plains of poetry, or plodding their way through the unenlivened tracts of legislation and history, and have already pioneered the limits of that region. The first attempt, however, to reduce the scattered and unconnected data to a lucid system,—at least, as far as legislation is concerned,—has been made by the professor whose work we have placed at the head of this article. The learned author filled the office of professor of the Roman law at the university of Warsaw. Niebuhr, in his magnificent work, was the first to show that, by elucidating the history of Rome, great light might be thrown upon the history of the Gothic and German constitutions. The 44th chapter of Gibbon's History is one of those conceptions which genius often throws out carelessly on his way, little foreseeing that it will open to posterity a new field for intellectual industry. Savigny followed up that idea, and defined the limits of a new science, which, under the name of the history of legislation, has been enthroned in every German university. The perusal of his works has produced some of the noblest efforts of study and genius in our time. We trace its effects in the *History of the Slavonian Legislature*. This work of Maciejowski partakes much of the tameness and the obscurity of a first trial: it savours of the erudition and the suffocating labour of a scholar, who, on issuing from his fortress of time-worn books and dusty manuscripts, feels giddy and bewildered by the influence of pure air. Constant references to the sources and authorities; brief, vague, and sententious periods, classed in divisions and subdivisions, render its pages more encumbered with numbers than words. A tyro in that study will rise from its perusal over-tired, if not dismayed. Still we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be a gigantic step; and though we have not yet seen the last two volumes of the work, we are much mistaken if it do not form an epoch in this branch of Polish literature.

The pamphlet bearing the title *On the State of the Peasants in Poland*, is a vindication of the Polish nobility, from the aspersions of those who accuse either their obstinacy or ignorance for not having emancipated the lower classes of their country in proper time.

*La Pologne Pittoresque*, a lively and parti-coloured publication, possesses all the merits and gaudiness of our Penny Magazines. Ministering to the fashionable taste for "pittoresques" now prevalent in France, it is more calculated to amuse than to instruct. The motto, "*utile dulci*," has been of late so much used and abused, that we may easily concede its attractive auspices to this work, which now has completed the fourth year of its existence. Among the descriptions of old ruins, manners, and popular habits, we may cull here and there a flower of original growth, which will enliven the tediousness of the first of the above-named works, and furnish us with a commentary to the second.

To these scanty materials we are at present limited and indebted for the data which we have gleaned, in order to present our readers with a succinct history of the political, moral, and social condition of the Polish peasants.

"The importance attached to the Slavonian nations in history," says Herder, in his celebrated work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, "is far from proportionate to the extent of the land they occupied. One, amongst many reasons, of this omission, lies in their having dwelt so remote from the Romans. Notwithstanding their occasional exploits, they have never been enterprising warriors, or adventurers, like the Germans. These, they for the most part followed quietly, settling in the places they evacuated; till at length, they were in possession of the vast territory, extending from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic to the Baltic sea. On this side of the Carpathian mountains, their settlements extended from Luneburg, over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia; beyond them, where, at an early period, they have settled in Wallachia and Moldavia, they were continually spreading farther and farther, till the emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia; and the kingdoms of Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were founded by them. In Pannonia they were equally numerous; they possessed all the south-eastern angle of Germany, from Friuli; so that their domains terminated with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola,—an immense region, the European part of which is still inhabited by one nation.

"Everywhere they settled on lands that others had relinquished; cultivating, or enjoying them as colonists, husbandmen, or shepherds. In that, their noiseless industry was of infinite advantage to

countries from which other nations had migrated, or which they had passed over and plundered. They were fond of agriculture, stores of corn and cattle, and various domestic arts; and everywhere opened a beneficial trade, with the produce of their land and industry. Along the Baltic they built sea-port towns, among which, Vineta, in the Island of Rugen, was the Amsterdam of the Slavonians: on the Dnieper, they built Kiow; on the Wolga, Novogrod; which soon became flourishing commercial towns, uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic, and conveying the productions of Asia to the north and the west of Europe. In Germany, they followed the working of mines, understood the smelting and casting of metals, manufactured salt, fabricated linen, brewed mead, planted fruit-trees, and led, after their fashion, a gay and musical life. They were liberal, hospitable to excess, lovers of pastoral freedom, but submissive and obedient; enemies to spoil and rapine. All this preserved them not from—nay, it tempted—oppression. For, they were never ambitious of sovereignty; had among them no hereditary princes addicted to war; and thought little of paying tribute, so they could but enjoy their lands in peace.”

Such are the characteristics of a race, peaceful, though valiant; humane and hospitable, even while idolatrous; rich and industrious, and yet unconnected, and almost unknown, to the Roman empire. It is always difficult, and here it would be useless, to inquire from what region of central Asia issued that race, which, in the general commotion, following the more daring or rapacious tribes, succeeding each other like the strata of the earth, appeared in Europe, carrying the olive-branch of peace, and healing wounds inflicted by the sword and fire of the ruder barbarians. In the humble state of our knowledge, we are still enlightened enough to mark the dispensation of providential wisdom, which bade the sea of invasion, pouring its reckless waves on the plains of Europe, to carry in its own bosom strong materials for throwing up a rampart, which, in the sequel, was to moderate and allay, if not to stop, the fury of the raging element. Our ignorance precludes us, perhaps, from stating the number and importance of the warlike adventurers, who were checked by that rampart, in their hasty career towards the centre of the Roman empire. But we know, that its principal, its strongest outwork—Poland, afterwards resisted ninety-one invasions of the Tartars, from the times of Zingis-khan, to those of Timour and his descendants; and, in later times, saved Christianity, under the consecrated banner of Sobieski.

From the fifth to the tenth century of the Christian era, the Slavonian race struggled constantly against the Asiatic

invaders on one side, and the more formidable Germans on the other. Their riches and industry, which attracted the rapacity of the first, tempted the stay of the second. The uncouth robber, allured by spoils, was always impelled to a hasty retreat by the desire of securing his acquisition. But the wily Frank, or Saxon, asserted his right, not only to the fruits of the Slavonian labour, but even to the soil, which they had rendered fertile by their skill and activity. Under Charlemagne and his descendants, he claimed the universal authority of the Roman emperors. Under Henry the Fowler, and the Othos, the propagation of Christianity justified his conquests, and he trusted them to the custody of his bishops and nobles. In both cases, he advanced the argument, that the country, at least as far back as the bank of the Vistula, had been formerly wrested from him by the Slavonians, and he was now merely reasserting his supremacy over his own property. These invasions changed the face of the land, and the construction of the society of the Slavonians. Five centuries shone over the glory of Augustus, and the disgrace of Augustulus,—over Rome in its meridian, and Rome in its fall. Five centuries witnessed Odin, an unsuccessful warrior, conducting his fugitive tribe along the banks of the Borysthenes, towards the polar circle; and returning as a God, to redeem his vow of immortal revenge “on the oppressors of mankind.” It is during the period of five centuries, also, that the Slavonian race was reduced from wealth to poverty; from liberty, to that state which made even their name synonymous with the most abject condition of mankind.

At the end of that epoch, when the fancied approach of the millenium awakened the hopes and apprehensions of the Christian world, a nation, settled on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains, along the banks of the Vistula, rose from obscurity to universal notice. Their territory, scarcely exceeding the limits of a small province, was extended soon to the gigantic size of a powerful monarchy. The white eagle whom they took for their emblem, and whose nest, accidentally found, marked the site of their primitive capital, soaring on high with new-born vigour, saw in a short time the dominion of the tribe he took under his tutelary wings, stretched to the farthest limits of the Slavonian region of old. While “the Roman bird,” pining on the effeminate soil of Constantinople, disdained to lead the eunuchs to victory, and scarcely condescended to shed an evanescent splendour on the arms of Zimisces, his white brother of the north, preceding the banners



of Boleslaus the Great, visited the farthest boundaries of a potent kingdom, pursuing his career, till he reposed his wings on the iron pillars of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Ossa, on one side; on those of the Borysthenes on the other; and from his "pride of place," on the loftiest Carpathian peak, encompassed again the wide field of the Slavonian unity.

But his victorious flight, however flattering to the ambition of the Poles, saddens the mind of the philanthropist, since it first brings to light the change in the state of the Slavonian family. The wide distinction between two classes, the privileged and the oppressed, the warriors and the agriculturists, becomes now apparent, in all its baneful monstrosity. Who were the latter? by what process of causes and effects slavery was then brought about? are momentous questions for the historian to solve. The common admission consists, in considering the serfs as those Sarmato-Scythians, whom the Slavonians conquered in the fifth century. But what would become then of the boasted virtues of the conquerors, who are said to have coalesced with the aborigines in one uniform state of fraternity? a fact so eloquently urged by the present, and so authoritatively attested by the ancient, writers. The hypothesis, which seeks the origin of that laborious class in the prisoners taken in war, may be only partially admitted. For putting aside the impossibility of their number being sufficient for the task of the husbandry of a large country, the state of a pastoral or agricultural nation, forced by circumstances to send a chosen body of her members, for the defence of her limits and fortunes, presupposes the early existence of a distinction between the defenders and the defended, the warriors and the villagers. We may therefore allege, though perhaps our opinion will not be borne out by any precise evidence, that the continuance of long wars, imposing upon the peaceful community the duty of electing chiefs, and of honouring and paying soldiers, changed with time the privileges of the latter into an absolute right; accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of the laborious class; and thence we infer, that in the veins of the Polish peasants flows as pure a Slavonian blood, as in those of their nobility.

We may pause to take a slight survey of the grandeur of the latter class. We first perceive a crowd of warriors, feasting at the board of equality and chivalry, like the heroes of the Gothic Wallhalah. Rising higher, we would descry the round table of twelve chiefs, or Vaivods; till, from the top, our eye would meet with the majesty of a king, placing with his own



hand a golden crown upon his brow, and keeping alike his enemies in awe, and the nobility in obedience. In our descent, the diminishing splendour of the monarch, sinks again in the supremacy of a senate, till the whole mass of minor nobles, feeling the equality of birth, and the numerical majority of voices and swords, regains and enforces the most uniform state of equality. But our companionship is with the serfs, shivering in misery at the door of opulence, and pining in a most abject bondage at the threshold of a perfect civil and political liberty. To diversify that monotonous tale of abasement, the Polish annalists introduce an ingenious variety of distinctions. The serfs are metamorphosed into a motley group of *Rustici*, *Coloni*, *Originarii*, *Adscriptitii*, *Villani*, *Tributarii*, *Conditionales*, *Servi*, *Famuli*, &c. Though we question the reality of those nice distinctions, we are obliged to place beyond the doubt of a moment, the existence of a middle class, inferior to nobility, and yet infinitely superior to the lowest degree, a class rising at one time to the level of what was known in England under the name of *socagers*, descending at another to the condition of our *villeins*. This comparison may be easily admitted, if we bear in mind that our *socagers* enjoyed the freedom, though not the noble distinction of knights, and that our *villeins* ought never to be confounded with the serfs. We may excuse the ignorance of Jordan,\* who states that Slavonia knew only two classes, the nobles and the serfs; but we must lament the error, by which Hallam was misled in asserting a similar fallacy.—(Chap. 2. part ii. vol. i.) In the same breath he lays down an undeniable fact, and commits a most flagrant blunder. “Much less,” says he, “can we extend the name of feud to the polity of Poland and Russia. All the Polish nobles were equal in rights, and independent of each other; all who were less than noble, were in servitude.”

Now, the origin and the component elements of an intermediate class may be traced, even to that period, when the Polish chiefs acknowledged the supremacy of the emperors; for though the Poles boast of a work very diligently written, entitled, *De Polonia nunquam tributaria*, it is owned by their most eminent historians, that the conquerors of the Slavonians on the Elbe, extended at least a nominal, though disputed sovereignty over those on the banks of the Vistula. In that period, *villani* possessed a great part of the Polish soil, and were as “free though not as privileged” as the nobles.

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\* *De Originibus Slavicis*. Vindobonæ, 1795, p. 85.

*Kmethones*, holding lands upon the condition of paying an agreed rent, or performing certain manual labours upon the lord's estate, had the faculty of selling, inheriting, and even bequeathing it to whomsoever they pleased,—a legacy, which could not be reversed by the master, as long as the tenanted soil was kept in the proper state of cultivation, and all the conditions were strictly fulfilled. Remembering therefore the two great maxims, unalterably enforced in Poland, that whoever possessed “even a furrow of land,” according to their quaint expression, was in duty bound to take up arms, whenever called for his country's defence, and that having once appeared in the ranks of the army, he was, *ipso facto*, ennobled,—we must naturally come to the conclusion, evidently borne out by history, that not only the middle class was powerful and respectable, but that the kings, when their power was in the ascendant, had often a salutary recourse to that body, for a kindred and liberalizing admixture to the overbearing nobility, who, on the other hand, in the waning period of monarchical power, strove to crush the inferior villani and kmethones, and make them subservient to the vile condition of the serfs. In the 13th century, the coronets of the magnates began to outshine the monarch's crown, and their swords often over-ruled the decisions of his sceptre. In the sequel, however, when the depopulation made by the Tartars during that century, left large tracts of untenanted land, the more reflecting were induced to discover a remedy. While Polish law could not afford a sufficient protection, the new free labourers sought it in a statute book of a foreign country. It is under the auspices of justice, as administered in Magdebourg, that the middle class re-appears in Poland. Under the safeguard of the *Jus Teutonicum*, the privileges and immunities of burgesses were originally guaranteed and maintained, their riches increased, and their importance rose to that degree, which even commanded the respect of the nobles, who considered all laws, not consonant with their exclusive spirit, as odious or obsolete, and continually strove to engross all the advantages of liberty. Thus, one of the burgesses of Cracow filled the high office of the treasurer of the crown under Casimir the Great, and entertained, at his hospitable board, three monarchs of Europe, conferring on them presents so costly, that their parsimony or poverty was unable to return them. In the chartered towns, they elected their burgomaster and council, had the privilege of coining money, possessed a special and independent jurisdiction, and managed their own internal affairs. Under the Iagiellon

family, they sent nuntios to the diet, and even affixed their signatures to the treaties entered into with foreign powers. Sheltered under these immunities, they strove long with varied fortune of success and defeat, till in 1791, their political rights were assimilated to those of the nobility. These data ought to be carefully recorded, because the existence of a middle class is the finest monument a nation can preserve. It rescues the remotest times from the suspicion of utter tyranny. In the middle ages, it illustrates that opposition, which, in the entrenched walls of towns, first reared the standard of European liberty. And after centuries of struggle, the most advanced, free, and potent nations, have come to the conviction, that freedom is safest when trusted to the guardianship of the middle classes.

In Slavonia, and afterwards in Poland, the serf enjoyed the rank of *persona*, without ever being degraded, as in Germany, to be considered merely as *res*. His complaint or accusation had always a ready access to the court of magistrates appointed by the king. At no times did his master possess over him the power of life and death. In that long period, when, throughout Europe, crimes were redressed by a pecuniary mulct, the head of a serf in Poland was valued at one-half of that of a noble. On the other hand, the perpetrator of his death, paid the fine not only to the lord, but even to the state; a fact, which implies the acknowledgment of serfs as members of the community. Bound to the soil, he could not be either sold or exchanged separately from it. The hideous atrocity of German laws had not visited their more humane neighbours. We cannot trace among them even an approaching monstrosity to that, which Tacitus mentions, saying, that in Germany, he that lost at play, became the slave of the winner. On the contrary, during the first centuries of Polish monarchy, thirty years were allowed to the captive taken in war, to buy himself and his children out of servitude. The first Polish monarchs seem to have been animated by a noble spirit of equity. Boleslaus the Great, in his frequent perambulations through his vast monarchy, carefully listened to the complaints, and redressed the grievances, of the meanest of his subjects. *Sicque diligenter*, says of him Gallus, *rem pauperam ut aliquis magni principis pertractabat*. We may judge of the protection afforded by him to the labourer and the serf, by the severity which he employed against the refractory nobles. He used to invite the illustrious recreants to a bath, where the legitimate application of lash or stripe admonished them of the obligation of humanity towards

their inferiors. Thence, the Polish expression, "to invite to a bath," is synonymous with that of "giving a good flogging." During his reign and that of his valiant successors, till the middle of the twelfth century, the serf had the power to apply in all cases to the jurisdiction of the provincial governor, from whose verdict he might appeal to the king. True, that in the thirteenth century, when the prevailing fashion of dividing kingdoms amongst all sons, had been imitated by the Polish monarchs, and parcelled the once-powerful empire; the nobility took advantage of the impotence of the rulers, and appropriated to themselves the right of judging the misdemeanours of their serfs. Their unbridled power was, however, soon effectively checked by that king, who has merited the name of the king of the peasants. The statute of Wislica not only prescribed a heavier fine for the murder of a peasant, but punished that crime with banishment.\* That rich and powerful nobleman, who was kept by his order in prison, upon the coarse pittance of hay and water, till he was starved to death, bore that severe penalty for his robberies and probably for his oppression of the serfs.

From the death of Casimir the Great, to the middle of the last century, we totally lose sight of the lower classes. Even the shadow of royal control had now vanished before the omnipotence of the privileged assemblies and diets. The ancient middle class disappeared. A great part of the villani were ennobled, by the process of time and frequency of wars, and formed the kernel of that poor nobility, whose destitution engendered turbulence and anarchy, while the heavy exactions of the masters degraded the Kmethones into the condition of serfs,—for, unable to pay the rent, they voluntarily surrendered their freedom. Nor is this in contradiction with our former remarks, showing the permanent existence of an intermediate class. In the chasm thus widening between the two opposite arrays, now stepped in the numerous body of the burgesses, peasants protected by the Jus Teutonicum, and free-labourers, cultivating the *starosties*, or royal domains. The tenure for life of the *starosties* was bestowed by kings on the most meritorious or illustrious from among the nobility. It has been calculated that their extent amounted to one-fourth of the whole territory of the kingdom. Peasants settled on them enjoyed sundry privileges; amongst which, the most im-

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\* "Si quis servum proprium sine conscientia judicis occiderit, excommunicatione vel penitentia biennii reatum sanguinis emandabat."—*Polish Chronicle*.

portant was, that at all times they had access to the king, and could claim both his protection and jurisdiction. But those isolated communities were always jealously watched, constantly kept in political insignificance, and their stronghold besieged and often invaded by the reigning order. On the accession of Stanislaus Augustus to the throne, a law was enacted, that the murder of a peasant was a capital crime. Sir William Coxe, who travelled soon after in Poland, expresses his dissatisfaction at the number of witnesses which was required to bring home the charge to a noble, if guilty of such offence. But this provision was only the precursor of far more extended reforms. We cannot follow, though we may take an occasional glance at, the history of Poland's reorganization during the last sixty years.

As far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, John Casimir, on laying down the crown, in a stirring farewell address, pointed to the evils, and expressed his hope of their amendment. Fifty years afterwards, another exile, king Leszczyński, admonished the Polish nobility of the rights of the people, urging upon them the truth in the following dispassionate manner: "*Le fondement de notre état c'est le peuple. Si ce fondement n'est que de terre et de boue, l'état ne peut durer longtems : travaillons donc à renforcer cet appui de la République ; sa force sera nôtre soutien, son indépendance notre sûreté.*" At last, the undercurrent of popular feeling began to break through the cover of infatuation and guilty attachment to old privileges. Zamoyski gave his name to a code presented at the diet of 1780, embodying the provisions of full liberty for all. Defeated on this occasion by Russian intrigue, the great principle was soon raised again, and upheld with renewed vigour. The constitution of the 3d of May 1791, is of itself a work which antiquity would have inscribed on brass; and which the Poles have imprinted on a less perishable substance—their hearts. That code proclaimed the liberty of all, whether alien or native, peasant or Jew; and without reserve and delay, equalized all classes in the eye of the law. Though its provisions could not have been carried into effect, before the invading powers had again shut the portals of the temple of hope and improvement, its spirit raised scythe-armed legions for the immortal Kosciuszko. The world admired his manifesto, which begins with the memorable words, "Every peasant is free;" but reason admitting alike, his merit, and the absolute obligation under which he stood, to reproclaim the constitution of the 3d of May, will assign an

equal praise to his other regulations. Hitherto the amount of the manual labour, which the peasant was held to perform on the master's estate, for the tenure of land apportioned to him, depended on the unrestricted will of the latter. For such contract, unequal, uncertain, varying with every district if not with every village, Kosciuszko substituted a national compact, uniform and equally binding on both parties. He reduced at the same time the statute labour (*corvée*) to the minimum, which justice to the proprietors would not allow him to abolish entirely. In 1807 and 1815, a part of the ancient monarchy was raised to a mock independence; the constitution of which, the great mass of the natives had neither the will to assent to, nor the power to oppose. Yet, in the duchy of Warsaw, all classes indiscriminately had acquired civil liberty and political franchise. Both were distinctly laid down in the charter granted by Alexander. The 131st article of that code, gives the faculty of voting at the election of the deputies, to every citizen, non-noble, paying any tax whatever from a landed property. Again, the 121st article of the same charter runs thus: "The qualifications to be elected nuncio to the diet are, the possession of the rights of a Polish citizen, the payment of a yearly tax of about fifty shillings, and thirty years of age." There is not the slightest mention of the nuncio being required to be noble or even burgess. We admit that this provision proved but a dead letter, for few, very few, of the non-nobles possessed landed property. The idea of the endowment of the labourers with property, began now to be actively canvassed by the patriots. Civil liberty to all Poles has been guaranteed in the kingdom, conceded by Austria and Prussia, and only denied by Russia, which bore with all the weight of its aristocratic institutions and inhuman regulations upon the already miserable condition of the serfs. Thus also the peasant's right to property implied by Austria, (which regulating the *corvée*, revived only Kosciuszko's decree), acknowledged by Prussia, which proclaimed, that one-half of the soil tenanted by the peasant was henceforth to belong lawfully to him,—leaving him at the same time the faculty of entering into a contract with the master for the other moiety,—was, by law, influence, and despotic authority, yet more narrowly circumscribed, as the monopoly of the few in that part of Poland, over which Russia ruled. Here the friend of Poland will pause, to praise or condemn Austria for the pale, insufficient measure of its half-enlightened policy, to bestow his unqualified eulogy upon the civil policy of Prussia



towards Poland; for, though he is told that the pressure of enormous taxes destroys there all benefit which might be supposed to be derived by the labourer from enfranchised property, and that the Prussian system, refusing all political rights, had only in view to produce jealousy between the two classes, he can hardly be blind enough not to perceive in it an approximation to liberty. The enlightened friend of Poland, we repeat, will pause and dwell upon the all-absorbing question, why the nobles in the kingdom, using the little freedom they possessed, have not, by a spontaneous act, agreed to the endowment of the peasants with property. Had Russia opposed it, the great, the serious struggle would have begun fifteen years earlier; and the Polish nobility, whether successful or not, would have appeared before the world in the character to which we bear our testimony, but which their foes strive daily to controvert, of the enfranchisers and benefactors of a large body of their countrymen. Still, neither good wishes, nor magnanimous examples, were there wanting. The establishment of schools in every village attests the desire of enlightening the peasants, before they were to be called into the exercise of new rights. Have we not all heard and admired the devotion of Staszyc, who, himself a minister of state, sacrificed all his fortune for the purchase of a large estate, which he divided among the peasants, under the condition of their paying a rent, from the accumulation of which, neighbouring villages were to be bought and likewise converted into communities of independent proprietors? Had there been more liberality and less rigour in the government, which only tolerated Staszyc's liberality, as the fancy of a superannuated priest, his example might have achieved wonders in Poland. But, through the dispensation of Divine Providence, if glory and chivalry were to be astonished by the so closely succeeding acts of Polish valour and devotion, humanity was denied the satisfaction of seeing the same generation perform two great reforms, which in all other nations had been distanced by ages. The generation of 1830, was destined to give the final development to the principles of their fathers of 1791. The free peasant fought on the fields of Grochow and Ostrolenka; the proprietor peasant would have led the van of triumph, had the revolution been successful.

For, it would be vain to conceal, that the great question which now commands the most serious attention of that nation, lies in the general wish of raising the peasant in the scale of society, of teaching him the true usefulness of liberty, by

admitting him into the circle of proprietors. How it may be achieved with justice for both parties, we possess neither leisure nor sufficient knowledge to inquire. But we cannot refrain from quoting, on this subject, the opinion of one of the members of the Convention, Garrande de Coulon.

“La fixation (said he, in 1794) du mode le plus propre à assurer des propriétés actuelles aux paysans Polonois, dépend de la combinaison de beaucoup de localités ; mais les serfs de la Pologne ont toujours possédé, moyennant des rédevances, des tenues particulières, qui servaient à leur entretien personnel, et qu'ils transmettaient à leurs enfants. On pense que c'est surtout ces petits lots de terre, dont il est juste de reconnoître aux tenanciers l'entière propriété. Ces tenues aujourd'hui si chétives, deviendront alors une pépinière abondante d'agriculteurs intrépides et vertueux.”

From this outline of the phases through which slavery passed in Poland, we may gather the following data :

1. That it never was so abject as in all feudal countries.
2. That throughout the three periods, of equality, of nobilitarian preponderance, and of reform, it was never sanctioned by law, but maintained by abuse.
3. That the first change in Poland must ultimately eradicate it, and she must recruit from its ranks the body of small proprietors, the real strength of all states.

After a long, and our readers may think, a tedious, research into the cumbrous annals of a nation, in order to trace its hideous, and therefore carefully concealed, failings,—to bring to light its delinquency,—to show the alternate features of arrogant dominion and patient slavery,—nothing can be more relieving and reanimating, than to advert to the chapter of the moral feelings of the people, and to trace on the gloomy horizon the concentration of the dispersed rays of that divine doctrine, which teaches benevolence and leniency to the powerful, peace and forbearance to the bondsman. In few instances, indeed, do we find so much reason for satisfaction, as when considering the religious, moral, and intellectual excellence of the Slavonian race. But our difficulties increase as we approach this subject, and especially that most important of all questions, whether we look to the past history of Poland, or to her future prospects,—we mean that of the religion professed by the vast majority of her inhabitants. Our limits will not allow us to enter fully into this subject on the present occasion ; nor even to trace minutely the spirit of Catholicism, ever-ruling, ever-reanimating, ever-victorious, in the achievements of that orthodox nation ; but we hope to be able to

show, that from this central point all other questions must radiate; that without the light it throws around, ten centuries of Polish glory would remain unexplained; the struggle of the present generation, so often renewed, and so fearlessly carried on, unintelligible; and the hopes of its successful end undetermined. It will be easily conjectured, that the blissful influence of Catholicism over political life,—that the benefits derived from strict and uniform adherence to its pure and undefiled doctrines, must appear most prominently in the annals of that portion of the people, within whose pale, public liberties were exclusively centered. But, at the same time, it does not require a very clear-sighted eye, to read, on the rased tables of the serfs' history, that the same faith was the source and the preserver of their virtues; that, in the absence of all other aid, nay, in spite of the trammels imposed by such political constitution, it formed their education, and quickened their progress; that by it alone the bond of unity was maintained, which the perennial attachment to exclusiveness on one side, and the natural impatience and sense of inborn rights on the other, tended constantly to destroy; and that it is under its auspices alone that the great mass of people can be peacefully ushered into that new career, which must reassert and consolidate the political existence of their country.

The principal features of the pristine and aboriginal faith of the Slavonians are accurately known. The truth of the unity of God, and the immortality of the soul, may be traced even in the times of their paganism. When the Polish Constantine, Miezysclas the First, proclaimed Christianity as the religion of the state (965), he did not experience any serious resistance, but saw, on the appointed day, the nobility and the serfs flocking to the baptismal font. The people, whose new-born zeal sought a natural gratification in the vengeance on the objects of their former worship, tying ropes round the necks of their idols, dragged them to the banks of ponds and marshes, and cast them into the water. This innocent revenge has been perpetuated by a custom, which still prevails in some parts of Poland, where, on a certain day, people indulge in that innocent malignity and festive sport, with which our boys annually parade through the streets the shattered mannikin of Guy Fawkes. Ten years only intervene between the conversion of the Russian Olga, who, amidst the pomp and gorgeous ceremonies of St. Sophia, received the sacrament from the hands of the Greek patriarch (955); and the baptism of the Polish king, performed with all the

simplicity of apostolic custom, by the bishop, recognizing the authority of the pope, John XIII. At one time, therefore, Christian missionaries started from two opposite points; not, however, to meet in anger, or with thunders of excommunication, but to unite their labours for the propagation of the Gospel. This absence of all rancorous feeling on the part of those missionaries, may have held a protecting shield over the speedy growth of Christianity in the east of Europe, but it did not prevent the establishment of the authority of the Church, in Poland and its dependencies, on that firm foundation, upon which it has ever since continued to stand. A few years after its conversion, we find its territory divided into dioceses, possessing a regular hierarchy, and obeying the spiritual commands of the archbishop of Gnesen. The great founder of Polish monarchy, Boleslaus the Great,—he, who adorned his brow with so many laurels, that his newly-acquired crown (for until his accession to the throne, only the title of prince was conceded to the Polish monarchs) seemed almost a mockery,—carried always before him, from the shores of the Elbe and the Danube, to the banks of the Borysthenes, the emblem of Christianity, and knew of no stronger bond between the metropolis and the conquered countries, than the uniformity of religion. And when the kingly title was bestowed upon him by the emperor Otho, it was at the shrine of Saint Adalbertus, his friend and councillor, whose trials in Bohemia, and his martyrdom in Prussia, had proclaimed to the world, that the mission of Poland to defend Christianity, and spread the boons of civilization, had then already begun. Admirably was that renowned conqueror seconded in his views by his nobility, who, to show their readiness to defend religion at all times, unsheathed one half of their swords during the performance of the mass; a custom observed for eight hundred years. The humble peasant, deprived of that mark of distinction, could only give a proof of a similar zeal, by a faithful fulfilment of Christian duties. It would be vain to deny, that in this early period, some of the highest clergy, sprung from aristocratic houses, brought up in the atmosphere of their prejudices, forsaking the sacerdotal robe of the teachers of peace, for the armour of militant adventurers, preferring the pursuits and the appetites of the world to the reign by opinion and spiritual communion, identified their interests with those who were, politically, equal to them, and condemned the fellow-Christian in the slave; thus more aggravating the hardships of servitude by

their implied assent, than lessening them by casual interference of benevolence. To show the true cause of this dark vista in the history of Catholicism in Poland, and to prove that that country had always a warning from above whenever it showed an inclination to stray from the path of its duty, let us ask in what time did this happen? It was when the Polish kings began to effect and to boast of their independence from the papal see; when they asserted their right to the nomination of bishops, without the advice and the sanction of Rome, in order to introduce their flatterers and their tools into the highest pale of the Church; when the disorderly priesthood spurned the rule of celibacy; and when a successor of that Boleslaus the Great, who avenged the death, and enriched the shrine of St. Adalbertus, closed the short span of Polish martyrology, by slaying, with his impious hand, the reprover of his licentiousness, the castigator of depreciated morals among the nobility, and now the patron of Poland,—the bishop Stanislaus Szczepanowski. This dereliction of their noble duty, on the part of the highest dignitaries of the Church, was only temporary. It has never spread to the humbler ranks of the clergy. No better proof can be adduced of this, than the influence which the Church continued to possess upon every class of the community, and by means of which it was enabled to save and extricate the country from one of those distressing emergencies, which plunge the greatest nations into the gulf of perdition, without the least chance of escape, except by the agency of some very high principle. This critical epoch was now at hand. Scarcely had the Polish monarchy been constituted, and before its component parts had sufficient time to coalesce and to fuse into one compact body, when one of the monarchs, following the custom of the age, committed the imprudence of dividing the kingdom among his five sons. The dissensions of the brothers, struggling for supremacy; the long war consequent upon their pretensions, coupled with the disastrous inroads of the Tartars, which happened a short time afterwards, would have blotted out Poland from the list of European nations, or subjected it, in common with Muscovy, to the ignominious rule of Bati-khan, had it not been for the Church, which,—when all was crumbling around, when no political leader could be found, no constitutional power strong enough to save,—stepped forward to keep together the distracted state, and by a well-devised hierarchy, concentrating all the means of government, and the elements of

order and action, in the hands of the archbishop of Gnesen, enabled the latter to carry the country triumphant, if not unscathed, through a long series of trials and misfortunes. Here we cannot stop farther than to remark the analogy of the services rendered by the Catholic Church to Poland on this occasion, to those performed by it upon a much larger stage, upon the breaking up of the Roman empire, and leave to the reader the appreciation of the difficulties and the merits of this achievement.

When Poland emerged again from this state of confusion, her kings and nobility bethought themselves to give a legal constitution to the empire. For this task, the enlightenment, the learning, and, what was of still greater importance, the unprejudiced benevolence towards humbler classes, so predominant among the clergy, were put into requisition. The first Polish legislative assembly was but a synod of the dignitaries of the Church. And when Casimir the Great framed that immortal code of laws, in which, protection afforded to the lower classes was a glorious feature, he owed a great part of his reputation, the proud name of the "king of peasants," to his spiritual advisers.

The close of the fourteenth century was marked by one of those events, the explanation of which cannot be even attempted, unless it be carried at once into the region far above all political considerations. Two powerful nations, different in origin, in manners, and in constitution,—entirely estranged from each other by long and continued wars, one Christian, the other Pagan,—Poland and Lithuania, had coalesced spontaneously together, and united in a bond never to be severed. Alluding to this event, a Polish Catholic\* says :—

"There was no instance of Polish kings and Polish warriors conquering neighbouring countries with the sword, but they made other nations sharers of their brotherhood ; uniting them in the common bond of faith and liberty. And God rewarded them for it ; for a great country, Lithuania, united with Poland, like a betrothed bride with a bridegroom, two souls in one body, And there never existed such an union of nations ; yet, hereafter, such an union shall exist. For this union and wedding-tie of Lithuania and Poland, is but an image of an universal union of Christian nations, which is to be effected in the name of faith and freedom."

This quotation answers our purpose better than anything we might adduce in corroboration of our main argument,

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\* Mickiewicz.—"The books of Polish pilgrimage."



that all the glory and power of Poland must be traced to her religion.

Upon this, followed an age of immense power, and highest culture. Now, Poland had begun to be considered as one of the chief states of Europe. She was admitted into their councils, and often decided the fate of long wars, and difficult negotiations. Her literature and arts were scarcely outshone by the golden æra of the contemporaneous revival of letters in Italy. In this, as in every other improvement and reform, the clergy took the lead. And here, an unprejudiced historian with pleasure might advert to, and draw a great moral lesson from, the comparison of the state of the Polish and Russian clergy. While the former enriched with their labour every department of literature and science—while the European celebrity of such among them as taught in public, drew students from every land, to the University of Cracow—while they filled the proudest stations in the state—while the presence of their delegates at the councils and synods of the prelates from the whole of Christendom, was of immense, sometimes of paramount, advantage to the interests and welfare of Europe—while Italy, then in the zenith of her culture, found it a subject of pride to possess some of them as professors and rectors to her most renowned academies,—the Russian clergy pined in deepest ignorance, meanly crouching and submissive, as vile instruments in the hands of those who combined, in their own persons, political and religious authority. That Russia had been subjected to the Tartars; that it remained under their dominion long after the khans had lost the power to enforce it; that none of her institutions have lost, as yet, the stamp of barbarity; that her people are deteriorated in every respect; that she has been so late, as a power, and that she will be yet long, as a nation, in coming into the pale of the European community: of all this, the cause lies in the single fact, that Olga and Vladimir did not seek the light of Christianity in Rome, but in Constantinople.

The end of this bright period coincides with the first appearance of the doctrines of the Reformation on the threshold of Poland. It is a well-known circumstance, that Poland took no part in the religious wars then distracting the neighbour-states; and that she even admitted, and harboured with benevolence, the fugitive associates and disciples of Luther. In a country so pre-eminently Catholic, no danger was apprehended from the protection thus granted to the enemies of her established religion. It must be confessed, that some of her

ambitious nobility, ever stirring, ever on the look-out for some new ground of opposition to the adverse party, embraced with eagerness the tenets of Protestantism. But of that class, it may be remarked in general, what Czaeki says of their leader in particular; "that he was persuaded by Calvin, that to establish a printing-press for Protestant pamphlets, was to be learned; and to inveigh against the pope, was to be bold." Yet, the new doctrine did never find any permanent stand in Poland. It never reached the lower classes. Witness that celebrated edict of the diet, in 1560; in which the nobles guaranteed to each other the liberty of "performing in their houses Divine service, according to such forms of Christian religion as they may please,"—precluding, at the same time, with severest laws, the possibility of introduction of such liberty among the serfs. No doubt, this originated in the narrow-minded attachment to privileges, and was of a piece with other restrictions. But one cannot but rejoice to see the workers of mischief, the promoters of dissent, thus circumscribing its bad effects in their own circle; and by their own agency, keeping unpolluted the other estate of the monarchy. This has sunk still deeper the stamp of dissolution, to which the nobility was approaching; while the unprivileged class trimmed the flame of future vitality, with their staunch adherence to the standard of the true Church.

But even this mania, productive only of still more bitterness in the already envenomed dissensions, soon passed away. Protestantism began rapidly to decline. It lost its force, by emulating with, and persecuting other dissenting sects. The enmity of Calvin against the anti-Trinitarians, struck a death-blow to his followers in Poland. The misguided were fast returning to the faith of their ancestors. The horizon darkening with impending and fast-gathering dangers, seemed to shadow forth another warning. The Poles rallied again round the Church; and it is in this return that lies the secret strength, by which the country, undermined by anarchy and licence—surrounded and overrun by the Tartars, the Russians, the Swedes, and the Cossacks—repeatedly visited by famine and pestilence,—was able to maintain her existence during two hundred years of war, plague, contested elections, and civil broils. "Poles," exclaimed king Stephen Batory, "you owe not your safety to your laws,—you do not know them; neither to your government,—you never cease to disobey it; you owe it merely to chance." But with how much greater truth, with how much higher elevation of sentiment,

he might have pointed to the undissolved bond of religion, and the spirit of Catholicism, ever active, repairing, reanimating, what all other elements were bent to destroy—as that all-healing principle of existence. It is there, also, that we must look for the explanation of the fact, how Poland, weak herself, scarcely able to prop up her own precarious existence, reassumed for awhile, the power and the vigour of a most prospering and vigorous state, to serve civilization, and save Christianity, under the walls of Vienna.

Seven hundred and eighteen years have now elapsed since her conversion; and more than four centuries intervene between the time, when she first thrust her protecting shield over faith and freedom, by successfully opposing the Tartars, and the time when she ultimately crushed the power of the Turks,—between the imploring suit of the Russians for aid against the former, and the no less humble embassy of Palavicini, to save the emperor from the latter,—between the crushing of the spear with the golden wolf, emblematic of the power of the Tartars, and the capture of Mahomet's standard, which Sobieski sent to the pope, from the gates of Vienna; and during all this long period, Poland had opportunities enough to form a deep conviction that she found the main-spring of her victories, her prop and aid in her defeats, the enhancer of her virtues, and the rectifier of her errors, in the Church, and that form of religion, to which she had uniformly adhered.

The period of the final dissolution was fast approaching. This time, the warning from above, was followed by a most awful visitation. We shall not run again over the events of that most distressing period of discord,—conflicting interests and anarchy at home, and of perfidious combination abroad. But there is one question, which surely lies within our province; and this is, how did her faithless and rapacious neighbours, bent upon her destruction, how did they possess sufficient power to intrigue and nourish the flame of discord, within the limits of the empire? And history will answer that it was by playing upon the religious prejudices of the Protestants, in whom Russia and Prussia found ready tools of their designing policy. If real grievances existed, were there for the Protestants no other means of redressing them, than to call in the interference, the armed interference, of a foreign potentate? And who was that potentate? Was he a monarch of the same religion? Was he distinguished by friendly feelings towards the Protestants? Was he moral, virtuous, and just, at least?

Surely we cannot put here a stronger negative to all these qualifications, then by telling at once the name of that monarch: It was the Empress Catherine.

But Poland was not doomed to fall without a brilliant effort to regain her power and to recruit her forces; an effort which has endeared her to all free nations. It would be superfluous to argue, that the spontaneous renunciation of all privileges on the part of the Polish nobility, that this great act of self-denial, could only originate in the spirit and lessons of that religion, which frees the human mind from the narrow circle of individualism. Of this event, the sublime writer whom we have already quoted, says:—

“And God granted to the kings and the men of war of Poland, champions of freedom, that they should call each other brothers, both rich and poor. And the kings and men of war continually admitted more and more people to share their brotherhood. Often they admitted entire hosts and whole tribes; and the number of brethren grew as great as the nation. And there is no nation, which had so many freemen, who called themselves brethren, as the Polish nation.

“And it came to pass, that on the third day of May, 1791, the king and the men of war, resolved upon making all the Poles ‘brethren’ among each other; at first the burghers, afterwards the peasants.

“And they endeavoured to make every Christian a noble, in proof of his having a noble and generous mind, ever ready to die for freedom. In like manner as formerly, every one who became the disciple of the gospel, was called Christian, in proof that he was ready to spill his blood for Christ.

“Nobility was then the baptism of freedom; and whoever was ready to die for freedom, was to be baptized a noble, by right and by sword.

“And Poland at last proclaimed: Whoever he be, that comes to me, he shall be free and equal.”

“All free and equal!” This indeed has been the watchword of all Polish struggles during the last fifty years. No wonder then that each effort becomes more perfect, more national, and let us add more Catholic. During the last revolution, the clergy were the most powerful agents, in stirring whole populations, and urging them into those memorable achievements, which for ten months held Europe in suspense, between the admiration of their bravery, and the misgiving of their failure. They taught them devotion to their country from the pulpit, and led them in person to victory on the battle-fields. And the persecution, to which now the Catholics

are subjected, is but a sure mark that Russia knows that there lies the strength and the principle of the restoration of Poland.

Reverting to the subject more immediately under notice, there remains but one remark to be made. We have shown that with respect to the serfs, the mission of the Church was at all times mitigating, civilizing, emancipating; that it exemplified Guizot's remark, when that writer asserts, that "*En général, quand la liberté a manqué aux hommes, c'est la religion qui s'est chargée de la remplacer.*" But the crowning service yet remains to be performed. The reinstatement of the serfs in their natural rights, cannot be effected without a violent transition, and though all abuse of new-born liberty may be avoided, and the consequent excitement lost in the enthusiasm of the contemporaneous war for national independence, (for these two events are inextricably connected together,) still to prevent all excesses, to allay animosities, to prepare and regulate the grant and the exercise of freedom, will become the task of the ministers of God. Thus the Poles must look on their Church, as not only the keeper, to whose safeguard the unity and the nationality of their dismembered country has been entrusted, but also as the guardians and protectors of their social reorganization.\*

The Polish peasant is not without superstition. The belief in hidden treasures amuses his fancy, excites his hopes, and but too often ruins his little fortune. But the most obnoxious and fatal consequences of his superstition are perceptible in his aversion to have recourse to medical aid, in case of serious illness. He considers the noble art of Esculapius as a wicked invention of the Germans,—for such is the term which he undistinguishingly applies to all foreigners. The Polish peasant will more readily travel a hundred miles in quest of supernatural aid, than take advice of an experienced physician. With him, Cuvier would find his eloquence at fault; Cooper, with his art and instruments, might find himself in the dangerous position of being taken for a sorcerer; Hahnemann would not stand a better chance;—but no, we beg

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\* The following division of the inhabitants of Poland, with respect to religion, will be found correct.

Catholics	8,560,000
Greeks united	3,740,000
Greco-Russians	3,430,000
Protestants	2,250,000
Jews	2,110,000
Old-believers	180,000
Mahometans	50,000

pardon of the learned visionary, his system of infinitely small doses, and homœopathic drugs, would find more docile adepts amidst Polish peasantry, than the astonishing cures of his soberer brethren; for be it said, to his astonishment or confusion, his precepts have been there long known and practised, as it may be conjectured from the two following modes of treating a patient. The peasant labouring under fever, inflammatory disease, or nervous complaint, will nevertheless have recourse to his customary medicine, a large cup of whisky, in which he mixes up a handful of ground charcoal; so, in the same manner, he uses for all maladies a mixture of whisky with honey, which he takes in infinitely small doses. Yet the peasant is not deaf to the voice of reason, and enlightened proprietors have latterly done much for the diffusion of better information. The blissful influence of religion will be traced in his morals and habits. His hospitality, charity to the poor, good faith in contracts and obligations, reverence to the aged, religious scruple in paying tithes, could not have a nobler origin, or a stronger stimulus, than in his attachment to the religion of his fathers. Theft, robbery, murder, are almost unknown among the communities of labourers. There are but few vast forests round which the dread or the exploits of Polish moss-troopers have drawn a circle of terror; Polish Shinderhanses or Fra Diavolos have seldom sprung from the peasants; they had been Jews, inn-keepers, or such loose characters, as live, by art or extortion, upon the labour of others. But the alternation of light and shade in the character of the Polish people, the intermixture of good qualities with some failings, and, above all, the prevalence of the former, and the preservation of genuine benevolence and genuine simplicity of manners, are most manifest in their customs, rites, and amusements. For this we must see the Pole "at home;" we must stoop to enter through the low door of his hut, and take place at his hospitable though smoky hearth.

We will now introduce our readers to a Polish village. On emerging from a thick wood of stately oaks or lofty firs, in which Poland so much abounds, our eye is pleasantly struck with a wide expanse of corn-fields, whose rich exuberance agreeably contrasts with the dark wall of the circum-vening forest. A multitude of villages, separated by large tracts of land, may reveal to the traveller the richness of the country; but, for the sake of simplifying our image, we admit the existence of one only, the commonest case in Poland. Encased in the irregular circumference of a forest, secluding



it from other villages for many miles round, it forms a world of its own: it possesses its distinct history, its peculiar customs. That separate individuality, if we may use the term, strikes most in the variety of dress. A peasant, proud of his dark woollen capote, would think it a degradation and disrespect to the memory of his forefathers, were he to put on the white one peculiar to the neighbouring village. With like feeling, his wife, or daughter, piques herself upon the parti-coloured petticoat; while in the bordering community, the white is preserved with religious strictness. But with this exception the Polish villages bear a family likeness. The gently sloping ground, from the two opposite sides, meets in the centre in soft declivity; or a double range of steep hills, whose irregular lines reveal the winding course of a stream—the presiding genius of the village, the regulator upon which the different degrees of rural life and activity are marked. The road closely follows its banks. At first we enter on a succession of meadows, studded with innumerable herds of cattle, feeding to the tune of the shepherd's pastoral reed, whose melancholy tones, animating a romantic scene, often make the Pole exclaim,

“ Auch ich war in Arkadien geboren.” \*

Thus far the scenery represents more the silent calmness of Claude's landscapes, than the busy throng of Teniers' pictures; more of Metastasio's *monti ameni*, than of Byron's dreary wildernesses. Soon, however, we are led over numerous bridges; the range of willows grows closer; at every step a path, leading to a plank over the stream, bids us to look up, and we find ourselves between two lines of habitations, first dispersed like scouts, and then closing in a connected line. Ushered into the midst of them by the course of our bright companion, we ride many a mile before we reach the centre. Here, in this central point, we must part with our leader, for its waves disappear in the wide expanse of a lake or pond. That lowest “degree” is marked by the mill, whose regular rattle, amid the uniform silence of the scene, may be compared to the pulsation of the great artery, if, after the elegant expression of a French writer, we call the bright mirror of the lake, “the soul of the village.” On our right a modest church rears its white walls; while on the left, a dismal inn invites weary travellers to repose. The proximity of the abode of piety with the den of revelry is common to all

countries, but it is so universal in Poland, that a writer wittingly remarks, that there "wherever God erects a church, the devil, at the same time, builds an inn close by." On an elevated position, stands the manor of the lord, beside whose massy pile the low huts of the peasants appear "like children playing by the side of an aged nurse." Forbidden to enter it, to examine its structure and its armorial frontispiece—to inspect the natural riches of its garden, our task, like that of Moore's Peri, compels us to shun that gate, and seek, in the hut of misery, for the sigh of destitution, or the tear of pious resignation. On ascending the way, fenced by the hedges of two neighbouring gardens, the visitor will judge of the peasant's wealth, by the number of fruit-trees clustering round his house, and that of the bee-hives sheltered under their protecting branches. The hut itself, built of wooden planks, and almost hidden under a towering thatched roof, forms the starting point of a circle of buildings, which, from the height of a granary, gradually decrease into numerous stables, dwindling, in their turn, into pig-sties, the view of whose pinguid inhabitants would have gladdened the heart of "the Normandy Farmer," and made him unsay that sweeping assertion, "that, besides England and America, there was no country which he cared a straw about."\* A narrow passage, leading to a back door opening on the garden, divides the building into two compartments, one of which is generally allotted to various agricultural implements, while the other is inhabited by the owner and his family. Two or three benches, a long table, and a single bedstead, scarcely leave in it sufficient space for all to move; while the luxury of a bed is only permitted to parents or the aged; the children must seek refuge for nightly repose in the hole, purposely framed, between the large clay stove and the wall. The beam crossing the middle of the roof, plays here the part of a household god: on it, different numbers, dates, and signs, are marked; on it the scythe,—an instrument in the time of peace, a weapon in that of war,—the net, and the clothes, hang in picturesque disorder. The images of saints, and consecrated garlands, reminding one often of the holly-decked walls of an English farm-house, are the only ornaments of the hut. Round the fire-place—for we are not in the Lithuanian hovel, whose fire being placed in the middle, the smoke fills the whole room, issuing only through the windows, or a hole

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\* "Cobbet's Register" for 1834.

made on purpose in the roof—the different paraphernalia of the peasant's kitchen, might tempt the eye or the palate of the stranger, mindful of the fat cattle and the "golden fruit" he saw on entering. But, alas! on removing the covers, and perceiving potatoes and milk, coarse gruel or cabbage-soup, his recollections will at once carry him to Ireland, where peasants breed cattle, supply the sister country with all luxuries of animal food, and yet themselves are obliged, from obvious causes, to subsist upon bread and potatoes. To their Polish prototypes' children, even the indulgence of "potatoe and point" is denied: a paste, made of half-ground corn, constitutes often their diurnal fare; grease and bacon are superfluities seldom to be enjoyed; while salt is an object of necessity, measured out to them with most careful parsimony. Yet we should not forget, that frequent exceptions will occur to prove that poverty is not universal, and testify the benevolent influence of right-minded landlords. A Polish peasant has been often enabled to purchase an independent fortune, and to rise to the station of a nobleman or a burgess. Loans of money between both parties are of daily occurrence. The custom of Polish nobles entrusting their children to the care and comfort of a peasant's house, is worthy of commendation; it strengthens mutually the ties of benevolence and friendship, and teaches the future lord to appreciate the poor man's merits and wants. As many as twenty servants have been found surrounding the board of a labourer. Six or seven cloth-looms, constantly at work, on a peasant's premises, have astonished a German traveller in Poland, obviously prepared to meet everywhere the most abject wretchedness. The Englishman, who, having suddenly fallen ill in a Lithuanian village, was obliged to accept the hospitality of a labourer, and received from his guest the offer of a glass of excellent Scotch ale, may be excused if, in the ravings of fever, he took it for a miracle; but his astonishment pleasingly informs us, that the name of England, and the use of its comforts, are not totally unknown in a Polish cabin.

In corroboration of our denial that misery among Polish peasantry has ever been so universal as some deluded defenders of Russia have stated, in order to prove that the lower classes in Poland derived great advantages from Russian dominion, we extract the following facts from a very interesting memoir on the late revolution in Lithuania:—

“Before the Russian occupation of Samogitia, that is, before

1794, the peasants, with few exceptions, not only enjoyed perfect liberty, holding lands by a written contract, commonly extending for three years, with the faculty, at the end of that period, to remove wherever they liked with their stores and chattels; but in the estates called starosties, and on church lands, they possessed, even by right of property, the buildings on their tenures, in common with all moveable goods. They paid to the landlords a yearly and consolidated rent, and, though they could not either transport or destroy the farm premises, they were free to sell or exchange, to cede or to under-lease, with the sole obligation of presenting the instrument, delivered to the new proprietor, for the ratification of the landlord, and its entry into the manorial inventory.... Profitable and respected was that custom alike to the lords and the peasants, since it assured a secure income to the first, and the fruit of their labour to the second. The latter carried on an extensive commerce with the neighbouring sea-ports, in flax, linseed, hemp, corn, and other products of their fertile soil, as trade was not fettered by any oppressive restrictions. The fortune of many among them amounted to several thousand dollars. They used to send their sons to the public schools, and the university; not a few clergymen and learned professors having sprung from that humble class. The dowers of their daughters attracted often suitors of noble origin. Living in commodious and neat houses, they possessed every comfort, not even denying to themselves the use of foreign liquors and objects of luxury, with which it was their highest pleasure to treat guests and strangers. Children inherited from their parents by testament or natural transmission. Churches, monasteries, and the poor, were never forgotten by the pious labourers, and often were enriched with their legacies. This prosperous state of Samogitia terminated with its independence;—the iniquitous system of the conquerors, introducing into that country personal tax; imposing the novel mode of local registration, to bind for ever the peasant to the soil; enacting oppressive measures in relation to commercial licenses, and thus transferring trade from the hands of the labourer to those of the Jew; vexing the agriculturist, and holding him in constant jeopardy, by quartering soldiers in his house, and forcing him not only to feed the military, but even to transport their baggage,—a most unjust, uncertain, and undefined tax; finally, distributing large estates to Russian functionaries, whose stewards made fortunes by extortion and tyranny; that iniquitous system, I repeat, by subjecting the peasant to all these multifarious calamities, destroyed his prosperity, and changed the face of the country. Thus the people, bereft of their ancient privilege of selling and purchasing houses, lost the capital invested in their building; excluded from the pale of trade, their industry and competition for honest gain have been diminished; subjected to a tyrannical yoke, and seeing their property insecure, they began to contract the vices of indolence and drunkenness, and divest themselves of their dearest treasures—

activity and morals. How many houses, once sold or purchased for considerable sums, stand now tenantless and tottering ! and if peasants, lately so free and industrious, inhabit them, supporting scarcely a wretched existence, they must execrate even the memory of the better past, since, for having been enrolled in the registration book with the empty title of free peasants, they are obliged to pay a double tax for it, without enjoying any liberty whatever. The emperor Nicholas has forbidden the Poles, by an ukase, even to dream of the emancipation of the peasants; interdicted to their children the access to schools and the university;—to all public offices; closed against them the door of church dignities, and even of monastic seclusion; and for ever incapacitated them from rising in the army beyond the grade of a common soldier.”

We cannot resist the pleasure of quoting from the same work, a few examples of the prosperity and customs of the Samogitian peasants before 1794.

“ During the time of the confederation of Bar, prince Alexander Sapieha, forced to emigrate into Prussia, visited for the first time in his life his fine estate in Samogitia. It was on Sunday that he arrived incognito in his castle. While he was reposing from fatigue, several persons, in splendid Polish dresses, girded with gold-woven sashes, alighted at the door from fine bred steeds, and entered the prince’s room without ceremony. Taking them for some of the neighbouring gentry, he received them with the honours due to brother nobles. After awhile the steward entered, and when he informed him that they were only peasants of the village, come, as it was customary, to talk on their respective affairs on a Sunday afternoon, the prince, astonished, and at the same time delighted with their manners and appearance, snatched a piece of paper, and in a moment of noble generosity, wrote on it, ‘ that never, under any pretext, the rent of the labourers of that estate should be increased.’ That instrument was preserved by the grateful people with religious reverence, till the time of the revolution.

“ In the domain of the Starost Karp, the peasants used, on every visit of their beloved landlord, to offer costly presents separately to him, his wife, and his daughters. The most solemn, ingenious, and perhaps the most sumptuous, festivity of that sort took place in the carnival of 1788. Long before the appointed day, a large body of artificers and sailors, expressly brought from distant ports for that occasion, were engaged in building a magnificent ship. Laid on a pair of huge sledges, and drawn by four-score horses, carefully concealed in the bottom, the ship entered the court yard on the long expected Sunday; and sailing, with full-spread canvass on her two lofty masts, and displaying the flag, richly embroidered with the arms and the initials of the lord, along-side the windows of the castle, stopped at its chief entrance. On its deck a well-trained chorus and a chosen band, rung the merry peal. The senior peasants

dressed as sailors, issued then from the cabins, and exclaiming to the tune of the music ; *Long live our good lord !* landed the cargo of precious merchandize and foreign wine. The Starost, as it may be well thought, was moved to tears by that token of their attachment. The festivity lasted the whole night ; the old cellar poured out its long treasured stores, and dance and joy marked every moment of that memorable day. That winter navigation was repeated on the following Tuesday, with the difference, that the ship sailed at night along the roadside splendidly illuminated, and the crew was totally composed of women ; who, dressed in French and English costumes, presented to their lady and her daughters, costly articles of the manufacture of those two countries. Rockets and fireworks, issuing from the deck, terminated that ceremony, the account of which is still repeated in sundry and different versions.

“ That good-heartedness and liberality of the Samogitian agriculturists, a steward of count P—’s estates, turned once to a less showy but more profitable account. Having married a young and very beautiful girl, he purposely kept her confined to her rooms, and closely guarded her from the curious eye of the villagers. The latter, however, urged by the mysterious report of the extraordinary beauty of the lady, and wishing to offer her the customary presents, prevailed at last on the cunning steward, and wrung from him the promise of shewing his wife. On the appointed day, the whole community assembled at the door of the mansion. But under the pretext that the fair one was too delicate, and could not bear the heat of the crowd, the tender husband admitted them only one by one. The lady sat behind a table, on which a large plate was placed. The peasant who in the crowd would have only given a single piece of money, standing under the influence of the charms of the fair sorceress, and confused at being left alone, exposed to her basilisk eye, could not but empty all his purse into the capacious bottom of the plate. The stratagem succeeded so well, that its contriver soon became rich, the proprietor of a neighbouring village.”

These details, corroborated by unquestionable evidence, and by corresponding records of prosperity in other provinces of the country, will triumphantly disprove the hackneyed allegations of utter misery among the Polish people. On the contrary, they will place, in bold contrast, the past, with the present state of the peasants. It may be justly alleged that they bear the character of exceptions, but the wanderer on the rich and grassy plains of Vothynia, or among the romantic hills of Cracovia, will find them sometimes grow into the importance of a general rule. Comfort, under the humble garb of abstinence, riches without the showy appearance of luxury, will there attract his step, and make him bless the state of society, where corruption and sordid love of gain have not yet



imprinted the stamp of conceit and selfishness. Nevertheless, though thus far we thought proper to correct an erroneous impression, it would be in vain to deny, that at present, and chiefly in Russian Poland, large tracts of uncultivated land and cases of general destitution, will frequently occur. Even in the kingdom of Poland, justly considered as the centre of prosperity, a considerable portion of landed property remains untouched by the hand of industry.\* Whole communities depend, for their subsistence, on the more or less abundant crop of the year, without even laying aside some reserve for the season of sterility. Squalid misery, peeping from huts half sunk in the ground, shows its hideous face amidst fields which a little care would render fertile. Along that wilderness, mocking man with its exuberance of unsown harvest, only few habitations will be met with, and at so great distances, that they look, in the words of La Mennais, "*comme les jours de repos dans la vie.*" If by chance a cluster of dingy hovels attracts the eye for a moment, it appears, on a closer inspection, like a heap of ruined habitations, which war and desolation had no time to destroy totally, in their hasty passage. "Like

\* The following calculation may be relied upon, as extracted from official documents :—

KINGDOM OF POLAND,  
AS CONSTITUTED BY THE TREATY OF VIENNA.

<i>Square miles.*</i>	<i>Forests.</i>	<i>Cultivated land.</i>	<i>Fallow land.</i>
2,270.4	650.9	924.8	694.7

To give at the same time an idea of the division of the inhabitants in the kingdom according to the different employment of their industry, we extract, from the same source, the data, which have been ascertained by a census in 1830.

Agriculturists . . . .	2,916,113	Clergy . . . . .	10,914
Workmen . . . . .	482,820	Teachers, physicians,	
Labourers . . . . .	280,188	advocates, artists	15,614
Servants . . . . .	80,815	Inmates of prisons . .	2,905
Tradesmen . . . . .	193,870	Ditto of hospitals . . .	14,419
Soldiers . . . . .	40,000	Emerited . . . . .	3,019
Civil functionaries	27,357	Without any profession	12,367
Functionaries employed			
by landlords . . . . .	47,878	Total	4,128,289

The population of the other provinces of dismembered Poland may be divided according to the same scale; and in fact few, if any, departures from it will be found, on making separate investigations.

The whole extent and the population of Poland, is thus stated in a celebrated statistical work.

<i>Square miles.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Inhabitants on a square mile.</i>
In Russia . . . .	11,292	15,417,389
Prussia . .	1,664	2,584,124
Austria . . . .	1,528	4,226,969
Cracow . . . .	21	107,934
Total	14,505	22,336,416
		10,348

\* i. e. Polish miles, fifteen to a geographical degree.

the skeleton of a village, (in the quaint words of the same writer,) resembling, in its half hidden decay, a corpse, whom its flying companions, in their retreat, could not inter completely." Such is the sad aspect of a country, in which foreign and exterminating tyranny has succeeded to the too long continued, but still mild misrule of its native oligarchy. Such will be also the state of the whole of Poland, if Europe does not check the destroying power which calls forth all its barbarous energies, to carry into effect the words that courage and despair had wrung from the Poles, when they said in their manifesto: "And if we are destined to perish, Russia shall add only another desert to its dominions." In parting with a subject so full of important considerations, we must express our regret that we have been so little able to bring the customs, usages, and rites of the Slavonians, into something like a general and comprehensive delineation. But we trust that the merit of that race, old in Europe, but new to a great portion of it, will command a stricter inquiry, if not as to its future rise from degradation, at least into the causes of its misfortunes. And how much more important grows that task, when we consider that we are perhaps on the eve of witnessing and recording the reorganization of the Slavonian race.

"The wheel of changing time," says the writer,\* whose masterly delineation of the ancient Slavonians we have quoted, "revolves incessantly; and as the different nations of Slavonian origin, inhabit for the most part the finest country of Europe, if it were cultivated, and its trade opened; this now deeply sunk, but once industrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy slumber, shake off the chains of slavery, enjoy the possession of their delightful lands, and celebrate on them their ancient festivals of peaceful trade and industry."

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ART. III.—1. *First and Second Report on the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain.* By John Bowring, Esq.

2. *Enquiry into divers Prohibitions upon the Introduction of Foreign Goods; dating from the 8th Oct. 1834; under the Presidency of Mr. Duchatel, Minister of Commerce.* Paris, 1835.

VERY important negotiations have recently been commenced at Paris. England named three commissioners,

—Messrs. Labouchere, Ashton, and M'Gregor. MM. Freville, Greterin, and Davie, are the three who have been appointed by France. They will have to consider the question of an entire revision of the Custom-house duties of both countries; and, entirely pacific as is the object of the conference, they will be compelled to touch upon the most delicate political questions of our epoch. We sincerely hope that the fullest success may crown their labours. When it is remembered, that the commerce of the two richest nations in the world—including goods imported and exported, but leaving out of the account illicit trading—does not, on an average year, exceed the trifling value of three millions and a half; when it is considered, moreover, that these two nations are only separated by a narrow arm of the sea, and that each produces materials which the other is obliged to bring from a distance, at a loss either in quality or price,—one would suppose that their commercial plenipotentiaries would find no difficulty in the adjustment of a tariff which should be equally beneficial to both. Such, at least, would be the opinion of any reasonable being, who, in singleness of purpose, desired to benefit the two nations, without closely considering the private interests which might be in opposition to the common welfare; and to which (in France especially) the interests of the majority have been so long and so cruelly sacrificed. But a system of monopoly and prohibition is vicious, not only from the harm it does, but from the inherent vitality which renders its abolition so difficult; for, after long continuance, it creates fortunes, and powerful influence, and gives rise to habits that render innovation almost impossible. Those who have possessed themselves of long established privileges, will not give them up; and those who suffer most by them, do not consider that they might be overthrown. The one party levy a tax upon their fellow-citizens, and consider it their own by as good a title as their estates and their houses; and the other submits to the oppression with resignation equal to that of the Mussulman to the decrees of inevitable fatality. Our commissioners will, therefore, stand in need of as much patience as skill: and if we do not consider all—even trifling success—as hopeless, it is, because the French themselves have lately begun to awaken from the torpor. In despite of many natural disadvantages, they have chosen to enter into rivalry with us in the production of manufactured goods, for which they have no market, except in their miserable colonies; and thus, they already experience the disasters which so often check our industry—those gluts which are the inva-

riable attendants on an over-abundant production; and the financial crises resulting from them have compelled our neighbours to enquire into the causes of calamities which are as frequent on their side of the channel as on ours. Happily, the discovery of one error leads to that of others; and thus, by degrees, the manufacturers, who have been protected by the prohibitory system, have perceived that the market they were enabled to monopolize was too confined for their activity; while the agriculturists and the manufacturers, who were not favoured by the system, have become aware of the great injury they sustained from it. All are now agreed, that the laws by which the commercial policy of France is governed, are entirely at variance with all the principles of wise political economy. If the French cotton-spinners and iron-work masters, for instance, are still timid; if they still tremble at the idea of our goods being admitted into the only portion of the globe where they hitherto have found a certain market,—the wine-merchants and silk-manufacturers, on the other hand, have fully comprehended the advantage that might result from it.

A reasonable freedom of commerce, is, therefore, acquiring devoted partizans amongst our neighbours; and it is through them, and by an appeal to their interests, well understood, that we shall succeed, sooner or later, in forming with France, the only sort of alliance which will not be at the mercy of national prejudice, party spirit, or a change of ministry.

It is impossible that France should not acknowledge, that she has fallen from the high rank she held in Europe up to 1814. For more than two centuries she had been the political rival of England: and these two nations, the most powerful in the world, after the weakening of the Spanish monarchy, disputed with each other for a supremacy to which no other people even thought of laying claim. From the death of Charles V, to the first taking of Paris, they were natural enemies, because the fall of one must have secured to the other a high political dominion over the civilized world; and it is in human nature to aspire to universal dominion, when the imagination sees nothing impossible in attaining to it. History proves, that French statesmen have yielded to these dangerous and seductive hopes; but the time for such illusions is passed for them, and whatever may be the secret sighs of their ambition, we do not think that any reflecting mind can suspect them of indulging in the hope of renewing the tremendous contest so fatal to Napoleon. England has retained

her ancient position—France has lost hers, and Russia has seized upon it. In these few words lies a whole political revolution, for Russia is now our political enemy, by the operation of that same principle which formerly invested France with this character. It is, therefore, for our own interest, that our relations with this latter power should change with the state of Europe; and we shall commit a fault that our latest posterity will not pardon, if we ever lose sight of the fact—that the nation which has formerly disputed with us the first rank in the world, can no longer, it is true, snatch from us the pre-eminence we have bought with so much blood and treasure, but that she can powerfully contribute to our losing it, by lending the assistance of her strength to the only power we have to fear. Less formidable now than under Napoleon, her situation gives a greater value to her alliance than belonged to it in the days of her military glory. With her, we may dictate our own terms to Russia,—without her, Russia will become the most dreadful enemy that has ever yet assailed the fortunes of Great Britain. It would be weakness to flatter ourselves that France is not aware of the advantages she may derive from circumstances so favourable to political coquetry; and so long as diplomatic promises are our only pledges of her fidelity, we shall be constantly on the eve of a conflict in which she might take part against us with the greatest ease, as she would be required only to take a secondary part. In the present state of things, the event of a war in the east would oblige us either to buy the friendship of France, by allowing her an increase of territory that might hereafter be dangerous,—or, to be on our guard against a suspicious neutrality. What can we then offer her beyond what Russia would be glad to give, if we have not had the timely wisdom to conciliate to ourselves the good will, not of the government, but of the people of France? The most solemn treaties are set aside without difficulty, when national interest, or even the interest—well or ill understood—of the government, is in opposition to the faithful execution of them: the only permanent alliances are those which are based on the interests of a majority of the community; for, in that case, public opinion opposes their violation—and that not for a day, at the caprice of a few influential men, and while they continue in power—but from generation to generation, in spite of the caprices of the sovereign and his ministers, in spite even of the changes of events. Thus, if France found an advantageous market for her agricultural produce in England, such an extensive commercial intercourse

would rapidly eradicate all existing prejudices; and the 20,000,000 of Frenchmen, who would be indebted to us for the comforts they would then enjoy, would themselves, and through their representatives in the legislative assembly, offer us such a pledge of friendship, and such a full security, as would enable Great Britain, in her calculations for the future, to rely upon retaining their country as her truest ally. Our plenipotentiaries would not then be obliged to make their appeal to the constantly changing, and often ill understood necessities of French politics. France would be faithful to us, not for fear of the harm our navy could do her in case of war, not on account of the dangerous ambition of the autocrat, nor even from the sympathy natural to people living under a representative government: doubtless, these motives would continue to influence her strongly in our favour; but her fidelity to us would mainly rest upon a far more solid basis;—upon the growing fortunes and progressive welfare of the most influential and numerous classes, who would be obliged to maintain the alliance with England under penalty of losing the advantages they derived from it. Thus the commissioners assembled at Paris, will render the two nations an immense service, even in a political point of view, if they are able by fortunate innovations to procure for them the benefit of a flourishing commerce. It is incontestable, that if true freedom of commerce existed between France and England, each would be the other's best customer: in the first place, because, next to that of England, the market of France is the best in the world; and in the second, because from the very different nature of their principal productions, they have abundant elements for a mutually profitable exchange. The advantages to be obtained by taking off all prohibitory duties are obvious; but the great impediment to every arrangement arises from the fact, that in France especially, the minority to whom the present state of things is favourable, would suffer greatly from a change by which their branches of trade would be affected, and themselves compelled by necessity to give to their industry and capital a new direction liable to all the risks of uncertainty. This minority is truly formidable, for the town of Paris is its real centre, and it consequently comes into immediate contact with the government, of which also many members are personally interested in maintaining privileges, which are ruinous to the nation at large. A single example will suffice to show how much France loses by the system she has adopted, and how difficult it will be for her to give it up.



From 1815 to 1839, that is to say, for twenty-four years, the annual value of the cotton goods manufactured by France, cannot be calculated upon an average as less than £20,000,000 sterling, and M. Thiers states it at £24,000,000 (600,000,000 of francs). Of this enormous quantity, she exports to her colonies or elsewhere, as fancy goods, to the amount of £1,800,000, and therefore her home consumption cannot fall short of £18,000,000 sterling. Taking this as an average, we can safely assert that our manufacturers could have supplied an equal quantity of cotton goods full 30 per cent. cheaper; that is, for the annual sum of £12,600,000, and thus, have yearly either thrown into the French treasury in the shape of duties, or spared to the French people £5,400,000. Now, if we multiply this sum by the number of years that have elapsed since the last peace, that is, by twenty-four, we shall find, that the prohibitory system in one single case has already cost France a sum total of £129,600,000, a sum which would now be sufficient to liquidate the national debt of that country!!! But the direct tax thus levied by the French cotton manufacturers upon their countrymen has been less fatal to them than the indirect loss it has occasioned. In exchange for the £12,600,000 worth of cotton goods obtained from England, England would have purchased French goods to an equal amount, and wines, silks, and generally the staple manufactures of France, would have been encouraged to an unprecedented extent. But the commercial prejudices and antipathies entertained since the days of Colbert, prevailed over the better judgment of our neighbours; and the prohibitory system, notwithstanding its avowed inefficiency as a warlike engine, was continued with unabated rigour by the Bourbons. Thus the French cotton manufactories retained full possession of the home market, and rapidly increased in numbers to the great and lasting injury of the French staple manufacturers. An enormous capital has been gradually sunk in speculations connected with the cotton trade, and a most powerful combination, established as it were, for the express purpose of upholding the disastrous system under which only it can live and flourish. It includes not only the parties immediately concerned in the monopoly, but also the monied interest of France—the Parisian bankers, and many other wealthy individuals—either as lenders to, or as share-holders in the cotton factories. If we take into consideration that the same system called into existence many other manufactories whose fate is deeply involved in the negotiations now pending at Paris, we

shall be able fairly to form a general estimate of the difficulties our commissioners will have to overcome, if they succeed in obtaining a complete revisal of the French tariff. Nothing short of its thorough reformation could justify such concessions on the part of England, as would ensure to France an ample compensation for the modifications she would make; because, nothing short of a free access to both markets, can so entwine the commercial interest of the two countries, as to preclude the future possibility of a political secession. It would be absurd to suppose that with the liberty of the press, the legislative influence of the people, and the immense interests which would be opposed to any change in the system of custom-house duties, France will ever consent to compromise the existence of a considerable part of her trading capital, if she does not see clearly and distinctly that her losses will be amply made up to her by the far greater profits she would derive in the English markets for produce of a different kind. Our commissioners could not expect to obtain terms exclusively favourable to their own country; and we, on our part, should be obliged to make some great sacrifices, which, however, would be far from being so heavy as those required from France. The works we have mentioned at the head of our article throw great light upon this double question, and though they have been some time published, we do not hesitate to affirm, that they contain the most complete and interesting documents which have yet appeared upon the state of French industry in its relations with our own. But, before commencing an enquiry which we cannot carry out without touching upon the important question of the corn laws, it will be useful to take a rapid survey of the means by which the Bourbons, in spite of the gratitude they owed to England, were induced to uphold the system which Napoleon had borrowed from the old French statesmen, although by him it was carried so far, as to become an actual blockade of the continent. The reader will see that the Bourbons were not alone to blame; we also contributed to the errors of these unhappy princes by preferring our political sympathies to our commercial affinities. The abolition of the rights of primogeniture and of entails, together with the sale of the estates of the nobles and the church, has indefinitely multiplied the number of landholders, and almost destroyed the landed interest. According to official documents, one-thirtieth of the land annually changes owners by sales alone, and thus the influence acquired by the long continuance in a family of the same

estates, and the local and mutual attachments which result from it, are as much unknown on the other side of the channel, as on the other side of the Atlantic. Few of our readers are unacquainted with this merciless and fatal subdivision; but however sensible they may be of its injurious effects so far as the cultivation of the soil is concerned, few perhaps are aware of its mischievous influence upon the general comforts of by far the largest portion of the French people.

We are informed by M. Charles Dupin, that two-thirds at least of the population owe their subsistence to agriculture, and consequently, under a government which at least in theory is that of the majority, it might be expected that all regulations internal and external, would be made conducive to the permanent and preponderating interests of agriculture. But it is indispensable for the obtaining this object, that there should be union amongst the agriculturists, large landed properties to serve as a point of union to the smaller ones, and to diffuse a spirit of combination, and a knowledge of their real necessities; all, in short, that the manufacturing interests already possess. For the great master manufacturers, through the influence they can use with those in their employment, and the compactness of their body, which is limited by the difficulty of acquiring such a large capital as is now requisite for forming part of it, can easily combine amongst themselves and give one uniform impulse to the class which they represent. Paris too—Paris with all her pleasures, the seat of the court and the government, attracts and retains within her walls the few families yet possessing large estates; to whose vices, ambition, or indolence, she offers irresistible attractions.

The deplorable condition of the landed interest is rendered worse by the fact, that the feeble remnants of the French gentry are royalists, and on that account, unpopular among the smaller proprietors, their natural friends and dependants. All these causes have combined hitherto in neutralizing the legitimate influence of the agricultural classes, and by weakening and disorganizing them, left them at the mercy of the mercantile classes, whenever an important measure came under discussion, as in the case of the tariff of customs. It would appear at first sight as if at the restoration, its friends, who were almost exclusively landholders, would have given their attention to raising and protecting the landed interest; but the courtiers of Louis XVIII, when they returned with him from exile, were chiefly fascinated by the prospect of repairing their fortunes by launching out upon the golden sea

of mercantile enterprise. Even Louis himself, who, during his stay in England, had become acquainted with the prodigies of our industry, forgot to take into account the differences betwixt the two countries, and thought himself performing an act of patriotism when he perpetuated the system of monopolies which he found established. Thus, the French manufacturers obtained all that they wanted, and the prohibitions which are still closing the markets of France against our goods, were rigorously enforced. It is but just to add, that in England, public opinion ran strongly in favour of the French liberal party, that is to say, of the monopolizing party — of that party, which was of necessity adverse to our commerce and our manufacturers. We are far from contesting the abstract justice of this preference, and our readers will be widely mistaken if they suppose us the partizans of absolutism ; but it is not the less true, that in the choice of their continental friends, the manufacturers of Great Britain have shown their disinterestedness, which may have been carried too far. France in 1815, was as now, divided into two great parties, manufacturing and agricultural, each of which required foreign markets for their superfluous produce. If we set aside minor details, and omit the cases in which an article whether manufactured or agricultural, serves as an exchange against some other article, likewise either manufactured or the produce of the soil, we shall clearly see that countries exclusively manufacturing or exclusively agricultural, cannot be profitable customers to one another. The only trade which is truly lucrative and really extensive, is obviously that which is carried on between nations, whose staple commodities are of a different order ; and the slightest reflection on the natural consequences of this self-evident axiom, should have sufficed to make us understand, that by throwing the weight of our sympathy into the scale of the French liberals, we gave strength to the monopolizing party. Whom did the Lafittes, the Benjamin Constants, the Foys, and the other leaders of the opposition represent ? The manufacturers of Paris, Rouen, St. Quentin, and Alsace. It might be generous to applaud the efforts of the eloquent pleaders in favour of liberty ; but England would have shewn more prudence, had she remembered that these champions of freedom were the bitter opponents of free trade. The fundamental maxim of their political economy, was, that their country should, with the exception of raw material, receive nothing from foreigners, and certainly they made no deviation from the rule, in favour of their Manchester admirers. Such were

the consequences resulting from the strange contradictions, between the political interests, and the commercial welfare, of the different parties in the two countries. The Tories sympathized with the royalists of France; the Whigs and Reformers, with the Liberals; or to class them more generally, the agriculturists took part with the agriculturists, the manufacturers with the manufacturers. And thus, without being ourselves aware of it, we contributed powerfully, though indirectly, to increase the obstacles by which already our goods were prevented from entering France. Could we in fact take a more unadvised course, than to assist rival manufacturers in obtaining political power? Where was the good sense of John Bull, when, to persuade our neighbours to abandon the prohibitory system, he had recourse to the assistance of their cotton weavers? We then fell into a grievous error, and adopted a line of policy, which could only tend to render it more and more impossible for us to form a commercial alliance with France. It is full time for the advantage of both countries, that we should retrace our steps. Were France and England to conclude a treaty analogous to that which unites the different members of the Prussian league, and by which the agricultural and manufactured produce of each country is freely admitted into the others, without payment of duty, the French wine and corn growers, printers and lithographers, manufacturers of silks, porcelain, cambric, and the finer description of stuffs, would derive an immense advantage from it, while the masters of iron works, cotton weavers, &c. would lose enormously. The change would be profitable for the French landed interest, and for the comparatively small portion of artizans, who work with more taste and economy in their particular branches of industry, than ours; but to all other artizans, a great loss; for being no longer protected in the monopoly of their own market, they could not support our competition. We do not recommend these conditions; but it is certain that every modification of their respective tariffs must bring them nearer to this state of things, and in a greater or less degree must be followed by these results. The plainest dictates of common sense require therefore, that we should appeal,—not to those classes who would lose every thing by a more extensive commercial alliance with Great Britain, but to the obvious interest of the classes who would thereby be largely benefited. These are our natural auxiliaries, and it would be unwise in us, not to raise them by all means in our power, from their present undue abasement; and to en-

deavour to create an English party from the mighty elements in which they abound. An English party in this sense, that it would clearly see, that without derogating from the national honour and dignity, it might and ought to use its influence for the avowed purpose of overthrowing those obstacles, which now hamper, or indeed render impossible, any extensive intercourse between the nations. It concerns us little what might be the views taken by such a party, of the internal policy of France; whether its sympathies inclined to the elder branch of the Bourbons, or to the Republic, provided that it took for its device, free trade with England, and admission, under moderate duties, of the produce of those manufactories that employ the greater part of our workmen. And if the great bulk of the sincere Catholics in France, the agriculturists and silk weavers of the south, are led by their position to join this party, is that any reason for our not affording them all the assistance in our power? No doubt the duty of our commissioners is to study with care, the real interests of whatever classes are predisposed to second them, in their arduous attempt to offer the largest concessions that England can reasonably make, and to give to these offers every possible publicity. Thus, those interests which harmonize with ours from their very dissimilarity, the producers, whose commodities we can take from France, because we do not produce them ourselves, or only under disadvantages, and in insufficient quantities, will have notice of our intentions; and happily there never was a more favourable moment than the present, for the creation of such a party. The French agriculturists are awakening from their lethargy, the "enquiry" before us is one striking proof of this. Something like what is going on in the United States, is now taking place amongst our neighbours. As on the other side of the Atlantic, the departments of the south are jealous of the supremacy of the departments of the north, where Paris is situated, and complain bitterly that in all questions relating to customs, they are, and have always been, unpitifully sacrificed to their rivals. Where the system of government is to centralize all power, to a degree unknown elsewhere, and by means of which, the local interests of the smallest village are determined upon by a minister resident in the capital; those who reside near this centre of government, have of necessity an immense advantage over those, whose abode is more distantly situated. And southern France owes to this circumstance, a neglect fatal to her welfare, and of which she is now fully conscious. M. Charles Dupin,



in 1825, stated her population at 17,284,021, while that of northern France at the same period, amounted only to 13,167,166. Southern France is eminently agriculturalist; and if the bulk of the inhabitants, setting aside the political divisions which neutralize their influence, were to choose some common interest as their watchword, they would easily obtain the full redress of all their grievances. In order to secure to the manufacturers of the north, the undisputed possession of the home market, the French government created the bulwark of protecting duties, and prohibitive regulations, and England was obliged to make reprisals, which were all to the prejudice of the wine-growers, and silk-weavers of the south; we punished them for the privileges granted to their disadvantage, by loading their commodities with such enormous taxes, as amounted almost to the closing of our ports against them. As often happens, those who were not in fault, suffered for those who were; but in the present instance, if the departments of the south are not yet fully aware of the cause of their distress, at any rate they now see clearly, that their northern neighbours, although less numerous, are deriving the chief advantages from their mutual association; and some recent facts shew plainly how little encouragement on our part would be necessary, to give to their discontent a direction extremely favourable to our manufactures. We will quote but one. In the session of 1837-8, the French ministers demanded from the chambers, authority to open, at the expense of the state, several lines of railroad, of which, the most important were to intersect the northern provinces. They met the most pertinacious resistance from the deputies from the south, who protested against a measure, which, for the sole profit of the northern provinces, would load the whole of France with enormous expenses; it became necessary to have recourse to the system of companies; while at the same time, the deputies from the south carried, almost by force, a law for the construction of a canal, to run parallel with the Garonne; for that river, not being navigable up to Toulouse, the noble Languedoc canal, leading from that city to the Mediterranean, has hitherto been rendered useless. The junction of the two seas by internal navigation, which Louis XIV intended, has not taken place, and the canal now projected for the benefit of the Frenchmen of the south, is doubly important, because in the first place, it shows the high position taken by the departments concerned in the measure; and in the second, this first success will render them only more eager to obtain far-

ther concessions of a like nature. The pecuniary encouragements given by Napoleon, and the strictness of the continental blockade, compensated in some degree to the French artizans, for the evil done them by the revolutionary war; their goods bore a high price, but from that very fact they were the better able to bear the heavy cost of transportation; and the market which they monopolized, was sufficient to consume all that they produced by their then imperfect machinery. Their profits in general were enormous, although raised upon such limited sales, as would make our great manufacturers smile with pity; and we may affirm, that if Napoleon's system was unfavourable to industry in general, it was eminently advantageous to the individuals who turned their attention to manufactures. But the wine growers, whose produce was of too heavy a description to be transported to any distance, without the help of water carriage, were far from being so prosperous. The great city of Bordeaux, whose trade became so flourishing after the treaty of 1786, paid dearly for the harvest which the manufacturers of the north were reaping from Napoleon's military triumphs. Proprietors and merchants were ruined, the value of land fell 75 per cent., and all parties detested the Emperor of the French, as the cause of their common distress. Here was the chief source of the enthusiasm of the Bordalese for the Bourbons, of their loyalty in 1814 and 1815, and of the ease with which a single detachment of English took possession of this great city. They ardently desired peace, that they might again send their wines to all parts of the world, and their hopes were partly realized during the first years after the restoration. They had, however, lost some of their old customers, for the Hungarian wines were now carried by the Elbe towards Hamburgh, and to the Baltic by the Oder; new habits also had been introduced; and cheaper beverages were sought for, than those formerly supplied from France. In one sense, then, peace revived the commerce of Bordeaux, for it was now revisited by merchant vessels, whereas during the war its port was desolate: still trade was languid, and from year to year, the rapid decay of its prosperity, as compared with that of Havre, was alarming. The works of Say, and his disciples in political economy, had become popular, and it required no great science on the part of the wine-growers and merchants, to discover that the law of 1816, regulating the new French tariff, was the real cause of their distress, by sanctioning all the prohibitory measures of Napoleon. England, to whom the tariff established at the restoration was so un-

favourable, and who since 1792 had raised the duty on French wines, from 3s. 9d. per gallon, to 11s. 5½d., retained it at this latter rate; and other countries responded to the prohibitory system, by duties so high, that they became interdictions. The exports, which before the revolution amounted to 100,000 casks, were rapidly falling off. They amounted to no more than 61,000 casks in 1820, and that number had decreased in 1837 to 38,000. The distress occasioned by the consequent decline in the price of Bordeaux wines and brandies, produced its natural effect. The inhabitants soon cooled in the fervour of their loyalty, and many were the petitions presented by them to the chambers, for obtaining alterations in the tariff, to which they justly attributed their ruin. In 1822, when new restrictions upon trade were voted, for the protection of the iron masters and the woolgrowers, the opposition of the departments of the south became serious. In the discussions which shortly afterwards took place, M. Bastereche, a Bayonne deputy, pronounced the following remarkable words:—

“If from an undue predilection for one part of the kingdom, the other part finds itself so wronged, that its reasonable and natural existence becomes compromised, the idea which inevitably forces itself upon those who suffer so severely, is to give up an association, the effects of which are thus become intolerable.”

The feelings manifested in this speech recall to our minds, the perhaps prophetic words of a member of Congress in 1809, Mr. Thomas Pickering,—who exclaimed during the heat of those disputes which divided the United States into two parties, democrats and federalists, “Separate we shall; amicably if we can, forcibly if we must.” However, in 1822, the consequences of the protecting system were not fully understood, and moreover, the wine-growers were as yet the only sufferers; but, since then, commerce,—in the true sense of the word,—and many branches of industry, are making the same complaint, and government have been obliged to pay some attention to the threatening clamour. It is in consequence of the incessant demands of some of the provinces, that M. Duchatel (a minister of commerce, who left office too soon for the prosperity of France), ordered the enquiry which is now before us; which, however, as a means of arriving at truth, cannot justly be compared to the enquiries ordered in England by Parliament, the French chambers not claiming any authority in these matters. The minister alone, or commissioners appointed by him, summon witnesses and receive their depositions, and, as these commissioners possess no judi-

cial authority, the result of their efforts depends on the goodwill of those persons who give their testimony. In the present case, M. Duchatel instituted a special committee, under the name of the "High Board of Trade;" it consisted of seven peers, nine deputies, and nine bankers, manufacturers or public functionaries.

Now, it cannot be denied, that if circumstances constrained him to make this selection, it was an unfortunate one: for a large majority of the members were men inclined by their private interests to favour the cause of monopoly. On the 20th Sept. 1834, he addressed a circular to the Chambers of Commerce, established in the principal towns of the kingdom, desiring them to forward to the board their opinions and observations, in the first place, upon the good or bad effects of the prohibitory system considered as a whole; and in the next, if it should be judged necessary to modify the system, what should be the nature of the alterations made with respect to certain branches of industry, especially the manufactures of glass, china, plated goods, and woollen or cotton cloths. He at the same time gave notice, that the board would receive the evidence of all persons whose situation enabled them to throw light upon these important subjects. The chambers of commerce of seven sea-port towns and of twenty-eight manufacturing towns in the interior, the prefects of two departments, the receiver-general of Customs at Lille, and several special committees named by societies of manufacturers, were heard as to the principle of the existing prohibitions. We will consider first, this part of the enquiry, prefacing it with some general observations, which will serve to show which parties in France are the natural opponents or natural supporters of a commercial alliance with England. In former times, monopolies were generally granted to courtiers, who obtained the exclusive privilege of buying or selling certain commodities, and enriched themselves at the expense of the unhappy consumer. Occasionally, but seldom, monopolies were established for the benefit of a whole class of native producers; thank heaven, they are now unknown to us, except in this latter form, bad enough in itself, but more legitimate in its intention, since, in interdicting foreign produce by means of prohibitions or exorbitant duties, the object is the protection of national industry. England and France have vied with each other in the undesirable honour of this imprudent patriotism, which consists in preventing consumers from receiving their supplies from abroad, for the sake of imperfect or only begin-

ning manufactures at home. In every country where this mania for protecting duties has gained ground, the labourers, agricultural or manufacturing, may be divided into three classes; first, those who can produce at nearly the same price as their foreign competitors,—so that, light duties established not as a protection, but for the sake of the revenue, are sufficient to give them the command of the home market. Second, those who can so far undersell their foreign competitors, that not only they naturally command the monopoly of the home market, but export their goods to every market which is not closed against them by prohibitions or protecting duties; and thirdly, those who produce at so high a price, that they could not meet the competition of foreigners, even in the home market, without the protection of prohibitions or enormous duties.

The first class has certainly nothing directly to fear or to expect from a modification of the French tariff, but indirectly they must gain by a happy issue of the present negotiations, as the general prosperity of France would react upon them; we have, therefore, no opposition to fear on their part. It is evident that the second class is everywhere eager for freedom of trade, and, as in France, this class comprehends the wine-growers, that is to say, a population of nearly 3,000,000 persons, the silk weavers and a multitude of labourers in other inferior branches of industry; it will, when once convinced of its true interests, and when England has offered proper inducements, become sufficiently strong and active, to overthrow the principal barriers that have been raised between the two nations. We must not forget that this class amongst our neighbours, will be so much the stronger, as all the commercial interest will naturally join it. It is of little importance to the merchant or the shopkeeper, where he buys his goods, provided that he buys them at the lowest possible price, for it is in that case that his sales are most extensive and his profits most considerable. But the third class, on the contrary, has everything to lose by a change; as the superior cheapness of the works of foreign artizans, would soon enable them to obtain possession of the market hitherto exclusively their own, even supposing the goods to be admitted upon reasonable duties; no doubt the necessity which would arise in this case, of improving in their art, or giving it up altogether, would rouse them from the lethargy natural to the holders of a monopoly, and urge them to great perfection:—at least this would be the case with such of this class, as did

not seek more certain profits in freer, and of course more lucrative branches of commerce ; but, after the most strenuous efforts, their success must be uncertain, and they must run great risks in order to obtain at last what the prohibitory system gave them without difficulty. We shall certainly be bad judges of the human heart, if we suppose that men so circumstanced will not resist to the utmost any attempt at innovation ; and from causes before-mentioned, this class has, on the other side of the channel, a degree of influence quite out of proportion with its wealth and numerical strength. Is it not strange that the minister should have especially, almost exclusively, turned the attention of those whom he consulted towards branches of industry, which have hitherto legally monopolized the French market ? Yet, M. Duchatel is favourable to the great principle of liberty of commerce, and, if he acted in this manner, it is because in 1834 the enquiry could not have been carried on except on this condition. This fact, in itself, shows the difficulties our commissioners will have to encounter, and which they can never overcome, while our sympathies shall keep in power the only class of men who are vitally interested in the maintenance of the prohibitory system. The principal manufacturers whose existence depends upon this system, are certainly those for cotton goods ; for most woollen cloths, the iron-works and the coal mines. To hope to conciliate the good-will and parliamentary influence of their proprietors, is an error which has been popular in England, but which we must abandon if we hope to see the French market opened to us. The first part of the enquiry is dedicated to an examination into the effects of the prohibitory system ; and the question propounded to the Chambers of Commerce may be reduced to nearly the following terms :—“ Is it expedient, or not, to allow the introduction of all sorts of foreign goods, after laying upon them duties which may, if it is thought right, be high enough to afford sufficient protection to all the national manufactures which require it ? ” The reader will see that the innovation proposed by M. Duchatel, amounted to very little ; yet, even this slight change, the privileged classes opposed almost without exception. The commercial chambers of those towns where these manufacturers possess most authority, those of Rouen, Dunkirk, Amiens, Sedan, Roubaix, and Rennes in the north,—St. Etienne and Carcassone in the south, gave their opinion in the strongest manner for keeping up the prohibitory system ; while the Commercial Chambers of Calais, Nantes, Strasbourg, Tours,



and Alençon in the north, and Marseilles in the south, preferred the adoption of high duties. The other chambers consulted by the ministry, went farther than this, for they represented the mercantile interest, or the interest of those manufactories which are now sacrificed to the monopolies of the privileged classes; and Boulogne, Havre, Metz, Arras, Vire, Bar-le-Duc, Rhetel and Orleans, in the north; and Lyons, Tarare, Grenoble, Saumur, Clermont-ferrand, Limoges, and Niort, demanded, not only the abandonment of the prohibitory system, but also that of protecting duties; maintaining, that the interest of the country, well understood, required, that no branch of industry should be protected by a monopoly, which, by provoking retaliation on the part of foreigners, necessarily injured the other producers of France. We must add, that the commercial chambers most opposed to the prohibitory system, were unanimous in demanding the suppression of taxes levied upon the importation of raw material, which, in France, are very heavy: cotton wool, for instance, pays a duty of 8s. 10d. the 100lbs.; the same quantity paying only 2s. 11d. on its entry into our ports. We have not mentioned Bordeaux amongst the towns which took part in this enquiry, for a reason which is highly important. The chamber of commerce, of this great city, protested solemnly against the manner in which the high board of trade was constituted—affirming, that the selection of its members offered no pledge of impartiality to the great interests of the south of France. But this protestation was accompanied by two memorials, one signed by the merchants of Bordeaux, the other, by the proprietors of the vineyards in the department of the Gironde; and both defend their cause with a threatening energy. The following quotation is so important, that we will make no excuse for its length.

“The prohibitory system became the necessary corollary of the continental blockade.

“The north saw arise a crowd of manufacturers, whose produce was to supply the deficiencies of importation, now become impossible.

“War created this system—peace should have overthrown it; and if the restored family continued the destructive application of it to our country, it was from a political motive. The population of the north, adverse to their cause, required to be won over; the goodwill of the people of the south appeared already secure.

“The empire and the restoration reaped in unpopularity what they had sown of deception and misery, throughout the south.

“In order to explain why, while condemning the prohibitory principle of the empire, he thinks proper to continue the mistakes

of the protecting system of the restoration, the present minister alleges the rights that have been acquired, the immense capitals that have been invested on the faith of existing legislation, and the necessity of preserving national establishments from foreign competition. Never, we here declare it, have we asked for such an alteration in our system of custom duties, as would ruin the fortunes of individuals. What we demand, is a gradual and real approach, without commotion or disturbance, to an order of things more in harmony with the general interest.

“ We wish that an upright government should comprehend, that it is not right to sacrifice to one part of the country, who reject importations, the interests of another part of the country, to whom they are necessary, as being the only condition upon which they can export.

“ We wish the government to be convinced, that neither can the exigencies of our situation be met by changes of such slight importance, that they become mockeries. In a word ; if the present cannot heal our wounds, we wish to be assured, that the day is not far distant when we shall enjoy an equal protection.

“ For we, also, have immense capitals invested—acquired rights still more ancient—and a working population to support ; will these considerations never serve, but as a weight in the balance ? There is, also, in political economy, a *just medium* ; and those who, for thirty years, have suffered severely, have a right to demand that others should now enjoy a somewhat less measure of prosperity. The north possesses, in fact, a territorial revenue about equal to that of the south. It contains forges and furnaces, mines, cattle, manufactories of cotton, manufactories of linens, manufactories of cloths, manufactories of beetroot sugar ; in short, almost the whole of our manufacturing industry. All receive the most unreasonable protection, while our productive resources are overloaded with taxation.

“ The seat of government is in the north ; the inhabitants of the north are possessors of five-sixths of the public debt, and are creditors of France for the enormous sum of five milliards.

“ In 1830, 60,000,000 francs were granted by the Chambers, for the relief of commerce and manufactures ; hardly did a few *hundred thousands* reach the south ; the capital, and the cities of the north, absorbed it all. More recently, 100,000,000 francs are voted for public works—the north draws the whole sum to itself, and the minister is compelled in his place to acknowledge, that *the south has been forgotten*. On the one hand, an accumulation of privileges, of wealth, of civilization,—on the other, exclusion from equal rights, misery, and retrogradation ; such facts express more clearly than our words can do, the partiality of a legislation which has produced such results.

“ Who does not see, in the constant triumph of the interests opposed to ours, the power of a formidable league ?

“ By it, government is importuned—its weakness, or blindness,

turned to account; it is compromised in the affections of the people. This league, is the coalition between the masters of iron-works, the proprietors of mines, of forests, of cattle, the manufacturers of the north; and it subjugates and binds to its fortunes all economical legislation. This coalition peoples the capital, and usurps the administration, which it governs by its influence; while we, far removed from the centre of government, can scarcely obtain a hearing for our voices, distant as they are, unsupported, and soon overpowered by our adversaries; who are, above all, skilful in obtaining for themselves the right to judge our complaints, and arbitrate upon our grievances.

“Having thus given a picture of our sufferings, and exposed the cause of our evils, we demand a modification of the tariff of customs, having for its basis, the principle of admitting foreign goods upon a moderate scale of duties.

“This modification should consist in an annually progressive decrease in the customs’ duties, and should fix the period when our tariffs—losing their prohibitory, or, as it is in mockery called, their *protecting* character—will have no farther relations with the treasury, than, as a means of supplying the wants of the fiscal revenue. We demand, also, that France, responding to the friendly intentions manifested by many of the northern powers, shall procure for us, by means of reciprocal concessions, an extensive market for our produce in these states.

“That for this purpose, government should make a reduction in our tariffs, to Russia, England, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Germany, principally upon pitcoal, cotton threads of certain numbers, which we cannot attain to; iron, steel, common crockery, leather, hemp and flax, linen cloths, and woollens. We recommend to particular attention, the relations that France might cultivate with the vast states of America.

“If contrary to our hope, our prayers are not heard; if our wants are not comprehended; if, by a fatal blindness, it should be thought impossible to deprive the north and its manufactures of that spoliating protection, which largely endows one party with what it has violently torn from the other;—

“If it were demonstrated that our present legislation is incapable of reconciling the adverse interests of the northern and southern provinces;—in this case we openly declare it, there will be no salvation for our provinces, but in the creation of an interior line of customs, which without destroying their national unity, would assure to the two parts of France, the conditions necessary for their existence as agricultural and manufacturing countries. Then as formerly, the north might protect itself against the importation of foreign productions, and its prosperity would cease to be the occasion of our ruin. Prudence indicates this measure to the wisdom of power. Let it foresee and prevent the catastrophe, that might be brought about by an incompatibility of material interests in the bosom of

the same nation. Does not the history of our times shew us Belgium raised against Holland, and South Carolina against the federal union of America, by this same incompatibility? These important events contain profound instruction, which is alarming to our patriotic feelings. Patriotism offers it to the deep reflection of the statesmen by whom we are governed."

The inhabitants of Bordeaux had evidently fallen into an error against which we must be on our guard, and which must have greatly diminished the weight of their just remonstrances and demands. No doubt the north is the principal seat of those manufactories which profit by the prohibitory system, as is the south of those which suffer by it. But it is not the less true, and the evidence given by the chambers of commerce fully establishes the fact, that free trade possesses many advocates in the north, and has its opponents in the south of France. The Bordalese, by dividing France into two hostile zones, committed a double fault, for in the first place, they aroused against themselves the patriotism of every Frenchman, who valued the integrity of his country; and in the second, they, as it were, rejected the important alliance of the merchants and artizans, who although on the other side of the Loire, are no less than themselves the natural opponents of the prohibitory system; the nature of men's trade, and not their local situation, must incline them to give or withhold their support from this system; and the wine merchants and growers of Bordeaux, would have been more favourably listened to, had they made their appeal to all who had a common interest with them. The same observation applies in France to manufactories and to agriculture, which taken in general are favourable, the former to the exclusion of foreign produce, and the latter to its admission. But on the other hand, many branches of manufacture suffer from the monopoly by which others prosper, and all agree in complaining of the dearness of iron, and attribute, with apparent reason, the high price of an article which is so necessary to them, to the political influence of the great owners of forests and coal mines, who would sell their coals and their wood upon much less advantageous terms, if the enormous duty laid upon foreign iron, had not enabled the French iron-work masters to command the home market. Never perhaps were the consequences of a false principle so strikingly made manifest. At the peace of 1814, the French foundries, cotton, and most of the woollen manufactures, were, if compared with our own, conducted in a most unskilful manner, and the high price of fuel was a

serious obstacle to any improvement. In order to multiply coal pits, and to encourage the proprietors of wood, high duties were levied upon foreign coal and iron, and the home manufacturers were thenceforward obliged to sell their goods at such a price as would cover the expense they were put to for iron and combustibles. From that time it became impossible for them to sustain any competition with us, and it would have been so, even if they had had as perfect machinery and as skilful workmen as ourselves: and inasmuch as they had a right to a protection, which the folly of government had rendered necessary; and as this protection diminished the receipts of customs, and it was necessary to supply the deficiency, it followed that very heavy duty must be imposed upon raw material, imported from foreign countries. Thus was created a new cause of embarrassment for the manufacturers, who were already, from the monopoly they enjoyed, indisposed to that emulation, which is never truly active, except where stimulated by competition with the goods of other countries. These facts are constantly alluded to by the chambers of commerce; but those which have best defended the two opposite systems of prohibitions and free trade, are, unquestionably, the chambers of Arras and Rouen, and it must not be forgotten that the former, the strenuous advocate of free trade, is situated in the north. We will give a brief analysis of their memorials, to show how the question on both sides is considered in France. The commercial chamber of Rouen begins by deploring the progress of the opposition raised against the prohibitory system, which it emphatically denominates "*The palladium of French manufactures.*" In 1833, the minister, in his circulars, desires to know, whether there are any duties which can be taken off without inconvenience? in 1834, he institutes an enquiry, to ascertain whether the entire system of prohibitions may not be laid aside! The innovators, continue the memorialists, depend chiefly on the following arguments: 1st. In defiance of the vigilance of the custom-house officers, contraband trade is carried on to a great extent, and with perfect safety to the speculators, who for a premium ensure themselves against risk. It would be better that this premium should be received by the nation in the form of duties, than remain in the hands of smugglers. 2nd. That the introduction of foreign goods upon sufficiently high duties, would have the advantage of stimulating French artizans, to bring their manufactures to a higher degree of perfection. 3rd. Taking off the present prohibitions, would have the

effect of procuring for French produce, especially wines and brandies, a more advantageous and extensive market, by inducing other nations to make a relaxation in their custom-house regulations. The partizans of these new ideas, are deceived or seduced by emissaries, whom England maintains at a great expense, and who travel about amongst the sea-ports and some manufacturing towns, seeking to make converts to the principle of free trade.

But, add the commercial representatives of Rouen, "these three objections are equally ill-founded. In the first place, the substitution of protecting duties for the prohibitory system, would exceedingly favour smuggling; at present, by virtue of the customs' law of 1816, foreign goods may be seized in the interior of France, which would be impossible if they were admitted upon payment of duty, for the goods that had paid could not then be distinguished from those that had not paid duty. And supposing even that smuggling did not increase, is it not evident, that as soon as ever English cotton and woollen goods were legally admissible, the English would send them into France in prodigious quantities, even, if necessary, at a heavy loss, as they did in America when the ports of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were opened to them. Our manufacturers could not sustain such a competition, and this torrent would continue to deluge us, till our factories were shut up; after which, the English, then absolute masters of our markets, would easily repay themselves the expense which it had cost them to obtain their supremacy. 2ndly, Is it true that we require competition with foreigners to excite our emulation? We have their machines, their models, their designs; we visit their establishments, and the competition amongst ourselves is sufficiently active to oblige every French manufacturer to make immense efforts to undersell his rivals. Finally, and in the 3rd place, The favours which the wine-growers hope to obtain from England, in exchange for concessions so ruinous to us, would be of little advantage to them for if the English government were to grant a reduction of duty upon wine, it would be too trifling to allow the exportation of the commonest description (*vins ordinaires*); and the advantage being shared by the wines of other countries, would bring far more profit to Spain and Portugal than to France; because long habit has given the English a decided preference for the wines of those two countries. But the wine-growers forget that the wealth of the departments of the north secures to them the monopoly of a market which has



been enlarged by prosperity, and would certainly diminish with it in the same proportion. If they send less wine abroad than in 1790, they sell much more in the interior. They mistake in supposing that a freer commerce would be of service to them; for one customer they might acquire abroad, they would lose ten by the internal distress which the proposed measure would occasion."

The representatives of Rouen, having thus refuted the arguments of their opponents, insist upon the immense advantages which the English manufacturer derives from his great capital, the excellence of land and water carriage, the low price in England of iron, steel, and even brass,—in short, of all those materials which are so indispensable to manufactures, and by the value of which, that of machines is always regulated. They declare that the experience of the commercial treaty of 1786 justifies their apprehensions: there is no disaster that they foresee, which did not, in fact, result from that short departure from the principles of the prohibitory system. But these disasters would now be on a larger scale; who could answer for public tranquillity if the manufactories of the great commercial towns were to be closed?

The Commercial Chamber of Arras, which we have selected as representing the truly liberal opinions in France, begins by ridiculing the exhibitions of national produce which take place at Paris, because these exhibitions are, in fact, deceptions, and the merchants never put the real price upon the articles they send to them. It goes on to deplore the weakness of government in not allowing foreign artisans to exhibit specimens of their productions, that public opinion might be enlightened upon the extent of the inferiority of French workmen, and upon those points in which they excel their rivals. This chamber acknowledges that it would be unjust to expose French workmen to a competition with foreigners, while they are paying larger prices than foreigners for the materials of their work; and when they demand that for the prohibitory system should be substituted duties,—at first high, but afterwards gradually decreasing,—it is on the implied condition, that one year before the change all duties whatever upon the raw materials used by manufacturers shall be abolished; then, continue they, the French manufacturers, who can, in general, procure labour at a cheaper rate than in England, would have the advantage in the home market of selling duty free, so that it must be their own fault if they are not prosperous. Doubtless, continues the Chamber, some par-

ticular branches of manufactures might suffer, but it is deceiving us to affect fear for the interests of the workmen thus thrown out of employment, since other branches of trade, becoming more prosperous, would easily absorb them. They would become more prosperous—1st, from the development of the general welfare; and 2ndly, by the improvement which would result from foreign competition. As a proof that home competition is not a sufficient stimulus, they instance the making of cloths. In the time of Napoleon, Belgium belonged to France, and then French cloths could bear the comparison with those of Belgium; while now the Elbœuf chamber of commerce declares, that 40 per cent. would not be a sufficient protection to French cloths against this same rivalry. But if this be so, why has Belgium herself since 1830 prohibited the admission of French cloths? Again, the chamber enquires, whether, if these manufacturers are to be treated as the whole nation; in case of war, and of such a war as would enable France to extend her frontiers to the Rhine, it would be necessary to give up this advantage, in order to secure them against the rivalry of the Belgian and Rhenish manufactures, which would then be French. The chamber concludes its memorial by expressing great astonishment that the minister should not have consulted the mercantile interest, who, throughout France, are unanimous, from the merchant to the smallest shopkeeper, in ardently desiring a quick return to more liberal ideas; and they declare that, as the welfare of the majority should be the first consideration, they demand the suppression, upon the conditions already named, of the whole system of prohibitions. We will not conclude this part of our task, without mentioning the evidence of M. Le Tourneur, receiver-general of customs at Lille. This functionary declares explicitly, that the system of prohibitions favours smuggling, by throwing it almost entirely into the hands of the French manufacturers themselves; and that this is the true, though secret, cause of their opposition to duties, even if amounting to a protection, that is to say, very high. He grounds his opinions upon the facility with which every merchant can throw into circulation any quantity of goods manufactured abroad, but analogous to those which he himself supplies; and he adds, as a proof, that most of the seizures of foreign goods made in the interior of France take place at manufactories!!!

We shall not enlarge farther upon the depositions concerning the principle of prohibitions which were transmitted to

M. Duchatel, by the Chambers of Commerce; we shall content ourselves by saying, that they were of the same character as those received upon the special enquiry respecting plated goods, glass, pottery, and woollen and cotton stuffs: almost in every instance, the interest of the individuals consulted determines their reply; and, moreover, the most ardent supporters of prohibitions are seldom desirous of extending them beyond what is requisite for their own individual profit. Thus, the woollen manufacturers require a reduction of the duty of twenty-two per cent. upon the value, which was laid upon foreign wools, for the advantage of the owners of flocks. Thus, cotton-weavers demand the free introduction of cotton spun in other countries. Thus, all join in wishing for the admission, duty free, of coals; and for the reduction of duties upon iron: the prohibitory system is not defended by any of those classes which profit by it, except in so far as it concerns themselves: and the commercial chambers both in the north and in the south, wherever they represent the interests of the mercantile community, of the wine-growers, or of the silk-weavers, are unanimous in reprobating even the imposition of high duties. The reader will be astonished at the pertinacity with which the privileged manufacturers of France defend the prohibitory system, since it would seem, that the monopoly of the home market might be secured to them by duties which could be made high enough, even to close the ports against foreign produce: but many causes besides that pointed out by M. de Tourneur, concur in making them consider it as their safeguard. In the first place, they produce too much, and the French market is already overstocked; and as the privileged manufactures of France—thanks to their imperfect state—cannot, in foreign markets, sustain a competition with England; and their produce cannot, therefore, elsewhere be disposed of; they consider, that the smallest admission of foreign goods into this sanctuary of their idleness, would increase the stagnation already so heavily felt, and which arises from the excess of their own production. Secondly, if the smugglers bring foreign goods into France, for a premium seldom exceeding twenty-five per cent., the prohibitory system gives a right to seize these goods, not only on the frontiers, but even in the interior of the country; consequently, were the smugglers to carry on their illegal trade on such a large scale as really to injure French manufacturers, they would incur such risks as must deprive them of all profit. While the right of search continues over the whole kingdom, smuggling must be

chiefly confined to goods whose value is great compared with their size, and even then cannot be carried on to any great extent; the purchasers remaining always liable to confiscation: and, in the third place, not only would the substitution of protecting duties for prohibition, render the right of search in the interior nearly impossible, but great difficulty would occur in the manner of collecting them,—they must either be levied by weight upon all imported goods, without distinction of quality; or, upon their value. Upon the first plan, duties would be ridiculously high upon common goods; and, upon those of a superior description, they would not afford an adequate protection: and, of the second alternative, the French manufacturers are singularly apprehensive; they know how difficult it would be for the custom-house officers to fix the value of imported goods; and they are not ignorant that the commercial treaty concluded in 1786, was fatal to their predecessors, from the admission of English goods; although they were subjected to a duty of twelve per cent., as we learn from Dupont de Nemours, one of the warmest partizans of the treaty, in his *Reply to the Observations of the Chamber of Commerce of Normandy*. (Paris, 1789). We must own that there seems to be here a serious objection, which must nevertheless be settled, before any commercial treaty can be arranged between the two countries. And fourthly, our neighbours in general are fully convinced, that English manufacturers are so patriotic, as of their own accord to sell their goods at a loss in any country, of which they desire to destroy the manufactures; this prejudice is founded on the rash exportations which our manufacturers continually risk, whenever there is a glut at home; and it contributes to diminish the unpopularity of the prohibitory system. We know no one at Manchester or Birmingham, at all disposed to sell their goods in France at a lower price than he could obtain elsewhere; yet we must allow, that when a crisis should arise, the protecting barrier of duties in France, would often be broken down, by the necessities of our manufacturers, and so far there seems something reasonable in their fears. The objections to the principle of protecting duties, pervade the whole enquiry; we find them again in the second part, when the minister and the board of trade, after having collected the opinions of the chambers of commerce, upon the fundamental principle of the prohibitory system, proceed to the oral examination of persons called upon as witnesses of the actual state of those branches of manufactures particularly under discussion. We

set aside the less important manufactures of pottery, glass, and plated goods ; premising merely, that the individuals interested in the two former, attach but small importance to maintaining the prohibitions upon Staffordshire wares ; the only parties who refuse to accept of protecting duties, being those who own that their factories are so far removed from coal or clay, that they would have to bear enormous expenses of carriage. Let us pass on to examine the evidence given on the state of the cotton and woollen factories in France. In the course of its labours, the High Board of Trade interrogated ninety artizans, merchants, or delegates, from the chambers of commerce, upon the possibility of placing duties upon threads, and cotton, and woollen stuffs, instead of interdicting them ; and we must own that M. Duchatel, who presided in person, used his utmost influence to dissipate the alarm of those who anticipated future gluts, to be occasioned by the combination of English manufacturers, and feared the greater facilities that the new system would give to smuggling ; upon the first point he frequently observes to the witnesses that even supposing that the English manufacturers would, for the sake of ruining those of France, be content to sell their goods at a loss, they must then sell them on those terms to the whole world, as all would choose to buy them in France, because they would there be sold cheaper, than even in England ; that consequently such a conspiracy must soon be fatal to its authors. As to the second point, he proposes to continue the right of search in the interior, and to have a mark attached to one end of each piece of cotton or cloth, obliging shopkeepers, under a penalty, to cut it always at the other end. But neither his arguments nor his securities had any effect upon the minds of those who were personally interested in keeping up the monopoly ; yet we must remark, that in the cotton trade, the manufacturers of Alsace seem much less eager to maintain their privileges than those of French Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy ; the fact being, that they are less essential to them. They are more enterprising ; in 1834, their factories contained looms of 396 spindles, while the factories of other provinces had no looms of more than 216 or 240. Neither do they deserve to share in the reproach addressed to the manufacturers of Rouen by M. Lemarchand, a great dyer of that town, who, in his reply to the minister, accuses them of having thought they had discovered a great novelty in a machine which, though but recently issued by a French mechanic, had been in the factories of Mr. Parkinson ever since 1820. The

Alsace manufacturers are better served by their workmen, who may be compared to our own, and they were not so alarmed at the projected innovations. If the commercial chamber of Mulhausen, protested against the admission of foreign goods, we may set off against that fact, the contrary opinion, which only last year was manifested by that same chamber, at the strong conclusion and disinterested evidence given by its president, M. Rœchlin. This gentleman, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, is one of the partners of the well-known firm bearing his name, which employs at Mulhausen upwards of 5,000 workmen, and possesses a large weaving factory in the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, at Lauvisheim, near Worms. The French manufactory furnishes twist to the German one, unless when the latter can provide itself cheaper in England or Switzerland; and M. Rœchlin declared, that during the eight years which elapsed from 1826 to the end of 1833, this was the case for twenty-seven months only. He considers that the prohibitory system not only retards improvements, but that its effect is to produce inequality of prices, sometimes raising them when the stock of native manufactures is exhausted, in a manner ruinous for the weavers; or, when this stock is too considerable, causing them to fall in a manner no less ruinous for the spinners; and he attributes to this cause the crises of 1827, '29 and '32. Like all the persons questioned, he demands that the duties should be taken off all raw materials of every description; he speaks with praise of the obliging manner in which English manufacturers afford all the information in their power to those of France; and having stated that Alsace sells even in England a certain quantity of printed muslin, he concludes by desiring that the system of duties should be substituted for that of prohibitions. There is neither the same interest nor the same frankness in the other depositions. The evidence of M. Leutner, of Tarare, shows that, with the connivance of government, smuggling was had recourse to for insuring a due supply of the fine threads necessary for its manufactures. The evidence on the state of the woollen factories presents a different result. With but few exceptions, the manufacturers who were examined, considered that a duty of twenty-five per cent., provided it were effectually collected, would be a sufficient protection; and the manufacturers of light fancy articles mixed with cotton or silk, avow distinctly, that the abolition of all duties upon raw material, wools, coals, machines and metals, would allow them to compete advantageously with England in every market, and consequently,



they are most desirous of a new system. In 1834, therefore, the principal supporters of the old system were the cotton manufacturers, the iron-work masters, and the owners of coal-pits and forests, who were interested in maintaining,—the former, the prohibitory system,—and the latter, the exorbitant duties imposed on foreign coal and iron. These we say, were the principal, from the extent of their capital and the vast number of workmen they employ even relatively to the linen factories of which the enquiry did not take cognizance, and of which many branches are protected by almost prohibitory duties. The line of conduct which the English government should adopt, seems sufficiently pointed out by these facts: it should seek to find allies amongst those classes of Frenchmen, whose interests are so completely set at nought by the present system; for this long enquiry had no result, except in the insignificant changes introduced by the law of 2d July 1836, which merely allowed the exportation of raw silk upon an export duty of three francs the kilogramme, and ratified the ordonnances of M. Duchatel, by which he had made a considerable reduction in the duties upon iron and coal, and allowed the admission of cotton twist of the numbers above 170. However, since that period, France has incurred enormous expense for the improvement of her means of communication both by land and water. In four years more, one of the chief obstacles to the development of her internal prosperity—the expense of transport—will have been in great measure removed. Her privileged manufactories will undoubtedly gain by the change; but how much greater would be the gain both to France and England, if these new resources were brought into active operation by an equitable commercial treaty between the countries. The obligation imposed upon our neighbours of finding vent for their activity within the limits traced by their absurd custom-house regulations, is not only injurious, because it diverts their capital from a more natural, and therefore more profitable, employment; but also, on account of the wild speculations in which that capital is so often wasted. The following summary drawn up by a competent person from the records of the Tribunal of Commerce, will show the number and the nature of the joint-stock companies established from the 1st January 1826, to the 31st December 1837, and also, the number of those whose shares were, in 1833, above or below par.

The companies established last year, for purposes, generally speaking, too evidently fraudulent, are not included.

RECAPITULATION.	Declared Capital.	Capital of Societies existing up to January 1889.				Capital of the Societies.			
		Shares of or above par.		Shares below par.		Ruined or dissolved.	Not quoted.		Commencing.
Insurances .....	26	27,500,000	7	26,000,000	1	1,000,000	5	4,140,000	1
Banks and other similar establishments .....	28	94,680,000	1	2,000,000	2	1,100,000	8	38,070,000	2
Steam boats & water carriage ..	40	10,247,000	6	2,080,000	1	100,000	12	10,020,000	4
Canals .....	6	.. ..	3	9,300,000	1	4,000,000	2	53,000,000	..
Railroads .....	6	14,000,000	..	.. ..	..	.. ..	2	3,200,000	3
Draining marshes .....	5	9,000,000	1	4,000,000	..	.. ..	2	60,700,000	..
Forges and foundries .....	10	2,300,000	2	2,400,000	..	.. ..	6	6,450,000	..
Gas .....	13	17,270,000	1	3,000,000	..	.. ..	3	4,200,000	..
Printing and publishing .....	33	9,642,000	5	1,084,000	2	690,000	7	1,455,000	..
Journals, and periodicals .....	282	2,741,000	98	17,684,000	103	16,041,000	79	12,088,000	1
Manufactures and different fabrications .....	91	18,873,000	9	10,325,000	9	6,790,000	46	45,830,000	1
Coal mines .....	31	45,900,000	6	12,400,000	3	11,200,000	13	22,350,000	..
Bridges .....	14	5,770,000	7	2,180,000	..	.. ..	1	200,000	..
Literary publications .....	75	798,000	24	4,608,000	6	1,579,000	29	4,094,000	5
Native sugar .....	13	400,000	..	.. ..	..	.. ..	12	6,000,000	..
Theatres, concerts .....	40	1,320,000	12	6,360,000	11	26,400,000	13	2,393,000	..
Carriages .....	85	16,840,000	22	14,002,000	16	35,294,000	24	11,138,000	1
Mechanical baking .....	4	60,000	..	.. ..	2	540,000	1	600,000	..
Buildings, markets, bazars, warehouses, &c .....	32	5,950,000	13	11,470,000	4	6,488,000	6	6,550,000	4
Distribution of water .....	7	2,000,000	4	2,660,000	1	390,000	1	300,000	..
Undertakings, agricultural, horticultural, colonization .....	18	15,670,000	4	11,420,000	..	.. ..	8	9,495,000	3
Different companies .....	274	16,386,000	30	28,216,000	21	48,414,000	73	48,729,000	1
Total .....	1,633	319,849,000	253	172,084,000	184	159,938,000	354	334,128,000	26
			217						53,665,000

It cannot reasonably be doubted, that the capital of France would take a different and less perilous direction, if not prevented by the custom-house laws: what proves it, and proves also, that the profits of manufacturing industry have, in spite of the monopoly of the home market, considerably diminished, is the real improvement of agriculture; encouraged, it is true, by new roads and canals, but checked, on the other hand, by the extreme subdivision of property. No one who has travelled latterly in France, can have failed to remark the quantity of land newly brought into cultivation, and the efforts that have been made to improve the method of culture, hitherto so imperfect in the departments of the centre and of the south. The market of France is, therefore, a growing market, in spite of every impediment thrown in the way; and of those impediments, one of the greatest is assuredly the erroneous principle upon which is built the whole fabric of the prohibitory system. When the law of the 28th April 1816, had confirmed the royal ordinance, by which everything in Napoleon's custom-house system, that could be made applicable to a state of peace, was perpetuated; and when, afterwards, in 1822 and 1836, this law was again sanctioned by the legislature in all its principal provisions, its natural supporters always reasoned upon the supposition, that the prohibitions they then voted for, were only temporary, and would be abrogated as soon as the privileged manufactures had ceased to require protection; or, in other words, as soon as they were able to offer their goods to the public upon lower terms than foreigners. Such has always been, both in France and England, the argument of the prohibitionists; and if the reader remembers the immense efforts made by Mr. Huskisson, to overcome the resistance of our silk-weavers, he will be easily convinced, that the French manufacturers are neither the first, nor the only ones, who have succeeded in reconciling to themselves, an abstract love of free trade, with the most rigid practical restrictions. In both cases, the same fallacious assumption is easily discernible. People believe, that a nation which could produce everything at the cheapest rate, and had, consequently, nothing to purchase from the other nations of the earth, would have reached the highest pitch of national prosperity; and they forget that this *ultima thule* of their desires can only be attained, on condition of giving up all external commerce. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the commercial utopists of France had succeeded to the highest extent of their desires—that they produced in their own country, both

raw materials, and manufactured goods, of every description, and so cheaply, that other nations must lose by sending goods to them: then, no doubt, her workmen would not require protection; she might safely dismiss her custom-house officers, for even smuggling would have become impossible. But, buying of no one, no one would buy of her; she would have no relations with any other people, but must become a second China, walled in by the cheapness of her own commodities. Even, if in this state of things, her internal wealth increased—which it would be easy to prove an impossible case—her political influence must, nevertheless, be totally destroyed: she must be alone in the world, without an ally, or a well-wisher; for other nations would then protect themselves, by prohibitions, from an intercourse which would have become ruinous. It is to such a situation as this, that the privileged manufacturers of France are tending—each one for his own branch of industry: and yet they dare to complain, that their own external commerce has not increased since 1790! Yet, we are not much surprised at the result of the enquiry of 1834; for the adversaries of the prohibitory system seem, on their part, to have fallen into a great error. We do not think, that if the legislature had voted the admission of cotton cloths into France, even upon moderate duties, it would have opened to the French silk-weavers and wine-growers, the markets now closed entirely, or nearly so, against them. Our manufacturers would have profited by the measure, but we doubt if the gratitude of our silk-weavers and distillers, for the boon received by their countrymen, would have induced them to consent to the admission, upon very low duties, of the produce France has to offer in exchange. Why, indeed, should they make concessions, if they had, without them, obtained all that our neighbours have to grant? No doubt, our interest, well understood, would lead us to follow the example they would have set us; for, amongst nations, the market where one buys nothing, becomes, in the end, a market where we cannot sell. But this evil being prospective, some time must elapse before the opposers of the introduction of French goods would yield to necessity—a time long enough to ruin the cotton interest on the other side of the channel. The advantage, then, will continue on the side of the prohibitionists, as long as the argument is thus stated: and, as the question is merely, whether France shall change her system without the security, in doing so, of any diplomatic arrangement—they will always say, that a more liberal system would compromise the existence of their

establishments, without holding out any real advantage to their opponents; who, on their part, understand the force of the objection, and are much more vehement in declaiming against the system which was the origin of their distress, than in seeking the establishment of a different one; conscious, that the advantages they would derive from it are problematical. The Bordeaux merchants certainly depend upon England's receiving their wines, but they also depend upon the continuance of the consumption in the north of France. They do not expect that, with a duty of 5*s.* 6*d.* a gallon upon their wine, and of 22*s.* 6*d.* a gallon upon their brandies, we should be able to make up to them even the loss of the Dunkirk market, to which they annually export 10,000 casks of wine. In the present state of the great trading nations, and with the privileges in their home markets, which they have granted, either to their manufactories, or their agriculture, none of them can prudently give up a single prohibition—a single protecting duty, until assured of obtaining an equivalent concession from some other nation. Commercial treaties should precede all changes in the customs; to wish for the latter before the conclusion of the former, is to bring about a perpetual *statu quo*. All the books in the world will not alter the necessity which compels every nation to regulate its customs duties upon those of its neighbours;—prohibiting those articles which are elsewhere produced better and cheaper than at home, so long as the articles in which they excel, are, in their turn, prohibited by their neighbours. We should deceive ourselves, if we expected to arrive at any really useful results by any other way; and, in our relations with France, the true question is, to determine the measure of our reciprocal concessions, so that each country may find in those which are made to it, an ample compensation for the partial evils resulting from those it is obliged to make. It would be madness in England to consent to admit the wines and brandies of France upon a slight duty, if France did not undertake to receive our iron on the same conditions. But, were France to propose to us a mutual reduction of duties, upon iron in France, and wines, &c. in England, it would be worth while to consider whether the wide market opened for our iron, might not compensate for the loss inflicted upon some of our countrymen, by the increased consumption of French wines. This, if we mistake not, is the rule which should be followed, and we will add, that if it is our object to form a commercial alliance with France, governments would do well to set aside the habitual

mysteries of diplomacy, and to take means for acquainting the public with the measures they propose, and the concessions they intend offering in exchange for those they wish to obtain. Thus they would gain the support of all those classes in France, whose private interests made them anxious for such results ; and that support would be warm and efficient, for it would no longer be thrown away upon an empty theory, but given to a practical system, capable of immediate application. One of the principal obstacles to any arrangement must always be as to the way of collecting the duties, whether upon the quality independent of value, or upon the value alone, of the imported articles. The first method is the most easy of execution, for it will be more difficult for importers to commit frauds in the weight or measure of their goods, than in their quality ; but it has this objection, that a tax thus levied, will always be too heavy for goods of an inferior description, and too light for those of greater value. Thus the French duty of 7 francs the kilogramme upon thread above the number 172, did not prevent its being imported ; but the same duty laid upon thread of inferior numbers, amounted to a prohibition. Again the duty of 5s. 6d. a gallon upon wine, completely closes our ports against wines of the second and lowest quality, and offers a dangerous premium to home adulteration. *Ad valorem* duties, on the contrary, allow the importation of goods of all description, and if the danger of this method of taxation can be avoided, it is undoubtedly the best, especially in cases of mutual concessions, where we are desirous of favouring the nation by which we are favoured. To feel this difficulty in its full force, we must remember, that when a country alters its tariff, without imposing conditions upon other countries, it acts thus for its own interest, and because it finds an advantage in doing so, without regard to the consequences of the measure to other nations. But the case is different where its modifications are made by mutual agreement between two nations, neither of which can obtain anything from the other, except for a full equivalent ; above all, when the press on the one side, and a representative government on the other, examine jealously the clauses of the treaty, and carefully watch its execution and results. If then we would have the ports of France gradually opened to our manufactures, we must be prepared to open ours in the same proportion, and we are greatly mistaken if we suppose that the wine-growers of France will exert themselves strenuously to obtain a commercial alliance with England, unless it is distinctly settled that the



wine duty shall be an *ad valorem* duty; and for this obvious reason, the reduction of duty, so much a gallon, would certainly be favourable to the vintages of the first, perhaps of the second quality; but those of the third and fourth quality, which are the great majority of French wines, would receive no benefit. Their proprietors would therefore separate their interests from those of the growers of the better quality, unless an equally great reduction took place in the now exorbitant duty upon brandy. But here again the same difficulty occurs; all the French brandies are by no means of equal goodness, and the great mass of inferior wines produce a spirit of such indifferent quality, that it would not bear a duty that would be light upon such as we now import. But it is our great object to combine, and to stimulate, the whole body of French wine-growers, in order to overcome the obstinate resistance, and powerful combinations, of the prohibitionists. Certainly the substitution we are here proposing, not as a step to be immediately taken, but as an offer to be made, is open to the most formidable objections, which however might perhaps be in part overcome, by retaining in the bonding warehouses, for at least a month, all the wines that were imported; during which time, not only the custom-house officers, but also every one else, would be allowed to purchase them by adding 5 or 10 per cent. to the declared value. This system would oblige importers to be upon their guard, as, otherwise, speculators would soon be found to profit by the deceptions they might attempt. A clause to this effect would remedy, in part at least, and so far as the treasury is concerned, the evils inseparable we unhesitatingly admit, from an *ad valorem* duty upon French wines and brandies. However great those evils, we are nevertheless fully satisfied, that a disposition on our part, some day to accept of them, is one of the conditions of any really extensive intercourse between the two countries. We must create a power which shall be in proportion to the obstacles we have to overcome, and we can only do this by appealing to the self-interest of a large part of our neighbours. The following extract from the statement of Dr. Bowring, shows us but too clearly, how impossible we should find it to open the French markets by any other means.

“In France, a very large proportion of those who are interested in the continuance of the existing commercial system, are *elevated public functionaries*, or are placed in immediate contact with them. It would have been idle therefore to have attacked great monopolies in their strongest holds. Nor can it be denied, that some of the

protected manufactures are of such magnitude, as to demand attention and respect. In many of them, considerable numbers of workmen are engaged, and though their employment in protected fabrics, leads to the exclusion of a far more considerable number of labourers in those branches of industry, whose cultivation would be the natural instead of forced growth of capital, yet all serious shiftings or transfer of labour, cannot but involve questions of difficulty and deep concern. In the mean time, the labouring classes, impatient of the suffering which is of necessity consequent upon the changes, which every alteration of the tariff brings with it, naturally ally themselves with their manufacturing masters, who demand the exclusion of the foreign articles, which are in competition with their own."

If it was our principal object to give our readers a precise idea of the state of the French fabrics, we should make numerous extracts from the excellent reports of the author we have just named; but we are chiefly anxious to point out the only measures which, in our opinion, are calculated to unite France and England in the bonds of a permanent friendship—beyond the reach of vicissitudes, parties, and cabinets. We should have gained a great step, if public opinion were so clearly manifested in England, as to convince our neighbours, that by us a first treaty of commerce, however slight might be the concessions on either side, would be considered as a first step, for attaining, on both sides, and by the help of more and more liberal treaties, to the reciprocal abolition of all directly or indirectly protecting duties. Then, all doubts as to the sincerity of our attachment to the principles of free trade would be put an end to; and those classes which derive benefit from this immense innovation, knowing the extent of our offers, would, by degrees, form themselves into a vast corporation, which would be devoted to our interests, and which would end, by obtaining in the Chambers a victory over the party of prohibitionists. The first treaty would assuredly present many difficulties; for it would be necessary, from amongst a multitude of hostile and vexatious regulations in both tariffs, to select those which might first be abandoned; and as in both countries, in spite of every effort, these concessions would compromise some branches either of agriculture or manufactures, the selection must, of course, be attended with much difficulty. A reduction, more or less considerable, in the duty upon French wines and brandies might be offered, upon condition of an analogous reduction of the duty laid by France upon our iron and linen thread, and, perhaps, of the admission, upon a fixed duty, of our cotton twist above No.

100. We greatly regret, that the prejudices of the French people, which will not allow of a regular exportation of corn, should prevent this article from being included in a first settlement between the nations, as we should consider this the most natural solution of the Corn Law question. The adversaries of these laws wish for the admission of foreign corn upon a fixed duty, in order, in the first place, to prevent those ruinous fluctuations in price, which necessarily result from the present system ; in the second, to find markets for our manufactures in those countries where we should buy a part of our food ; and in the third, to secure for the labouring classes, with cheaper bread, an extension of comforts. We freely admit that the attainment of their wishes would realize the first of these objects, but we have our doubts respecting the other two, unless commercial treaties with Russia, for instance, or with Prussia, should bind them to grant us in return great mercantile advantages ; without this reciprocity, we think that the changes now sought for, would produce one or other of the following results. As Great Britain and Ireland raise annually a sufficient quantity of corn for their consumption within about 500,000 quarters, we should not, except upon speculation, import more than this quantity, nor should we increase the value of our exports to foreign nations beyond this amount ; supposing their tariffs to continue the same as at present—supposing the then price of foreign corn to be high enough to place it on a level with English corn, our workmen would gain nothing ; and, in the contrary case, our farmers would be obliged to reduce their prices in order to meet the competition ; for it is clear that they had better sell at the lowest rate than not sell at all. The latter supposition is the most probable, for a constant demand would stimulate the activity of the Prussian and Russian landholders, and, we believe, that their production would increase much beyond what Mr. Jacob supposes. Prices, therefore, would very shortly fall at Dantzic, Riga, and Odessa ; and it is probable that the same cause would bring down the expense of transport ; and this double fall would soon become fatal to our landed interest, as it would occasion an equal diminution in the value of our harvests. It must not be forgotten, that the amount of our importations will not exceed the amount of the deficiencies of our own harvests, except when speculations are engaged in ; and, consequently, the additional market for our manufactures would not only be inconsiderable, but it would become more so as the value of imported corn became less, through the

gradual reduction of the price of foreign and native corn. The workman would certainly buy bread cheaper in this case, but what would he gain by it? Would not the manufacturer reduce his prices in the same proportion? It is true that this reduction would enable the manufacturer to overcome all competition in the markets that are open to him, although not in Russia or Prussia, where the tariffs would still be opposed to him. But this advantage would not compensate to him for the ruin of our own farmers. Looking, therefore, at his interest only, we do not think a premature and too great fall in the price of corn would increase his sale abroad, so much as it would diminish it at home; but the objections we have rapidly hinted at, would not apply to the admission, upon a moderate duty, of French wheat; because if this admission were possible, it would, at least in general, give stability to our prices, without exposing them to any dangerous reduction. Indeed, there is not more than a difference of 35 per cent. between the money value of wheat in the two countries; and after deducting the duty which would be established, the difference would be but a slight diminution of price to us, and a very slight rise to our neighbours. Our landed interest would lose little, and the French landed interest would gain a great deal. But, unhappily, in the present state of things, the manufacturers and workmen on the other side of the Channel would oppose, even by violence were it needful, a measure which would only benefit the landholders.

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ART. IV.—*Dodd's Church History of England, from the commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688, with Notes, Additions, and a Continuation*, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A. Vol. 1. London, 1839.

IT is with pleasure that we announce to our readers the appearance of this long-expected volume. We hail it as the precursor of the succeeding volumes, into which the rest of the work will be divided: and to these we look forward with the greater impatience, on account of the consummate skill with which the editor has illustrated this, the least interesting portion of his task, and the alluring foretaste which he has here given to us of the information and entertainment that we may hope to derive from the remainder.

The original title prefixed by Dodd to his work, will afford

to the reader a competent notion of its principal contents. He terms it—

“The Church History of England, from the year 1500 to 1688, chiefly with regard to Catholics : being a complete account of the divorce, supremacy, dissolution of monasteries, and first attempts for a reformation under king Henry VIII ; the unsettled state of the reformation under Edward VI ; the interruption it met with from queen Mary ; with the last hand put to it by queen Elizabeth : together with the various fortunes of the Catholic cause during the reigns of king James I, king Charles I, king Charles II, and king James II : particularly the lives of the most eminent Catholics, cardinals, bishops, inferior clergy, regulars, and laymen, who have distinguished themselves by their piety, learning, or military abilities : also a distinct and critical account of the works of the learned ; the trials of those that suffered either on the score of religion, or for real or fictitious plots against the government ; with the foundation of all the English colleges and monasteries abroad : the whole supported by original papers and letters, many whereof were never before made public. To which is prefixed a general history of ecclesiastical affairs under the British, Saxon, and Norman periods.”

Hence the reader will see, that, though Dodd has devoted his labours chiefly to the reformation, and the times following the reformation, he has not neglected the long period which preceded it, from the first plantation of the Christian faith in this island. This portion occupies more than one hundred and seventy pages, about one-half of the present volume ; so that the whole work may be aptly styled, “the history of the rise and progress, and of the decline and fall, of the Catholic Church in England.”

We are aware, that from the very dawn of the reformation, down to the present time, there has been a constant succession of Protestant writers, who have made the history of the English Church the peculiar subject of their study, and the chief foundation of their fame. We know that their object has been to investigate and describe many of the same facts, which Dodd in his title-page professes to investigate and describe. But then, Catholics have reason to mistrust them, as partial and interested witnesses ; they hesitate to follow them, as unsafe, perhaps treacherous guides. That this character applies to the more ancient among them, cannot be doubted : for they continually indulge in an intemperance of language that betrays their deadly hatred of the Church which they had abandoned ; and they assume a tone, which proves that, to justify their own defection, they thought it necessary to paint her in the most hideous colours. Neither is it inapplicable to more modern historians ; who, though they have not the same

temptation to seduce them, yet, with a few honourable exceptions, copy with fidelity the example of their masters: not that they adopt the same coarse, indecent, and vituperative language—it would not be tolerated in the present day; but that they are careful to gratify their own prepossessions, and the prepossessions of their readers, by faithfully retailing every slander and fiction which can reflect disgrace on the ancient Church of this kingdom. It may be thought, that this censure is severe: it is not, however, unmerited. We have too great reason to complain, that we ourselves and our Catholic ancestors are treated with equal unfairness. If our adversaries meet us in the field of controversy, they seldom fail to impute to us doctrines which we do not hold, and practices of which we are ignorant: if they write of the churchmen of former times, the weakest testimony, provided it be unfavourable, is considered as unanswerable evidence, and the merest suspicion of guilty motives is described as an actual fact. Now Dodd is the only Catholic writer who has left to us a consecutive history of his Church from the earliest period to the reign of Henry VIII, and thence has followed its declining fortunes, step by step, down to the eighteenth century. His, therefore, is the only Catholic work which can be constantly placed in contrast with the narratives of the hostile writers whom we have mentioned: and on that account it ought to be highly appreciated, not only by Catholic, but also by Protestant readers. The bigot,—he who seeks only the gratification of his religious prejudices, and loathes the very thought of anything commendatory of the ancient Church,—may turn with disgust from the pages of the Catholic historian: but the candid enquirer after truth, the man who distrusts evidence that is given only on one side, and who refuses to condemn before he has heard, will rejoice at the opportunity of comparing the statements of the opposite parties, and of being enabled, with the aid of such comparison, to distinguish the real facts of history from the slanderous fables of religious sectarianism.

Dodd, as he announces in his title-page, has divided his history between two periods; that which ends with the reign of Henry VII, and that which commences with the reign of his son. Over the first of these he passes with a rapid, though not a careless pen: not because it was barren of important events, or unworthy of the serious attention of the reader, but because in his plan it occupied no other place than that of an introduction to the period which follows,—a period of more recent date and more thrilling interest to every class of



readers; comprising on the one hand, the incessant efforts of Protestants to overthrow the ancient Church; and on the other, the persevering struggles of Catholics to support and defend it.

"The former," says Mr. Tierney, "are more generally known: the latter, which abound with recollections of the most interesting kind, are, with few exceptions, to be found only in the pages of Dodd. Among these are the foundation and history of the English colleges abroad,—the attempts to restore the hierarchy,—the institution of an archpriest,—the appointment of the two bishops of Chalcedon,—the establishment and jurisdiction of the chapter,—the introduction of vicars-apostolic,—and the mission of Panzani. Nor must we omit the biographical notices, so copiously scattered through the work. In this portion of his task, indeed, the talents and the industry of the writer are eminently conspicuous. From sources inaccessible to others, from the diaries of colleges, and the unpublished correspondence of individuals, he has drawn a body of information at once original and important. He has sketched the lives of the most distinguished members of the Catholic community; has described the works and traced the literary career, of its numerous writers; and carrying us back to the period of its severest trial, has left the sufferings and the constancy of its martyrs to edify and improve the world."\*

We are anxious to direct the attention of our readers to the subject mentioned in the last lines of the foregoing extract,—Dodd's biographical notices of Catholic writers, and Catholic confessors and martyrs. The more celebrated authors on the Protestant side of the question are universally known: the names of Jewell, Whitaker, Cosins, and their colleagues, are echoed and re-echoed in almost every work referring to the controversy between the two Churches. They are presented to us as men of commanding intellect and extensive erudition; as the champions of truth, encircled with the laurels of victory; as deserving by their labours and their triumphs to be held in everlasting remembrance. It is not our wish in this place to detract from their fame, or to dispute their pretensions; but we may ask, had they no opponents? Let the reader turn to the pages of Dodd, and he will find that they had, and those too in every respect their equals. Harpsfield and Harding, and Stapleton and Campian, and their successors in the same cause, were not inferior in talents or acquirements to the most celebrated of the controvertists to whom they were opposed. Their exertions were equally valued and applauded by their co-religionists; and, if the Protestant boasted of the supe-

riority of his champions, the Catholic with equal complacency boasted of the superiority of his. At the present day that is a question of little moment: but, if the reader wish to form a correct notion of their respective merits, let him read and compare the works published by each party, instead of giving credit to the bold assertions of writers, who perhaps have never looked into one or the other.

But Dodd was not content with noticing the writers of his communion; he was also careful to describe the courage and constancy of those who, for the sake of their religion, braved the danger of poverty, proscription and death. And here we may remark, that in this country, whilst no one is permitted to remain ignorant of the sufferings of Protestants under Queen Mary, very few ever hear of the sufferings of Catholics under her Protestant successors. Very few are aware, that the reformers and their disciples professed principles which necessarily led to religious persecution; that they believed the Catholic worship to be idolatrous, and deemed it consequently as sacred a duty in them to extirpate that worship out of England, as it was in the Israelites to weed idolatry out of the land of Canaan. Their first step was to incarcerate the Catholic bishops, and to prohibit by act of parliament the public and private exercise of the Catholic service; under the notion that the gradual extinction of the priesthood by death, would at last operate to the total extinction of a religion, which could not exist without a succession of regularly ordained ministers. The establishment of English seminaries in foreign countries soon dispelled this delusion; and from that moment, the prison and the rack, the halter and the knife, were put into requisition, to deter the missionary from entering the kingdom, and to intimidate the layman from opening the door of his house to the missionary. To have taken orders in the Catholic Church, was made a crime of high-treason, and to harbour any person so ordained, a felony without benefit of clergy.\* In Dodd may be seen the characters of many among the multitude of those who suffered death under these laws, and the names of several ancient families, who were suddenly reduced by them from opulence to the most griping penury. But these were only "the beginning of the sorrows." Of the enactments which followed,—enactments that met the Catholic with penalties and disabilities in every turn and passage in life; imposing fines upon him at his marriage, at the baptism of his children,

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\* See 23 Elizabeth, c. i.; 27 Elizabeth, c. ii.

and at the burial of his dead ; disqualifying him from holding any place of trust, profit or emolument in the state, from practising in any of the learned professions, from purchasing land, from acting as executor or administrator, or guardian, or schoolmaster ; compelling him to pay for absence from church £20 every lunar month, or, if he were unable to raise that sum, to forfeit two-thirds of his personal estate ; enabling the bishop of the diocese, or two magistrates, to commit his Catholic wife to prison, till she conformed, or he were willing to pay £10 per month for her liberty ; exacting from him a fine to the same amount for every Catholic domestic employed in his service, and every Catholic stranger admitted into his house ; prohibiting him to walk or ride more than five miles from his own home, without special license, under the penalty of forfeiting his copyhold lands, and all his goods, &c. &c.\*—of these oppressive enactments, we shall only say, that we admire the ingenuity with which they were adapted to their purpose, and wonder that any form of religion could have survived their destructive operation. For they were not enforced merely for two or three years, or during a single reign : even at the end of a century from their origin, after hundreds of their victims had perished by the knife of the executioner, or in the obscurity of a prison, and when the public mind began to revolt at such barbarities, yet, another century was permitted to elapse, before any legislative relief was granted to the sufferers, who continued to languish under all their former restraints and disabilities, and whose property, liberty and life, still lay at the mercy of every unprincipled informer.† We do not say this in anger, or by way of reproach or reprisal : ours is a more Christian object, to disarm religious bigotry, and to inculcate to both parties the decency, if not the duty, of mutual forbearance. Of this we are assured, that, if our readers will follow the fortunes of the English Catholics through the three last centuries, in Dodd, or in any other

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\* See 13 Elizabeth, c. 2 ; 23 Elizabeth, c. 1 ; 27 Elizabeth, c. 2 ; 29 Elizabeth, c. 6 ; 35 Elizabeth, c. 2.—1 James I. c. 4 ; 3 James I. c. 4, 5.—3 Charles I, c. 2, &c.

† Even in the more early part of the reign of George III, in the year 1767, the Rev. Mr. Maloney was found guilty of having exercised the functions of a Catholic priest, and, in expiation of this enormous offence, was consigned to imprisonment for life ; in the next year, the Rev. James Webb, and in the year following, the Hon. and Rt. Rev. James Talbot, were tried for their lives, and saved only by the humanity of the judge and jury. On enquiry in 1780, Mr. Butler found, that one single house, that of Dyncely and Ashmall, attorneys in Gray's-inn, had defended more than twenty priests under such prosecutions.—See Butler's Hist. Mem. iii. 276.

Catholic writer, they will see that the Protestants of former times have no more claim than their opponents to the praise of tolerance in matters of religion; and, henceforth, when they hear fanatics declaim against the persecuting spirit of popery, will be disposed to silence them with the acknowledgment of the Pagan poet, that

“*Illiacos intra muros peccatur et extra.*”

After these general remarks, we proceed to call attention to the author himself, of whose personal history we know but little. His real name was Hugh Tootell, though he usually went by that of Charles Dodd. Nor ought this to excite our surprise; for, from the time when the Catholic father was made liable to a fine of forty shillings per day, if he employed any but a Protestant tutor or schoolmaster to instruct his child, or of £100, if, for the sake of Catholic education, he sent his child beyond the sea, it had grown into a custom for the young man, on his admission into a foreign seminary, to assume a feigned name, that he might not, by the retention of his real name, bear testimony to the legal delinquency of his parent.\* Dodd was born in the neighbourhood of Preston, about the year 1672: and at an early age was placed, as is surmised, under the tuition of his relative, the Rev. Christopher Tootell, of Fernyhalgh or Ladywell. At sixteen, he was sent to the English college in Douai; where, having attended a course of philosophical lectures for two years, he was matriculated on July 16, 1690. He spent three years in the study of theology at Douai, four in the English seminary at Paris, and, soon after his return to Douai, came back to England in May 1698. His native county was the first scene of his missionary labours; and there, in the useful, but unobtrusive station of a Catholic priest, he would soon have escaped from our notice, had he not distinguished himself by the warmth with which he engaged in certain disputes between the regular and secular clergy, and the offensive tone of two or three pamphlets which he thought proper to publish. It was probably during, perhaps at the close, of this controversy, that he formed the design of writing the history now under review. But he soon found that, to execute his plan to his

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\* We might have added “and to his own disqualification;” for no person educated in a seminary abroad was able in law to take lands either by descent or purchase (Stat. 1, James I. c. 4); or to prosecute any suit in law or equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, or to take by legacy or deed of gift; in addition to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and the loss of lands, rents and annuities, &c. till he should conform. 3 Car. I. c. 2.

satisfaction, in addition to a plentiful supply of printed books, it was also necessary that he should have access to manuscript documents preserved in private repositories. With this view, leaving England in 1718, he visited, during four years, many of the English establishments on the Continent; and in general met with more encouragement, and proved more successful in his researches, than he had ventured to anticipate.

"I was not only favoured," he says, "with the sight of very valuable records, but was permitted to read over the journals, or had authentic abstracts from our colleges and monasteries: many of which places I visited in person, and by my correspondents received satisfaction from others, that were at too great a distance. Where I found that persons had been either careless in continuing their journals, or unwilling to communicate them, I was able to make good such deficiencies from the records of our English college at Douai; which being the first community established abroad after the reformation, and a nursery to most of the rest, afforded intelligence, both as to persons and facts, relating to the whole English mission. But among all the records I met with, none gave me more satisfaction than the original letters of many eminent Catholics, who opposed the reformation in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; from whence I drew several useful hints, as well towards completing the lives of particular persons, as for illustrating many obscure passages in our church history of the two last ages."\*

On his return, Dodd was appointed assistant to the Rev. Mr. Bennet, in the care of the Catholic congregation at Harvington Hall, in Worcestershire; and, after the death of that gentleman (Sept. 1726), continued to reside there, the sole incumbent, during the remainder of his life. At Harvington, he devoted all the time which he could spare from his clerical duties, to the prosecution of his great work—arranging and digesting, modelling and remodelling, in various shapes, the valuable documents which he had brought with him from the Continent. At length the first volume, in folio, appeared in 1737, the second in 1739, and the third and last, in 1742. If we may give credit to the title-page, all these were printed in Brussels: but there is abundant evidence of the contrary; for both the type and the paper are of English manufacture. The expenses were defrayed by a subscription, at the head of which, appears the name of Edward, duke of Norfolk, followed by those of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Cuthbert Constable, Thomas Gifford, and bishops Stonor and Hornyhold, and other eminent men of the Catholic communion. He did

not survive the publication of the last volume an entire year, but died at Harvington, on Feb. 27, 1743, and was buried at Chaddesley Corbett.

By the great body of his brethren, Dodd's work was received with applause and approbation; not, however, without a strong dissent on the part of some, who, for a reason which we shall state presently, charged the author with prejudice, and injustice. But it was at first known to Catholics only: among Protestants, for half a century it failed of attracting notice; and the consequence was, that it might be procured easily, and at a very low price. But the agitation of the Catholic question gave to it a new value. Men, desirous to learn something more of the past fortunes of Catholics than was to be found in our general histories, enquired after Dodd's work, both for information and reference: the price rapidly advanced: it rose to three guineas, thence to ten; and a single copy has been known to sell for between sixteen and seventeen pounds. It was this increasing demand, coupled with the corresponding scarcity of copies, which led to the publication of the present improved edition.

We have just remarked, that Dodd's work did not, from the very first, escape the severe censure of some among his Catholic brethren. The occasion for such censure, was furnished by the pamphlets to which we have adverted already; pamphlets reflecting severely, and, as was thought by many, without any satisfactory ground, on the conduct of an influential party among the English Catholics. With the origin of the dispute, and the merits or demerits of the opposite disputants, we, as reviewers, have no concern. It is enough for us to state, that Dodd had given, perhaps just, at least apparent, cause of offence. The publication, indeed, had taken place twenty years before the appearance of his history; still, he must have been aware that he had become, from that moment, a marked man; and, that every subsequent work of his, if it bore in any way the most distant relation to the subject of his former quarrel, would be scrutinized with a jealous and unfriendly eye. It might be, perhaps, that he sought, on this account, to propitiate his former adversaries; or, perhaps, because he saw how greatly the license of the pamphleteer would detract from the credit of the historian: but, whatever was the cause, certain it is, that in the work before us, he exchanged the bitterness and invective which characterized his former publications, for a more sober and more subdued style of writing; and that, whenever his subject led him to touch on the



questions previously in dispute, he assumed an air of moderation and candour, which, if it was not real, was so well feigned, that it could hardly fail to win and to secure the confidence of the general reader.\* Still, the jealousy of those whom he had offended was neither lulled nor disarmed. They discovered, that in his biography, he had often allotted a very scanty and doubtful measure of praise to men of distinguished merit, but connected with the opposite party; and that, in his history, he had suffered his own prejudices to guide his pen in the statement of matters allusive to the former controversy; charges which, if we judge from the constitution of the human mind, are so likely to be founded on truth, that we do not feel disposed to call them in question;† but, when they, moreover, accuse him of the wilful suppression of some facts, and of the wilful perversion of others, we must be allowed to demur until we meet with better proof than has hitherto been submitted to us. An occasional error, or mistake, is no evidence of wilful delinquency. Those who are versed in composition, know how easily, how unaccountably, in a long work, errors, as to names, and dates, and places, slip from the pen; how often matter intended to be introduced, is unintentionally omitted; and, how it sometimes happens, that a misstatement will creep unobserved into the text, and remain there, without the consciousness of the writer. It is but fair to concede to Dodd, the benefit of this plea. We cannot require from him an exemption from error, not granted to the rest of men. But, unfortunately, it is the natural course of things, that when offence has been previously given—when suspicion stands upon the watch, ready to pounce upon its prey, such *maculæ* as we have mentioned, the offspring of inattention or carelessness,—

“Quas aut incuria fudit,  
Aut humana parum cavit natura,”

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\* As proof of this, we refer with confidence to his biography of Father Persons. We think that no one can peruse it without forming an advantageous opinion of the author, and believing that he wrote without passion, and with a determination to do justice to the merits of that celebrated personage. See it in vol. ii. p. 402. fol. edit.

† Dodd had foreseen these objections, and rebutted them in his preface (p. xxix.) But, on comparing this passage with the original (p. x.), we find that the editor has taken some liberties with his text, which we dare not approve. He seems to have acted on the principle, that he might remove silently, an isolated word of offence, as he would an isolated error in date, or name, provided it did not affect the scope, or the substance of the narrative. Now, first, we cannot possibly conceive, why the words omitted should have been considered offensive. Second, we doubt the admissibility of the principle, as a general rule. There is a difference between an offensive expression, and an unimportant error of date, or place. The first may disclose the animus of the author.

instead of being traced to their real source, are almost always attributed to dishonest, and, for the most part, imaginary motives. Be that, however, as it may, of this we are confident, that if erroneous statements, affecting the character of public bodies, or private individuals, are to be found in the pages of Dodd, they will not escape the eye of his present editor; who, though he may think it incumbent on him to reprint with fidelity the original text of his author, will also consider it a sacred duty, in such cases, to do justice in his notes to the parties aggrieved.\*

There was, in the arrangement of matter originally adopted by Dodd, something singularly complex and inconvenient: and it is fortunate, both for him and for his readers, that the charge of his new edition has fallen into the hands of a writer, whose eminence in historical and biographical research has been established, by his *History and Antiquities of the Town and Castle of Arundel, including the Biography of its Earls down to the Present Time*. In the original the unity of the narrative is repeatedly broken by the recurrence, in every reign, of a series of chapters devoted to dissimilar subjects: a blemish which Mr. Tierney has judiciously removed, by throwing the whole work into two grand divisions of history and biography, with an appendix to each volume, containing the principal documents to which allusion has been made. By this expedient, the whole of the original matter is retained, and, at the same time, presented to the eye of the reader in a much less exceptionable form. But let us hear the remark of the editor on this subject.

“To remodel is more difficult than to construct: alteration is, in general, but a bad apology for weakening an original design. In the present case, however, it has been thought, that, without injury to

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\* By doing this, he will also act according to the wish of Dodd himself; in proof of which, we subjoin the following document, which, we believe, has never been printed, from the original, in the hand-writing of the Rev. James Brown, of Mawley, who attended Dodd during his last sickness:—

“March 1, 1742-3.

“We, hereunto subscribing, do attest that Mr. Charles Dodd, late of Harvington, deceased, being, on his death-bed, desired to declare his charitable dispositions to all mankind, and to the Society of Jesus in particular, as suspected to be prejudiced in their regard, to demonstrate the contrary, he voluntarily and freely gave full assent and consent to the following charitable profession: viz. ‘As you desire to die in charity with all mankind, and particularly with the Society of Jesus; if you have done them any wrong in writing or otherwise, do you desire pardon and forgiveness, as you forgive them for any, either supposed or received, injury?’ Whereunto he cordially replied, ‘*I do with all my heart, and that as worded and proposed.*’

By me, James Brown,”

“In the presence of Tho. Berkeley.”

and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic; and we cannot help feeling, as we peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. Our readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The "Extracts from Journal" present us a picture, at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honourable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave colour and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit, these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we have considerable doubt; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which he gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described and prescribed for by the numerous writers whom we possess upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribulation,—many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity; but they have not at least the additional horrors, and darkness, and night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted as Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusive

phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good,—snares cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of their interior perfection, and the vigour of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order: these are gradually increased with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, as even a self-imposed, but well-observed method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practised for its own sake; or, if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has always been practised by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings, from time to time, for future perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which would naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (pp. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

“ I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaister,

nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd's; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup, and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy." (p. 30.) "Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six." (p. 44.)

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which with youthful eagerness he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigour of thought, and closer intimacy with some spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals; for instance:—

"Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray: I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel's reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought." (p. 34.)

"I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with greater vigour; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. Nov. 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinences and self-mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for anything. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But, while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge."—p. 49-50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus, he writes to Mr. Keble:—"The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency." (p. 204.) This will be the inevitable result of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that most important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works; those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigour to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the colour of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—p. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestantism of that strong principle of docility and obedience which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends seem to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from his pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do Him service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, which will measure that, rather than our success. What snatches there are of prayer, bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious,—the work of God and his religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to



which he unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. We see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which they have based upon them. We certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless manner of speaking of others, that must give an unfavourable impression regarding his character, which we have every reason to believe was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable powers of genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If we have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that we considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*; but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends farther than they ventured to go; and we think he was prepared to go to the extreme of logical deductions. But we must methodize our observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so-called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

“Sept. 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time: it is shocking, indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans*? I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopa-

lians did not claim '*jus divinum*;' indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power."—p. 325.

When at Barbados, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controvertists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

"Imprimis, as to ——'s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass 'your cursed paltrie service;' laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.\* He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a 'phantasie of Mr. Harding's.† He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and *correction*,‡ and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;§ justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;|| ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance*.¶ I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—p. 339.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

"As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hicke and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—p. 379.

The following is two months later:—

"When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast, and woman too, which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written

\* Def. of Apol. p. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611. † Ib. p. 208. ‡ Ib. 149, 153.  
§ Ib. 151. || Ib. 152, 153. ¶ Ib. 210, 212.

nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—p. 389.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honour his own university has been proposing to erect a church.

"Also, why do you praise Ridley?" [in the *Tracts for the Times*, we presume, where he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] "Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N.B. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's supper;' nor God's priests 'ministers of the word;' or the altar 'the Lord's table,' &c. &c.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, *as a Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us."—p. 394.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832:—

"I have been very idle lately; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Butecl line; whether the Catholicism of their formulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth's minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the *ἡθός* of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita*; and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it."—p. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from

dispelling these innocent doubts concerning those men, and how very much more daring his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices. General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents: "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them." (p. 254.) The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favourably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church, which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ἡθος*; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a *disproof*, if they would do anything."—p. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and admitting in the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone admits. The following is in 1833:—

"Sept. 16. — has sent me your resolutions for our association, which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles: it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due application of the sacrament.'"—p. 326.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become, and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ." (p. 363.) In

1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

“ I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism.”—p. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

“ Next as to the Christian year. In the [*hymn for the*] fifth of November.....‘ there present in the heart, not in the hands,’ &c. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, ‘ not in the hands?’ Also [in the hymn] on the Communion.....you seem cramped by Protestantism.”—p. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies “ are a death-blow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence.” The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbados, he says:—

“ For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer’s chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to —, for the obnoxious phrase ‘ mass-book.’ ”—p. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems

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• Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbados “ the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary.” (p. 365.) We should be curious to know how the recital of this office is performed by those who reject prayers to saints, especially to modern ones.

also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns*. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked,) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the wants of a large population. . . . I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the true fold: there are many about, I am sure; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards." (p. 323.) Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise! If an Anglican thinks that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believes it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-tried and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, we see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed our minds, and been a subject of our earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them; living together under a mild but steady rule; who should extend their labours over the whole country; appears to us the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervour where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all our ideas upon this matter, is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning, and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing at home and abroad. It seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints, and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it. We speak not only of our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many more experienced in the missionary life, and the result of long attention to results attained, when we say that a body of clergy devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labours, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of



ignorant, surprise the unwary, tempt the licentious, or compel the stubborn, were employed with so much craft and address, that one half of the monasteries fell unpitied, while the rest seemed not to be wrested out of the monks' hands, but voluntarily surrendered. All this while, men of thought and penetration saw plainly through this thin disguise ; for, though a reformation of abuses was the pretence, avarice was the real inducement. It is true, a great many national advantages were mentioned, to make the design more acceptable to the common people ; and the king's late proceedings against the see of Rome might seem to require such an expedient : but how necessary soever the seizure of abbey lands might be, to support the king in his supremacy, against any attempts at home from the religious orders, it is certain his majesty was as much out, in his politics, as he was destitute of religion, in proceeding to an universal dissolution, as it quickly appeared from the many national inconveniences, which flowed from it.

“We have heard what king Henry VIII, was, as to his politic and martial abilities ; the next consideration are his morals and religion. Historians commonly take a great deal of liberty in exposing the defects and faults of crowned heads, and treat them in such a manner, as if they had not as much right to their reputation, as the rest of mankind. I know king Henry is charged with a great many vices in private life, which is a point to be touched very tenderly ; for though his public irregularities give occasion to judge the worst of him, yet it is not the part of a christian to improve suspicions into facts, nor is it always allowable to report real facts, to the prejudice of any person's character. Passing over in silence, therefore, the errors of king Henry's private life, I will only take notice of such passages as were notorious, and are publicly recorded by all our historians. And, in the first place, it would be a difficult task to answer for his sincerity, or to give so much as a tolerable reason for his scrupulosity about his marriage, after near twenty years' cohabitation with his queen. The like may be said of his applying himself so earnestly, and so frequently, to the see of Rome for a divorce, as the proper court where that matter was to be decided, and yet, afterwards, making a public declaration, that he never thought himself obliged to submit to any decision, that came from that authority. How unjustly did he treat his faithful minister, cardinal Wolsey !—first, indemnifying him, with his hand and seal, to exercise a legatine power ; and, afterwards, suffering him to be impeached upon that account, and stripped of all his substance, and, at the same time, seizing, and keeping from him, the credentials, under the king's own hand and seal, whereby he might have defended himself. And was it not also a barbarous usage of all the clergy, to bring them in guilty of a premunire, for only incidentally concurring with the legatine court, which he himself required of them ? Was it not proved, by punishing several of the misinformers, that he was resolved, right or wrong, to get the lesser monasteries into his hands ?

And were not the great monasteries afterwards made a prey by him, notwithstanding their religious and edifying behaviour, approved of in parliament, upon the nicest scrutiny of their morals? Who can excuse him from a breach of his royal word, in the disposal he made of the lands and goods belonging to the Church? Did he not assure his people, that they should not be secularized, but transferred to other pious uses? that impropriations should be returned to the parochial clergy, the original proprietors; schools erected, colleges improved by additional rents, and armies maintained without loans and subsidies? Did ever any prince expose himself more to censure than king Henry VIII., in breaking through the ties of a matrimonial life, taking and parting with his wives without any regard to laws, either human or divine, and abandoning some of them to the fury of their enemies, till they lost their heads?"—pp. 314-17.

It should be remembered that a century has now elapsed since Dodd composed his work. During that time, and particularly during the more recent portion of it, the most extraordinary efforts have been made in this country to add to our former store of historical knowledge, and many new sources of information have been opened, which in the days of our author were locked up and unknown. Not only have single individuals laboured with the most praiseworthy diligence in this pursuit, but public associations have been formed, money has been voted by parliament, and commissions have been issued by the crown, to promote the same object. The consequence is, that out of public and private libraries, from the State Paper Office, the Record Office in the Tower, and the other national repositories, an immense mass of unknown or inedited documents has been brought to light, many of them calculated to supply the deficiencies, to correct the misstatements, and to illustrate the obscurities, which may be found to exist in our more ancient historians. These advantages were denied to Dodd and his contemporaries; but Mr. Tierney has remedied the defect, as far as applies to his author, by a succession of valuable notes, which, like a running commentary, accompany the original text. Of these notes we may be allowed to speak in terms of high commendation.\* At the same time that they prove the research and industry of

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\* There is one of these with respect to which we must be allowed to differ from Mr. Tierney. (see p. 11, note 4.) He is disposed to think, with Stillingfleet and Collier, that the *Civitas Colonia Londinensium*, of which Adelphius, who subscribed at the council of Arles in 314, was bishop, must have been Caerlion; and that the original reading was *Col. Leg. II*, the colony of the second legion. In our opinion, there can be little doubt that the place was Lincoln, and the original reading *Col. Lindum*, or the Lind colony. Lincoln, in the "*Itinera*," is sometimes called *Lindum* simply, sometimes *Lindum colonia*, and in Bede *Lindicolinum*, or *Civitas Lindicolina*. (Bede, ii. 16, 18.)

the editor, they carefully abstain from all unnecessary parade of learning; and whilst they condense within a small space much important information, they shun that ambitious accumulation of references and quotations, which usually scares and repels the mere general reader. As the value of this edition depends on the value of these notes, we propose to select a few for transcription; the first of which will relate to the doctrine of Wycliffe. In 1382, in a synod convened by the archbishop of Canterbury,

“Twenty-four ‘conclusions,’ maintained by himself or his disciples, were condemned, ten as heretical, fourteen as erroneous and irreconcilable with the received opinions of the Church. From this sentence he appealed, first to the protection of the Duke of Lancaster, and afterwards to that of the parliament. Lancaster, however, refused to lend his assistance: the parliament contented itself with repealing an informal statute, lately passed against the new teachers; and the king despatched a letter to Oxford, requiring the chancellor to expel Wycliffe, with his followers, from the university, and ordering all books, treatises, and other writings of the late professor, to be forthwith seized and transmitted to the primate. Wycliffe now reluctantly consented to retract his errors. In the presence of the archbishop and six bishops, accompanied by the chancellor, a large body of doctors, and a numerous concourse of spectators, he read a confession of faith, and, retiring to Lutterworth, of which he was the rector, passed the two remaining years of his life in the undisturbed enjoyment of his own opinions. He died of an apoplectic attack, on the 31st of December, 1384.—Lewis, 83—93, 272, 286; Rot. Parl. iii. 124, 125, 141; Harpsf. 685, 686.

“Wycliffe has been called the father of the Reformation in this country. That his doctrines laid the foundation of that extraordinary event, there can be little doubt: that his opinions, however, on the most essential points of subsequent controversy, were opposed to those of the later reformers, is equally certain. With them, indeed, he condemned the tenet of transubstantiation: he denounced indulgences, pilgrimages, and the use of holy water: he denied the supremacy of the Roman see, and appealed to the Scripture, as the sole and undoubted rule in matters of belief. But here the resemblance terminates. On the subject of the eucharist, he appears to have entertained the notion, afterwards adopted by Luther, and to have maintained the existence of the bread, in conjunction with the reality of Christ's presence, on the altar. He admitted the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church: he believed in purgatory, as a place of temporary punishment: he asserted the efficacy of the mass, as a propitiatory sacrifice; and he zealously inculcated the duty of sacramental confession, ‘with contrition for sins before done, and good life, and keeping God's hests, and works of mercy after’ (Apud Lewis, 78, 124, 127, 129, 136, 137, 140). In these doctrines

it is impossible to trace the features of the English Reformation : it is equally hopeless to seek them in his recorded opinions on the subject of grace, on dominion or the right to property, on the power of the people to depose a ruler who may have been guilty of mortal sin, or on the criminality of those ministers of religion, who permit themselves to be endowed with temporal possessions. But truth is not essential to the character of a modern apostle, as conformity of belief is not the test of modern orthodoxy. If the opinions of Wycliffe were inadmissible, his example, at least, might entitle him to praise. By his opposition, he had severed himself from the Church of Rome ; and it is the 'humour of some men,' says the Protestant Heylyn, 'to call every separation from that Church the gospel : the greater the separation, the more pure the gospel.' (*Animadvers. on Fuller*, 65).

"For a more detailed account of Wycliffe's doctrines and opinions, the reader may consult Walsingham, 191, 204—208, 246, 283—286 ; Knighton, 2647, et seq. ; Browne's *Fascicul. rer. expetend. i.* 190—295 ; and Lewis, 42—46, 78—81, 89—91, 113—142."—pp. 148-149, *note*.

In another note, he thus corrects an error in his author respecting certain bulls granted at Rome to Henry.

"Dodd confounds the bull of dispensation, which was published and avowed, with the decretal bull, whose contents were carefully concealed. When Knight was dispatched to Rome, in 1527, he was instructed to obtain the signature of the pontiff to two instruments, one containing the dispensation just recited, the other empowering Wolsey, or, if *he* were objected to, Staphilæo, dean of the Rota, to hear and decide the cause between Henry and Catherine. Clement signed both these documents, the former as it stood, the latter with some trifling alterations ; he even assented to a farther and subsequent request, for the appointment of a legate, to act in conjunction with Wolsey ; and, by the beginning of the new year, the several bulls were already on their road to England (*Burnet*, i. *Rec.* No. iii. iv. v. vi.). But Wolsey was beginning to feel the difficulty and danger of his situation. On the one hand, he might be driven to decide on a doubtful point of doctrine ; on the other, the queen might deny the jurisdiction of his court, and appeal at once to the supreme tribunal. In either case the pontiff would revoke the cause to Rome : the decision of the question would be deferred to an indefinite period ; and the king would, perhaps, be ultimately disappointed in his expectations, 'to the utter and extreme peril of all those that had intromeddled them in the cause.' (*Strype*, i. *Append.* 83.) To obviate these inconveniences, Fox and Gardiner, both advocates of the divorce, were ordered to proceed instantly to Rome, and to obtain, either by threats or entreaties, the signature of Clement to two instruments, with which they were provided. The first was a dispensation, not dissimilar in purpose, from that already granted to Knight : the

second was called a decretal commission, deciding the point of doctrine, pronouncing authoritatively against the legality of any dispensation for a marriage with the widow of a brother, and, whilst it left the question of fact to the judgment of the legatine court, engaging, on the part of the pope, never to admit an appeal, or revoke the cause to his own tribunal. To the dispensation Clement willingly attached his name: to the decretal commission he resolutely refused to lend the sanction of his authority. It was in vain that the envoys urged him with every topic of persuasion. It was in vain that they reminded him of his obligations to the English crown, that they threatened him with the loss of Henry's friendship, that they promised to conceal the existence of the document from all but the immediate advisers of their sovereign. He replied that he would never prejudice the interests of an absent party, and that what he could not conscientiously grant in public, he would never accede to in private. At length, instead of the decretal bull, a general commission was drawn up and signed. Wolsey was empowered to call to his assistance any one of the English bishops; to enquire summarily into the validity of the dispensation formerly granted to Henry and Catherine; and 'to pronounce, in defiance of exception or appeal, the dispensation to have been valid or invalid, the marriage to have been null or otherwise, according to the nature of the evidence, and the conviction of his own conscience.' (Strype.) When Wolsey first read this document, he declared that he was satisfied: but, in a few days, his doubts returned: he saw that his difficulties were rather multiplied than diminished, by the authority now entrusted to him; and he resolved to make at least another effort, to procure the commission which had been refused. With this view, he despatched fresh instructions to the agents at Rome. He wrote to Gregory Casali; he addressed a suppliant letter to the pontiff; he implored the former to solicit, the latter to grant, the only favour that could preserve him from destruction; and he promised, 'on the salvation of his soul,' so faithfully to conceal the existence of the bull that neither censure nor suspicion should possibly attach to the conduct of the pontiff. Clement was unable to resist the importunity with which he was now assailed. After an ineffectual struggle, he first gave a written promise never to revoke the cause, or reverse the decision of the legates, and then signed the decretal commission, as it had been originally forwarded from England. But he was careful not to entrust it to the doubtful fidelity of Wolsey. That minister, by his anxiety to obtain the instrument, had already betrayed his willingness to use it for the furtherance of his own ends; and, to prevent its publication, therefore, it was placed in the hands of Campeggio, who was appointed to proceed to England as legate, to be by him read to Henry and the cardinal, and then forthwith committed to the flames. (Burnet, i. Rec. p. 39.) Of this instrument no copy is now extant: but of its existence and purport, though apparently questioned by Dodd, and certainly denied by Le Grand (i. 91-93), there can be

no doubt. By Henry himself we are informed that it was 'delivered to the legate,' we are assured that it pronounced the marriage between himself and Catherine invalid, if that between Catherine and his brother could, only by 'presumption,' be proved to have been consummated; and we are farther told, that, by 'commandment of the pope, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, it was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinals (Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 60). The engagement not to revoke the cause, or reverse the judgment of the legates, which Dodd characterizes, as 'a contrivance never likely to take effect,' is in Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 18, and Herbert, 249.—pp. 183-5, *note*.

In another note, Mr. Tierney has been able to clear up a matter, which, till the appearance of this volume, was wrapped in doubt. The divorce met with the disapproval of the Reformers, both in England and Germany; and not only Luther, but Melancthon, pronounced an opinion that it would be better, in such a case, to allow to the king to have two wives at the same time, than to divorce him from one whom he had had for so many years. Whether this suggested the expedient to Henry, is uncertain; but he instructed his agents at Rome to open the question,—not, as Mr. Tierney justly observes, by proposing it expressly to the pope, but by consulting divines and canonists as to the lawfulness of such a dispensation. Now, in a letter to Henry, from Gregorio da Casali, one of the agents, of the date of Sept. 18, 1530, we read, that Clement himself proposed it to that envoy as a "condition," or means, of enabling the king to accomplish his purpose without a divorce;\* and hence it has been insinuated, with more precipitancy than judgment, that the pope, though he would not assent to a divorce, through fear, perhaps, of the emperor's resentment, was willing to sanction, what was still worse, the practice of polygamy, that he might not forfeit the friendship of the English monarch.† Had Casali understood it in the same way, he would probably have accepted the proposal with satisfaction, having been one of those commissioned to take the opinions of divines respecting it: but he tells the king that he refused to make any answer, or to notice the hint in his despatches, because he knew beforehand that it had come from Henry's enemies, of the imperial faction. This alone was sufficient to provoke suspicion, either of some diplomatic finesse on the part of Clement, or of some deception on the part of Casali. Fortunately, it chanced that Mr. Tierney has in his possession the original despatch of Dr. Bennet, another agent,

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\* Herbert, 330.

† Burnet, i. 99; Hallam, "Constitutional Hist." i. 73.



dated the 27th of October, in the same year, a portion of which refers to the very same subject, and explains the whole mystery.

"Syre, schortly after my cumyng hether, the pope movyd unto me of a dispensation for two wyffis, whyche he spake at the same tyme so dowgtfully, that I suspectyd that he spake yt for oon of the too purposis: the oon was, that I schuld have sette yt foreward to your hyghnes, to thentent, that, yff your hyghnes woold have acceptyd hyt, therby he schuld have goten a mean to bryng your hyghnes to graunt, that, yff he myght dispense yn thys case, whyche ys of no lesse force then your case ys, consequently he myght dyspense yn your hyghnes' case. The other was, that I conjectured that yt schuld be a thyng purposyd to enterteygne your hyghnes yn summe hope, wherby he myght differ your cawse, to thentent your grace schuld trust upon the same. Then I axed hys holynes whether he was fully resolved that he myght dyspense yn the same case? Then hys holynes schewed me no: but seyde that a great dyvine schewed him that he thought, for avoydyng of a gretter inconvenience, hys holynes myght dyspense yn the same case: how be yt, he seyde he woold counsel farder upon hyt with hys counsel. And now, of late, the pope schewed me that hys counsel schewed hym playnly that he coud not do yt."—*Dodd*, i. *App.* p. 394.

Mr. Tierney shows that no intention of the nature alluded to existed on the part of the pontiff. It is plain that the agent never supposed the suggestion to be meant seriously, and that by his questions he ultimately drew from the pope an acknowledgment, that it was not in his power to grant any such dispensation.\*

In a note to p. 287, we meet with the following curious reference to the account-roll of Sir John Williams, the keeper of the jewels to Henry VIII, which contains an inventory of all the plate, jewels, and other valuables, obtained by the king from the plunder of the religious houses.

"From this it appears, that in plate alone there were taken from the monasteries, cathedrals, and shrines, 14,531 ounces of gold, 67,600 ounces of silver, and 207,635 ounces of silver gilt: making, with the addition of some fractional parts, a total in gold and silver, of rather more than 289,768 ounces of plate. This was sold for £73,531. 15s. 1d. to which, if we add the further sum of £79,471. 5s. 9½d. obtained in money, and entered on the same roll, we shall have a gross amount of £153,003. 0s. 10½d. derived to the exchequer, over and above the produce of all the lands and estates of the monasteries."

With respect to the numerous acts of parliament, public

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\* *Dodd*, 207, note, and Appendix, p. 394.

documents, and private letters, which Dodd has thrown into several chapters, and distributed through the eight parts of his work, it is the intention of his editor to remove them from the places which they occupy in the original, and to form out of them a corresponding appendix for each volume, exercising at the same time his own discretion as to the omission of some documents, and the substitution of others. Among the additions in the appendix of the volume before us, we are much pleased with the introduction of the celebrated letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, still preserved in the Vatican library; —letters, of which the delicacy of Mr. S. Turner has pronounced, that they are models of chaste and honourable courtship; but of which we suspect that most readers, in several instances at least, will feel compelled to pronounce a very different judgment. Subsequently we meet with a number of hitherto inedited papers, from originals in the possession of Mr. Tierney, among which we recommend to the notice of the reader a long despatch from Dr. Bennet to Henry, detailing at length the proceedings in the cause of the divorce at Rome in the autumn of 1530, and several sets of instructions from the king, accompanied with letters from his minister Cromwell to Dr. Gardiner and the ambassadors in France; the object of which is to prevail on Francis to imitate Henry in the withdrawal of himself and his realm from their obedience to the holy see. They will amply repay the trouble of perusal.\*

Our readers will have observed that in this article it has been our object to make them acquainted with the character of the original work, and with the improvements which they may expect to find in the new edition. They should, however, recollect, as we have reminded them already, that the first volume is the least important of the series. The remaining volumes will continue to grow in interest, inasmuch as they will detail events bearing a more immediate relation to the present state of the Catholic Church in this kingdom, and will bring into view a long succession of writers, men of celebrity in their day, and of confessors and martyrs, the legal victims of religious intolerance, who suffered the fate of traitors to their prince, because they refused to be disloyal to their God. Of such men, even those who disapprove the cause, must admire the constancy.

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\* In the appendix, the articles numbered xiv. xlvii. and xlviii., though they have been published in other works, are additions to Dodd; the numbers xx. xxx. xxxi. xxxvii. xlii. xlv. xlv., were never in print before. They are entirely new, being printed from the originals in the possession of the editor.

ART. V.—*Remains of the late Reverend Richard H. Froude, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* Vol. II. London: 1838.

IT is not often that the leaders of opinions let the public into a view of their secret counsels and feelings; but when they do, we think it does credit to the uprightness and sincerity of their intentions. It shows that they wish us to be acquainted with the secret springs of their actions, and even to peer behind the veil which generally conceals the man from our sight, while we are viewing only his productions. Nay, the more unreservedly the human weaknesses of the individuals are revealed, and the more the feeling is expressed, that with their exposure, or in spite of it, their cause will succeed, the more highly we shall estimate their confidence in the correctness of their views, and the disinterestedness of their zeal in propagating them. These reflections have been suggested to us by the perusal of Mr. Froude's remains. He was, while living, one of the most enthusiastic members of the theological school, from which the *Tracts for the Times* have emanated. He died in 1836, having attained only the age of thirty-three; and was thus prevented from arriving at that full maturity of religious ideas which was evidently preparing in his mind, and bearing him onward towards the perception of many Catholic truths. His surviving friends have thought it expedient to collect his *Remains*, and give them to the world in two volumes. As the second of these consists principally of sermons, in which, though there is much to commend, there is nothing sufficiently interesting to detain us, we will confine ourselves entirely to the first, which contains his journals, private thoughts, and letters to friends.

A preface of twenty-two pages betrays the editors' anxiety to repel a twofold charge; one against themselves, the other against their deceased friend. In the first place, they seem to fear lest considerable censure may be cast upon them for the publication of Mr. Froude's crude theories, and trivial self-accusations, as something approaching to a sacrilegious violation of the rights of friendship. We are not disposed to take part either among the reprovers, or among the applauders of the act: we cannot but feel that we should have scarcely ventured to deal as they have done, with any one who had tranquilly looked up to us with a confiding heart, and the peace of whose memory we should have wished to consult.

When one whose noble and public proofs of great virtue far outweigh the errors of youth, or whose public reputation makes his example, when evil, a warning, and when repentant, a reparation and an encouragement;—when one, in short, like St. Augustine, boldly, but humbly, reveals to the eyes of the Church the wretchedness of his early sinful life, we admire in awe the strange manifestation of a sublime spirit of Christian virtue, and we bless the Divine wisdom that hath caused it to be vouchsafed to us. But the struggles of one who has not compensated his weaknesses by any noble results; who withdraws from our sight a combatant, and not a victor; who only presents us the spectacle of a frail nature, such as we all may have, wrestling with daily and anxious trials, and not overcoming them; these, too, not spontaneously exhibited, but transferred from the closet to the public arena, have neither the grandeur nor the instruction of the other lesson. Still, there may be reasons unknown to us, who are not in the secrets of the party, to justify, certainly in their own eyes, this sacrifice of private feeling to a sense of public utility. Some, the editors have given in the preface (pp. vi.—ix.), and it is for the public to judge of them;—we think, in fact, that they would have materially strengthened their reasoning by the following passage in his Letters to Friends:—

“ There was a passage in a letter I have just received from my father, that made me feel so infinitely dismal, that I must write to you about it. He says you have written to him to learn something about me, and to ask what to do with my money. *It really made me feel as if I was dead, and you were sweeping up my remains; and, by the by, if I was dead, why should I be cut off from the privilege of helping on the good cause?* I don't know what money I have left—little enough, I suspect; but, whatever it was, I am superstitious enough to think that any good it could do *in honorem 'Dei et sacrosanctæ matris ecclesiæ,'* would have done something too *'in salutem animæ meæ.'* ”—vol. i. p. 388.

From these words, it appears that the author did contemplate his power of doing good to the cause wherein he was so ardently engaged, even after his death.

The censure of their friend, which the editors foresee, is that which forms their bugbear in all their theological researches,—that of approaching too near the Catholic, or, as they call it, Romanist doctrines. They are therefore careful to distinguish between two meanings attached to the term: “ either a predilection for the actual system of the Church of

Rome, as distinguished from other parts of Christendom, and particularly for the English Church,\* or an overweening value for outward religion, for sacraments, Church polity, public worship, &c." (p. x.) With the first definition of Romanism in view, the editors proceed to prove that Mr. Froude could not have this laid to his charge. To this we assent. That there must have unfortunately been some barrier between him and the Catholic Church, every one will imagine, who knows that he died without its pale. But we must express our conviction, that the editors have not done much credit to their friend by the manner in which they have thought it right to shield his memory from the charge. It consists in a careful collection of some of the most hasty, unhandsome, and decidedly unreasonable, judgments and opinions of the author, respecting chiefly what he saw in his travels. We consider the dilemma worth illustrating, that either they were so much at a loss for a set-off against his noble avowal of many Catholic truths, that they must be content with the worst specimens of his reasoning powers, or else that the wall of separation between him and the Catholic Church, as well as the cords which bound him to his own sect, were too flimsy and weak, as being mere matters of prejudice and false feeling, to have long resisted the evidence of truth. In either case, he presents a melancholy instance of how small a grain of prepossession is thought sufficient to overbalance a solid weight of good arguments. For instance, take the following proof of the author's not being a Romanist:—

"How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, *Popery*, Infidelity; they have it all now, and good luck to them!"—*Pref.* p. xi.

Truly this sentence betrays alienation enough from our religion; but we do not think it does much honour to the writer's good sense, to wedge this between the various brood of the Reformation. Neither is it evidence of more than a political, hot-brained antagonism, rather than of a sober, rational judgment. Again: "I have seen the priest laughing when at the confessional; and, indeed, it is plain that, unless they made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of

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\* If the reprehensible system, misnamed by these gentlemen Romanism, consist of all those parts of the Catholic religion which differ from the English Church, how comes it that so many of its practices, disciplines, and even dogmas, are objects of envy and covetous desire to these very writers and their friend Mr. Froude?

the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated." (p. xiii.) Really, is this passage worthy of being pressed into the editors' service? Had Mr. Froude never witnessed disrespectful behaviour in his own Church? If he ever had, would he have allowed of the generalization to all his establishment, implied in the quotation against our hierarchy! Mr. Froude had no evidence that a confession was actually going on, when he saw the priest at Naples laugh; for persons often go to the confessional, to speak to the priest on urgent matters. But we think we have farther to complain of the editors, for leaving us to understand, by the form of their quotation, that Mr. Froude witnessed some terrible scenes of gross immorality, involving three-fourths of a population of 300,000 souls. Now we think the sentence which follows the passage quoted, but which in this extract is prudently concealed under a few unmeaning dots, would have at once opened the eyes of the sensible reader to the character of the scenes of gross immorality intimated; scenes in which, perhaps, he has himself joined, without being conscious that he ought to be excommunicated. The hiatus should be supplied as follows:—"I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints, and honouring the Virgin, images, &c.: these things may be idolatrous—I cannot make up mind about it; but, to my mind, *it is the carnival*, which is real, practical idolatry; as it is written, 'the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.'" (p. 294.) We might ask, are all the English who frequent a fair, or a theatre, or a ball, to be accounted idolaters? Why not, if the poor Neapolitans are, for their carnival sports? In fine, before he left Naples, he corrected what he had so unreflectingly written concerning the character of the priests, saying that he "could not be quite confident of his information, as it affected them." We think not; and farther acquaintance with them, or inquiries concerning them, would have still further diminished his confidence in it. He even owns that his opinion concerning the idolatry of the Italians is an opinion grounded upon "a generalization, for which he has not sufficient data." (p. xiv.)

We think we are justified in saying that proofs of Mr. Froude's disinclination to Catholicity must have been very scarce, to have led the editors to bring together these superficial observations, made during a brief residence in a Catholic city, not generally reputed the most edifying in its conduct. These, however, will not bear comparison with the growing



and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic ; and we cannot help feeling, as we peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. Our readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The "Extracts from Journal" present us a picture, at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it ; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honourable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave colour and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit, these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we have considerable doubt ; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which he gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described and prescribed for by the numerous writers whom we possess upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribulation,—many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity ; but they have not at least the additional horrors, and darkness, and night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted as Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusive

phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good,—snare cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of their interior perfection, and the vigour of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order: these are gradually increased with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, as even a self-imposed, but well-observed method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practised for its own sake; or, if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has always been practised by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings, from time to time, for future perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which would naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (pp. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

“ I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaister,

nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd's; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup, and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy." (p. 30.) "Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six." (p. 44.)

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which with youthful eagerness he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigour of thought, and closer intimacy with some spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals; for instance:—

"Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray: I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel's reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought." (p. 34.)

"I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with greater vigour; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. Nov. 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinences and self-mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for anything. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But, while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge."—p. 49-50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus, he writes to Mr. Keble:—"The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency." (p. 204.) This will be the inevitable result of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that most important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works; those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigour to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the colour of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—p. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestantism of that strong principle of docility and obedience which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends seem to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from his pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do Him service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, which will measure that, rather than our success. What snatches there are of prayer, bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious,—the work of God and his religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to

which he unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. We see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which they have based upon them. We certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless manner of speaking of others, that must give an unfavourable impression regarding his character, which we have every reason to believe was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable powers of genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If we have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that we considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*; but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends farther than they ventured to go; and we think he was prepared to go to the extreme of logical deductions. But we must methodize our observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so-called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

“Sept. 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time: it is shocking, indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans*? I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopa-

lians did not claim '*jus divinum*;' indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power."—p. 325.

When at Barbados, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controvertists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

"Imprimis, as to ——'s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass 'your cursed paltrie service;' laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.\* He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a 'phantasie of Mr. Harding's.† He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and *correction*,‡ and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;§ justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;|| ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance*.¶ I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—p. 339.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

"As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hicke and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—p. 379.

The following is two months later:—

"When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast, and woman too, which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written

\* Def. of Apol. p. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611. † Ib. p. 208. ‡ Ib. 149, 153.  
§ Ib. 151. || Ib. 152, 155. ¶ Ib. 210, 212.



nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way ; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am ; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—p. 389.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honour his own university has been proposing to erect a church.

"Also, why do you praise Ridley ?" [in the *Tracts for the Times*, we presume, where he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] "Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N.B. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co. ! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's supper;' nor God's priests 'ministers of the word;' or the altar 'the Lord's table,' &c. &c.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, *as a Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us."—p. 394.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832 :—

"I have been very idle lately; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Bulteel line; whether the Catholicism of their formulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth's minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the *ἡθός* of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita*; and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it."—p. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from

dispelling these innocent doubts concerning those men, and how very much more daring his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices. General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents: "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them." (p. 254.) The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favourably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church, which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ἥθος*; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a *disproof*, if they would do anything."—p. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and admitting in the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone admits. The following is in 1833:—

"Sept. 16. — has sent me your resolutions for our association, which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles: it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due application of the sacrament.'"—p. 326.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become, and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ." (p. 363.) In

1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

“ I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism.”—p. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

“ Next as to the Christian year. In the [*hymn for the*] fifth of November.....‘ there present in the heart, not in the hands,’ &c. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, ‘ not in the hands?’ Also [in the hymn] on the Communion.....you seem cramped by Protestantism.”—p. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies “ are a death-blow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence.” The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbados, he says:—

“ For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer’s chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to —, for the obnoxious phrase ‘ mass-book.’ ”—p. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems

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\* Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbados “ the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary.” (p. 365.) We should be curious to know how the recital of this office is performed by those who reject prayers to saints, especially to modern ones.

also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns*. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked,) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the wants of a large population. . . . I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the true fold: there are many about, I am sure; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards." (p. 323.) Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise! If an Anglican thinks that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believes it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-tried and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, we see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed our minds, and been a subject of our earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them; living together under a mild but steady rule; who should extend their labours over the whole country; appears to us the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervour where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all our ideas upon this matter, is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning, and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing at home and abroad. It seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints, and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it. We speak not only of our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many more experienced in the missionary life, and the result of long attention to results attained, when we say that a body of clergy devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labours, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of

instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means, we have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and "that odious Protestantism," which "sticks in people's gizzards," be thence salubriously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Flaget has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favour of the *Œuvre de la Propagation*: and, though his tour has been limited, we have it on authority that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. We have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of moveable missionaries established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before his face, during his own life-time, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of earth: and subsequently practised by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to preach the Gospel to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties, some suggested by timidity, others by prudence, may, we are aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation, that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, where are the instruments, and the means, for such an undertaking? the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? We answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be ever carried on,—let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution,—and we will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan, based upon experience and approved methods, for propagating truth, and combating error. While the Anglicans would have everything to prepare, and even to design, before they could set on foot such a system as Mr. Froude proposes, we have

much already in train, and should require but little for immediate execution. It would even appear that the Mendicant orders were the favourite scheme of Mr. Froude and his friends.\* We defy Protestantism to institute or support them.

We come now to the great doctrine of the *Tracts for the Times*,—ecclesiastical authority, both in matters of jurisdiction and of teaching; and it will be easy to show how evidently dissatisfied Mr. Froude was with the principles and arguments of his party,—of the inconsistency of staying where they were,—and of the logical extension which their arguments would naturally receive. In 1834, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newman:—

“Does not the Archbishop of Canterbury claim patriarchal authority (*qualem qualem*) over as large a portion of the globe as ever the Bishop of Rome did? and are not the colonial bishops just as much exonerated from their oath of canonical obedience, by proving that there is no universal bishop recognised in Scripture, as ever Cranmer was?”—p. 339, 340.

This is certainly a just argument, retorted upon his friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury considers himself the primate of the East and West Indian Churches, as well as those of our North American colonies. The arguments whereby the Reformers justified their separation from Rome, would as well disprove this assumed superiority. Our next quotation must be a long one: it is from a letter to Mr. Keble, written in 1835, just a year after the former, and objects to the reasoning of the *Tracts* respecting the Anglican claims to authority in their Church. It will require no commentary from us.

“And first, I shall attack you for the expression, ‘the Church teaches so and so,’ which I observe is in the *Tract* equivalent to ‘the Prayer-Book, &c., teaches us so and so.’ Now suppose a conscientious layman to inquire on what grounds the Prayer-Book, &c., are called the teaching of the Church, how shall we answer him? Shall we tell him that they are embodied in an act of parliament? So is the Spoliation Bill. Shall we tell him that they were formerly enacted by convocation in the reign of Charles II? But what especial claim had this convocation, &c., to monopolise the name and authority of the Church? Shall we tell him that all the clergy assented to them ever since their enactment? But to what interpretation of them have all, or even the major part, of the clergy assented? For if it is the assent of the clergy that makes the Prayer-

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\* “Your old project about the Mendicant Orders was the sort of thing; though, perhaps, something connected with later times would tell more, just at present.” (p. 397.) See also, on celibacy and religious orders, the same page (another letter), and p. 408.



Book, &c. the teaching of the Church, the Church teaches only that interpretation of them to which all, or at least the majority of the clergy, have assented; and, in order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to inquire, not for what may seem to the inquirer to be their real meaning, but for the meaning which the majority of the clergy have, in fact, attached to them. It will be necessary to poll the Hoadleians, Puritans, and Laudians, and to be determined by most votes. Again, supposing him to have ascertained these, another question occurs: why is the opinion of the English clergy, since the enactment of the Prayer-Book, entitled to be called the teaching of the Church, more than that of the clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, than the clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c. &c.? I can see no other [*sic*] claim which the Prayer-Book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. I know you will snub me for this, and put in lots of *ἐνστάσεις*, some of which I could anticipate and answer; but it would take too much room, and I dare say you can augur the answers as well as I can the objections.

“Next, the Tracts tell a great deal about the clergy ‘teaching authoritatively.’ Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely, no teaching now-a-days is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles’ was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy’s was, except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean, that if his lordship of — taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? or do you give the preference to ordained persons, *cæteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling; the latter does not come to much.”—pp. 401-3.

“And now I will have another go at you, about your rule of faith in *fundamentals*. This is a supposed dialogue between you and the A.

“*Romanist*. I maintain that the doctrine of the Eucharist is a fundamental.—*You*. I deny it.—*R*. Why?—*You*. Because it cannot be proved from Scripture.—*R*. Supposing it granted, do you think that no doctrine is fundamental, which cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. Yes.—*R*. Supposing I can show that the early Christians (say of the second and third centuries) regarded the doctrine of the Eucharist as fundamental, should you still say that it was not so, because it cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You*. No; in that case I should admit that it was fundamental; but you cannot show it.—*R*. Then you admit your real reason for denying that this doctrine is fundamental, is not that it is not proved from Scripture, but that it was not held such by the early Christians.—

*You.* My reason for denying that it is fundamental, is, that it is not proved from Scripture.—*R.* But, in spite of this reason, you would think it fundamental, if the Fathers thought so; that is, you admit your own reason to be inconclusive: that, even after you had shown that it cannot be proved from Scripture, you would also have to show that the Fathers did not think it fundamental.—*You.* I admit this; but still adhere to my original proposition.—*R.* You have admitted that it is not enough to show that a doctrine *cannot* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove it *not* fundamental. Do you think it enough to show that it *can* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove that it *is* fundamental?—*You.* No; I do not think that.—*R.* Then you have proposed, as a test of fundamentality, one which, being answered, does not prove doctrines fundamental; and not answered, does not prove them not so.

“I will not write any more about this, as I suspect you will skip.”—pp. 417-18.

A few days later, he reverts to the subject, in writing to the same friend; for he asks (July 30):—“What does the article mean by ‘doctrines necessary to salvation’? No doctrine is necessary to salvation, to those who have not rejected it wilfully; and to those that do reject wilfully, every true doctrine is necessary to salvation.” (p. 419.) Two months after this, he returns to his former controversy, and evidently shows his sense of the insufficiency of the grounds on which he and his friends stood regarding authority; for, Sept. 3, he writes thus:—

“As to our controversies, you are now taking fresh ground, without owning, as you ought, that on our first basis I dished you. Of course, if the Fathers maintain ‘that nothing not deducible from Scripture ought to be insisted on as terms of communion,’ I have nothing more to say. But again, if you allow tradition an interpretative authority, I cannot see what is gained. For surely the doctrines of the priesthood and the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, interpreted by tradition; and if so, what is to hinder our insisting on them as terms of communion? I don’t mean, of course, that this will bear out the Romanists, which is, perhaps, your only point; but it certainly would bear out our *party* in excommunicating Protestants.”—p. 419-20.

It is evident that his mind was busily engaged with this most important topic; and that every day showed him more and more the perplexity of the views taken by his colleagues, and the necessity of coming to a clearer understanding than they had of the extent of their principles, which, pushed one step farther, would be driven into Catholicity. A letter written to another correspondent, in November following, is evidence of this.

"Nov. 27....I have been over and over again N[ewman]'s arguments from the Fathers, that tradition, in order to be authoritative, must be in form interpretative, and can get no farther than that it is a convenient reason for [the Church's] tolerating the (I forget which) article. No reason why the Apostles should have confined their oral teaching to comments on Scripture, seems apparent; and why their oral teaching should have been more likely to be corrupted, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*."—p. 423.

His mortal course was now, however, drawing to a close; but the last fragment published of his, attests how anxiously, how candidly, and how powerfully, his mind was at work with this great subject,—the hinge on which the differences between us and these new divines may be justly said to turn. This piece is a letter, dated Jan. 27, 1836, a month before his death; and as his last illness was of some weeks' duration, this document may be considered his theological testimonial, the last declaration of his yet unbroken mind. It will clearly prove how far he had advanced beyond his fellows, towards the boundary line of Catholic truth. In order the better to understand it, we must recal to our readers' attention our former article in No. X, on the *Tracts for the Times*; in which we examined the very passages alluded to in the following extract, which had not then come under our observation. We there cited the very example, as Mr. Froude does, of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in proof that the patriarchal rights of Churches, even though unjustly acquired, were in course of time respected, and held inviolable. (p. 293.) We also proved the canon of Ephesus, there quoted in defence of the independence of the Anglican Church, to speak only of *new* assumptions of jurisdiction by one bishop or patriarch, over sees in which no right had previously been admitted. (p. 295.) The same view we find one of their own most zealous partizans and contributors to have spontaneously taken;—nay, we see him, in the concluding passage of his writings, using severer language to his friend Mr. Newman than we presumed to employ. The following are his words:—

"The other day accidentally put in my way the Tract on the *Apostolical Succession in the English Church*; and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οικονομία* and *φειλακισμὸς*, have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one 'from the first;' but neighbouring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon

[of Ephesus] is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent."—pp. 425-6.

After this, what more can we desire in proof of what we asserted at the beginning of this article, that these *Remains* prove Mr. Froude's mind to have been gradually discovering more extensive and more accurate views of religious truths and the principles of faith, with such steady and constant growth, as gives us every reason to believe that longer life alone was wanting to see him take the salutary resolve, to embrace the conclusions of his theories to their fullest legitimate extent? While the writings of the new divines seem to represent their theories as perfectly formed, and their views quite fixed, the extracts we have just made show them to be but the shifting and unsettled opinions of men who are yet discovering errors in what they have formerly believed, and seeking farther evidence of what they shall from henceforth hold. Our concluding extract shall give fuller evidence of this fact: it is a letter to Mr. Newman, dated All Saints' Day, 1835.

"Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of — [against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do?—and I call it uncharitable to an excess. *How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!* Surely you should reserve 'blasphemous,' 'impious,' &c., for denial of the articles of faith."—p. 422.

With this passage we close Mr. Froude's *Remains*. Peace be to him! is our parting salutation. The hope which an Ambrose expressed for a Valentinian, who died yet a Catechumen, we willingly will hold of him. His ardent desires were with the truth; his heart was not a stranger to its love. He was one, we firmly believe, whom no sordid views, or fear of men's tongues, would have deterred from avowing his full convictions, and embracing their consequences, had time and opportunity been vouchsafed him for a longer and closer search. He is another instance of that same mysterious Providence, which guided a Grotius and a Leibnitz to the threshold of truth, but allowed them not the time to step within it, into the hallowed precincts of God's visible Church.\*

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\* We are authorized to correct an error, arising from some misapprehension, which occurs in p. 307. It is in an account of a conference between the author, accompanied by a friend, and the head of a college in Rome. The latter is made to say, that "the doctrine of the mass" was not fixed, but remained indeterminate, till settled at the Council of Trent. This statement is inaccurate, though, no doubt, unintentionally so. The gentleman alluded to never made any such admission, in the sense which it appears to bear in the narrative.

ART. VI.—*Kynge Johan; A Play, in Two Parts.* By John Bale. Edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. From the MS. of the Author, in the Library of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. London: Printed for the Camden Society, by John Bowyer Nichols & Son. MDCCCXXXVIII.

FOR the discovery and publication of the dramatic work whose title heads our paper, we are indebted to that useful body, the Camden Society. The MS., which is, for the most part, in the handwriting of Bale himself, was totally unknown till within the last year or two, when it was, for the first time, brought to light among some old papers, once belonging to the corporation of Ipswich. Its earliest date—for it was evidently written at different periods—is conjectured to have been about the commencement of the reign of Edward VI; the conclusion, and the latest in order of composition, was not written till after the accession of queen Elizabeth. In several respects, it is a curious performance. We know of no historical play from an English pen, of greater, or coeval antiquity. By many years, it preceded the historical plays of Shakspeare, the author's contemporary; to whom, indeed, it may have first suggested the dramatic importance of his country's \* chronicles. *Kynge Johan*, too, first presents that disregard of the unities of time and place, which soon became general among subsequent dramatic writers, and which still characterizes the modern drama. The stage-scene is now laid in the papal court—now in London. In the beginning of the poem, we are present at the laying on of the interdict—and again, towards the end, we witness its removal, after an interval of seven years. The division, moreover, of the play into two parts, for convenience of representation,—which the method and clearness of Shakspeare's mind afterwards made so famous,—is noticeable in this instance, as the first example of the kind. But lastly, and above all, we have here a most singular portraiture of the new opinions and principles which the Reformation introduced, in the room of the old piety and chivalry it took away; the poem being, altogether, a polemical one; and, as the editor remarks, designed† “to promote and confirm the Reformation, of which, after his conversion, Bale was one of the most strenuous and *unscrupulous* supporters;” not to mention, that he was also “a bishop” under

\* There is extant, however, another play of the same name, by an unknown author; of later date than Bale's, but earlier than Shakspeare's tragedy.

† Introduction, p. vii.

Edward VI, a fugitive under Mary, and “a prebendary of Canterbury” after the accession of Elizabeth.\*

“This design he executed in a manner until then unknown.”† Before him, the drama of this country had bounded itself to the domain of sacred subjects: the “mysteries” and “moralities” of our fathers were altogether founded on the pages of Scripture, or the Golden Legend. Neither was there matter for the introduction of polemical controversy. The entire accord that prevailed in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and the reception of religious truths, had produced an almost monotonous unity of thought and language in their contributions to the drama. When, therefore, the new bishop of Ossory resolved on turning it against the Church, he found himself obliged to depart wholly from the ancient course, and trace out to himself a new path towards the end in view. “For this purpose,‡ instead of founding himself upon some portion of the *Old* or *New Testament*,” doubtless, because none could be had, “he resorted to the *Chronicles*, and thus endeavoured to give attractive novelty to his undertaking.” And truly, the execution is amusing, as the undertaking was “novel!” We can fancy the rapturous astonishment with which the world, in Bale’s days, must have hailed this new light reflected upon history. Our readers will partake of that astonishment, when they learn that the object aimed at by these two plays, is the entire vindication of “Kynge Johan” from the cruel aspersions of all his historians, and his elevation among his fellows as a “reformer,” and a “marter.” Canonized thus by a reformed bishop, and prebendary to boot, our farther wonder should be,—how he has missed a place in the calendar, at the beginning of the *Book of Common Prayer*, along with the other royal “marter,” king Charles I?—how it comes to pass, that in Worcester minster, the 19th October lies buried, and not, like the 30th January, remembered in red-letter honours and homilies before parliament? Furthermore, it is worthy of notice in this place, that Bale does, over and over again, expressly identify this “ryghteous kynge” with king Henry VIII, and also with queen Elizabeth, making no distinction between his three worthies, as to goodness, piety, or, in short, anything but the degree of success attend-

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\* With our experience of Irish Protestant prelates, and beneficed clergymen, at Brighton, Cheltenham, and other places of fashionable resort, in England, we cannot confess the goodness of the editor’s logic. “He never returned to his see, in Ireland; and probably, therefore, derived no revenue from it.”—*Ibid.*

† Introduction, p. viii.

‡ *Ibid.* p x..



ant on their common enterprise ; so that he lauds them all,—“Johan,” as “Moyses,” and as “David ;” “king Henrye,” as “duke Josue ;” and “Elizabeth,” as the “Angell,” sealing the elect with the seal of the Lord. After this, let no man condemn those who agree with this Protestant father, that the perjured bloodstained Lackland, betrayer of innocence and murderer of his nephew as he was, is, nevertheless, not undeserving of a niche in history, between “bluff king Hal,” and the “maiden queen,” his daughter, “good queen Bess.” This is, in fact, the chief aim, the *geste* of the two poems before us : the “design,” which, for perversion and suppression of fact, and for intrepidity of assertion, may indeed be said to have been “executed in a manner till then unknown ;” although, since, become tolerably common and notorious, not only to readers of dramatic, and other works professedly “of fiction,” but also to such as are pretty conversant with another numerous class of productions, even more ingenious, and more deserving of that title, than of the less aspiring name of “history,” under whose unpretending cloak they modestly seek concealment. Bale may, in this view, be justly regarded as the father of modern history,—the Herodotus of Protestant England. Under which venerable title, let us for awhile leave him to repose, while we attempt, for our readers’ amusement, a rapid analysis of his play of *Kynge Johan*.

The play opens with a speech of the king in person, introducing himself by name, lineage, and office, and professing his intention,—

“ By practyse and by stodye,  
To reforme the lawes and sett men in good order,  
That trew justyce may be had in every border.”—p. 2.

Hereupon, “Ynglond *vidua*” accosts him with a long complaint against the “clergy,” and prays him to do her justice. We observe nothing remarkable in the accusations preferred, beyond their exact conformity to the every-day amenities of the *Times*, *Herald*, and *Standard*. In the midst of this, “Sedycyon,” or Stephen Langton, enters, and, hearing what is going on, keeps up a running banter, by way of bass accompaniment, much to the annoyance of Johan and Ynglond. On the departure of the latter, a long expostulation ensues between Sedycyon and Johan, by which it is made to appear, that the former is an emissary of Rome, against all states ; and that Catholicity is quite incompatible with loyalty and good order.

**K. J.** But what doeste thow here in England, tell me shortlye?

**S.** I hold upp the pope, as in other places many,  
For his ambassador I am contynwally,  
In Syccell, in Naples, in Venys and Ytalye,  
In Pole, Spruse, and Berne, in Denmarke and Lumbardye,  
In Aragon, in Spayne, in Fraunce and in Germanye,  
In Ynglond, in Scotlond, and in other regyons elles;  
For his holy cawse I mayntayne traytors and rebelles,  
'That no prince can have his peples obedyence,  
Except yt doth stond with the pope's prehemynence."—p. 9.

There is nothing new under the sun. We had thought, that the unnatural league between papists, dissenters, republicans and infidels, of which the papers every morning tell us so much, was an invention due to the originality of the age;—we own ourselves mistaken. We ought to have known, that the stern discipline of Catholic morality must needs be found too hard at all times for flesh and blood, by the rulers who grasp at arbitrary power, and the slaves who fawn on their irresponsibility. Of that spirit, new to the sense of Anglo-Saxon sturdiness, we shall witness more examples, as we proceed with our extracts.

Sedycyon having gone away on the approach of "Nobelyte," another long insipid conversation upon Church matters, takes place between the latter and king John, in which "the clargy," and subsequently, "Syvyll Order," who soon after enter, also take a part. "Nobelyte," a well-meaning wavering personage, at first inclined strongly to the Church, falls, by degrees towards the royal arguments:—

"For undowtted God doth open soche thyngs to prynces  
As to none other men in the Crysten provynces,  
And therfor we wyll not in this with yowr grace contend."—p. 20.

Syvyll Order, a prudent person of foresight, upon this, also assents to the king's wishes; and, finally, "the clargy," moved by their example, agrees to submit itself to John, "bothe body and goods." The king having thereupon granted them his "gracyous pardon" for their previous enmity to God's word, proceeds to bind them to his spiritual obedience by oath, and to define their respective duties in that regard. He and Syvyll Order then "go out," leaving Clargy and Nobelyte together. A discussion arises between these two, on the subject of what has just taken place, Clargy intimating its resolution not to obey John, and Nobelyte censuring Clargy on that account. Here Bale takes occasion to provide himself against the counter testimony of perverse and stubborn facts,

by putting into Nobelyte's mouth, a complaint of Clargy's presumption in daring to write history:—

“ You pristes are the cawse that chronycles doth defame  
So many prynces, and men of notable name,  
*For you take upon you to wryght them evermore.*”—p. 23.

Clargy, however, at last prevails over Nobelyte, who exclaims,—

“ Well, I can no more say ; ye are to well lernyd for me.”

In the next scene (so to call it), which is laid in Rome, Sedycyon soliloquizes until the entrance of “Dyssymulacyon, syngyng of the litany” in such tone and key, that the former irreverently declares with an oath,—

“ I trow her cummeth sum hoggherd  
Callyng for his pygges. Such a noyse I never herd.”—p. 25

A long and ribald\* interview between these worthies follows, in which the new-comer, who is represented to be a monk, is made to expound to Sedycyon's edification, and that of the audience, the supposed impostures of his brethren. The subject turning on the temporalities of monastic order, (an interesting topic for the writer and patrons of the play), Dyssymulacyon points out the value to their cause, of the “prywat wealth” of their monasteries, by whose means he proposes to bring in the pope, or “U'surpid Power,” from Rome, to overrule the state. Sedycyon assenting, these two new allies make their entry on the scene. To make, however, more clear, the supposed relation that subsists in gradual ascent from hypocrisy to monastic possessions, thence to papal supremacy, and thence, finally, rising to civil discord—the crown of all—which is done with a view, of course, to the vindication of the Protestant Reformers, and their atrocities,—a highly ludicrous scene is here introduced, at the instance of Sedycyon:—

“ S. Nay, Usurpid Power, thee must go back ageyne,  
For I must also put thee to a lytyll payne.

U. P. Why, fellaue Sedycyon, what wylt thee have me do?

S. To bare me on thi backe and bryng me in also,  
That yt may be sayde that fyrst Dyssymulacyon  
Browght in Privat Welth to every Cristen nacion ;  
And that Privat Welth browght in Usurpid Power,  
And he Sedycyon in cytye, towne, and tower,  
*That sum man may know the feche of all our sorte.*—p 31.

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\* We use this word advisedly. More than once we have been compelled to shorten our quotations from different parts of the poem, by reason of the licentious language of this Reformed prelate!

This is accordingly done. Afterwards, Dyssymulacyon delivers to Usurpid Power the letter from the English bishops, demanding aid against Kynge Johan. A long and dull discussion ensues, in which, however, we notice the following mention of the beloved sister isle, and her tenacious orthodoxy, since become so proverbial. It is curious to observe, at how early a period of the Reformation, the Irish were designated, by their English foes, as “aliens in religion,”—men who were “to be converted to Protestantism, or severed from England, to be afterwards reconquered by the sword!!”

“D. \* \* *His suggesteon was to subdew the Yrysh men.*

P. W. Yea, that same peple doth ease the Church, now and then.  
For that enterpryse they wold be lokyd uppon.

U. P. They gett no mony, but they shall have clene remysson,  
*For those Yrysh men are ever good to the Church:*  
*Whan kynges dysobeye yt, than they begynne to worch.*

P. W. And all that they do ys for indulgence and pardon.”—p. 37.

At the close of this conference the pope curses the king “with boke, bell, and candle.” Then follows a speech, of five stanzas, from “the Interpretour,” wherein the intent of the play is elaborately explained to the audience. We cannot afford space for more than an extract.

“ In thys present acte we have to you declared,  
As in a myrrour, the begynnynge of kynge Johan ;  
How he was of God a magistrate appoynted  
To the governaunce of thys same noble regyon,  
To see mayntayned the true faythe and relygyon ;  
But Satan, the Devyll, which that tyme was at large,  
Had so great a swaye that he coulde it not discharge

*Upon a good zele he attempted very farre  
For welthe of thys realme to provyde reformacyon  
In the Church therof, but they ded hym debarre  
Of that good purpose ; for by excommunycacyon  
The space of vij yeares they interdyct thy nacyon.  
These bloudsuppers thus of crueltie and spyght  
Subdued thys good kynge for executynge ryght.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*This noble kynge Johan, as a faithful Moyses,  
Withstode proude Pharao for hys poore Israel.  
Myndynge to brynge yt owt of the lande of darknesse ;  
But the Egyptyanes did agaynst hym so rebell,  
That hys poore people ded styll in the desart dwell,  
Tyll that duke Josue, whych was our late kynge Henrye,  
Clerely brought us in to the lande of mylke and honye.*

At the end of this speech we read "Finit Actus Primus," and, by the allusions of the Interpretour to the "second acte," it would seem that the first part of "Kynge Johan" consisted of two acts only. The loss of the conclusion of the first part leaves us no means of ascertaining the truth of this conjecture.

The first act being ended, the pope retires, and the scene shifts to England, where we witness the successful tampering of Sedycyon, or Langton, with the allegiance of "Nobelyte," "Clargy," and "Syvyll Order." To give additional flavour to the entertainment, the author treats us to a view and hearing of the confessional, where "Nobelyte" appears as penitent, and "Sedycyon" as confessor. This blasphemous parody, independently of its indecency, is so absurdly incorrect, even as a parody, that we very much doubt whether Bale was ever at confession in his life! Indeed, his "conversion" to the Protestant faith most probably amounted to that of Bernadotte, thus very equivocally announced by himself: "*M. l'Archevêque, je n'ai jamais douté, moi, de la vérité de votre religion!*"

In the next scene,\* "Privat Welth, cum in like a cardinall," demands of the king, in the name of Innocent III, redress of the Church's wrongs, with ample restitution, and the admittance of cardinal Langton into his see and primacy; which the king peremptorily refuses, and also takes occasion to read the "cardinall" a most moving homily, full of Scripture texts and Christian unction, on his duties in general. In return for this charity, "Privat Welth" has the barbarity to "cursse" him, "with crosse, bocke, bell, and candell;" and even to "assoyle" his people from his obedience, charging them to fight against him "as a tyrant." The "good" king hereon meekly rejoins—

"Gett the hence, or elles we shall teche the to blaspheme."

Then, falling into a sweetly moralizing mood, he soliloquizes, as a saint should do whose ears have been so grieved by the tongues of the ungodly:

"Oh, Lord, how wycked ys that same generacyon  
That never wyll cum to a godly reformacyon;  
The prystes report me to be a wyckyd tyrant  
Be cause I correct ther actes and lyfe unpleasant," &c.

After consoling himself with Scripture authority for his arbitrary power over the clergy, he concludes—

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\* We use this word for convenience, although there is, in fact, no division of scenes observed throughout the play.

“ But I shall make them smart,  
Yf that Nobelyte and Law wyll take my part.”—p. 54-5.

Unluckily, however, they “wyll” not “take his part.” He attacks them collectively without effect, and equally fails in a private attempt to withdraw “Nobelyte” from their league, as the latter will have nothing to do with one “accursyd.” At every rebuff the king’s piety waxes more and more fervent, and his appeals to Heaven frequent. “Nobelyte” pleads his “othe” to the Church, “Clargy” his “professyon to the ryghtes ecclesiasticall,” and “Syvyll Order” that he is “hyr feed man.” There remains only the “Commynalte,” and of him he would “fayne knowe the mynde,”

. “Whether he wyll go with them or abyde with me?”

To his great discomfiture, he finds that, although he “coud be contented with all his hart” to go with the king, yet having two “impedymentes;” the first, “blyndnes,” arising “for want of knowlage in Christe’s lyvely verite,” and the second, “poverte,” he, “Commynalte,” had rather not go with him. The unanimous league of all classes against the execrable John, having been thus ingeniously explained away by his hagiographist, Bale, Pandulphus comes to crown the cup of misery, by communicating to the king the news of the armaments that have taken the field against him, and the imminent danger in which he stands. “Johan” is at first incredulous, but being most disconsolately convinced at last, falls into complete despair; whereupon Pandulphus asks him,

“How saye ye, kyng Johan, can ye fynd now in yowr hart  
To obaye holy Chyrch, and give ower yowr froward part?”

“Johan” craves time to deliberate with his “Nobylyte;” which being, with some hesitation, granted him, he retires for awhile, leaving the legate and his party to enjoy their triumph till his return. After a short conference he again appears, and signifies that having mercifully considered the horrors attendant on war, he is compelled “to resigne up here both crowne and regall poure;” and accordingly, at once delivers the emblems of authority into the “cardynall’s” hands, submitting himself, at the same time, in all respects whatever, “to his mercyfull ordynance.” In short, a change altogether marvellous is remarked in the language, actions, and whole demeanour of this “godly and valiant” prince.

Here, unfortunately, the blank occurs in the manuscript, by which we lose the conclusion of the first part of “Kynge Johan,” as well as the beginning of the second part. When



new colony. The removal of the seat of government must follow as a matter of course, and then what will become of the city of Adelaide? It will dwindle into a second or third-rate provincial village of the interior, and much capital will have been expended in vain, in clearing and improvements. This is to be regretted exceedingly."—*James*, p. 8.

"Port Adelaide, on the other hand, 'is well enough for small vessels, which, *after they are inside*, are secure from accidents; but in any other respect it is totally unfit for general purposes of commerce, and will never come to anything; as no amount of expenditure could make it available, except for the little trifling domestic trade, in Mangrove ashes, for the future soap-makers of the colony."—p. 10.

All accounts agree, that a finer harbour could not exist than Port Lincoln, whilst Port Adelaide has a bar; and before one can get to the town,—hang it, we are always forgetting ourselves,—the "city" of Adelaide, all sorts of impediments interpose themselves.

"Whilst the man in the chains," says Mr. James, "is crying out 'by the mark three,'—'quarter less three,' the passengers are looking over the sides of the ship, at the bottom, which is seen distinctly; and presently, bump the vessel strikes on the mud and sand. This is the bar of Port Adelaide. The gentlemen whisper each other, that 'the vessel is aground.' . . . The captain frowns, but the pilot thinks nothing of it, and walks about calm and unruffled as if he were in his own parlour. . . . With the flood tide, however, the ship floats off, and the passengers make the notable discovery, that getting aground is nothing when you're used to it. Presently there is another bar, at Snapper Point, over which the ship gets safely; but the passengers' anxiety to get ashore, is not yet to be gratified; for the careful old gentleman the pilot, determines to bring up for the night. In the morning, the passengers determine to betake themselves to the boat. They do so, and after pulling some distance up the muddy creek, ask if this is Port Adelaide? the answer is 'Yes!' The landing place is however a mile higher up; but disappointment is not at an end, for even the boat sticks fast in the mud, and the passengers are at last glad to wade shoeless and stockingless ashore."—*James*, pp. 24, 28.

At Port Adelaide they are still eight miles from the "City." Here,—

"they enquire, if there is a coach to the town? they are answered by a careless shake of the head: and so like good settlers, they determine to set off and walk, carrying their light parcels with them, and leaving the heavy things with a friend, who refuses to go farther. They ask for a drink of water before starting, there is not such a thing to be had; but the bullock carts are expected down every minute

with the usual supply ! ‘ What, no water ! ’ exclaims our passenger. No, sir, but the commissioners are sinking a well, though they have not yet found any but salt-water ; but they are going to dig in another place shortly, we understand.”--*James*, p. 29.

This scarcity of water is not confined to the port ; in the city, although the supply is such as perhaps to remove all apprehension of danger, it is, and must be sufficiently limited in the hot months, to render economy necessary. Now, to feel that it is necessary to be sparing in the use of water, must be always painful. Expedients must be adopted in Adelaide to make the superabundance of the wet season, supply the deficiency of the summer months. Water must be collected in some way or other, and until the population is large enough and wealthy enough to pay for a supply from a distance, the pain of economizing will continue. On the shores of Port Lincoln, on the other hand, water is more abundant, perhaps absolutely abundant. This should have been one reason for fixing upon that spot for the site of the “ capital city.”

There is no doubt, that every settler, at least every settler possessed of the habit of thinking and comparing, goes out impressed with a firm conviction of the excellence of the system which he is destined to contribute to put into operation, and of which indeed he himself forms a component part. This would be desirable, even were the system less good than it is ; but considering its soundness, the enthusiasm of the first settlers, is emphatically one of the vital functions of the new community. The South Australian colonists, however, go beyond this ; for they add to their admiration of the new principles, a most profound contempt for the old practice ; they disdain to look to any former colony, except for evidence of the suffering and misery by which the planless efforts of the early colonists were marked.

Now, it seems to us, that there is in all former colonies, both in America and in Australia, one feature which might have been imitated : we mean that of establishing the town at the port, and if possible on some navigable river, and on no account at a considerable distance inland. As in the case of South Australia, there is no navigable river, (though the growing wealth of the future colony may render the Murray so), the next best thing was to make the port and the city one and the same. Land-carriage under any circumstances is a costly matter ; good roads must be of slow growth, for they are the offspring of abundant traffic. At first, the colony and the town must be synonymous, and where the colony establishes

itself on a good harbour, roads, during the infancy of the said colony, are not wanted. As the colony marches out of town, and spreads itself to a distance around, roads begin to radiate from the town as a centre, and as they are co-extensive with settlements, they are easily supported, and not being a burthen, are well kept up. In fixing upon an inland site for the city of Adelaide, an unnecessary difficulty has been thrown in the way of the settlers, in the shape of an eight-miles drag to and from the port for every article imported or shipped. When Adelaide shall have become a second Liverpool or New York, and the colony shall have grown to a nation, this obstacle will be as nothing; but, in the infancy of the colony, it amounts to a double tax—a tax on consumption in the case of imported articles, and on production in the case of exported articles.

The ineligibility of the site of Adelaide is spoken of by Mr. Edward Stephens, a gentleman who holds an official station in the colony: \*—

“The beautiful and romantic spot,” he says, “that has at present been marked out for the city of Adelaide, has accordingly been chosen, not because it is in reality the best in the province, but because it is the best that has yet (January 1837) been discovered. Botany Bay was extolled by Captain Cook; and an excellent place it was, so long as Port Jackson lay unknown, within a couple of hours’ sail of it. Yet, after the discovery of the latter place, who ever thought of Botany Bay? so, for aught we can tell, there may be fifty places in South Australia with land equally fertile and with commercial advantages highly superior to those possessed by the intended city. \* \* \* Adelaide is unquestionably a beautiful spot; for agricultural purposes altogether unexceptionable. But it can never be a great *commercial city*. It is six miles at least distant from a harbour, which, if safe, is at present, at least, entirely destitute of fresh water, and not capable of receiving ships of heavy tonnage. A supply of water, it is true, could be brought to it from Adelaide—a canal might be dug, or a railroad formed; the bar could be deepened†—all this could be done if no better place exists.” \* \* \* But, “we may erect houses and commence canals to connect it (Adelaide) with the sea, and some fine morning may bring us the news that at Encounter Bay, or at Boston Bay, or at Point Drummond, or in Spencer’s Gulph, a splendid harbour,‡ with abundance

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\* See Appendix to Mr. James’s book, p. 238.

† Doubtful.

‡ “Port Lincoln has in fact been found to be equal to any harbour in England.”  
—James, p. 8.

of fine land, has been discovered. What then becomes of Adelaide? Will its being the seat of government save it? Bring the ships to our doors if possible—that is the paramount consideration—the essential ingredient to commercial and colonial prosperity.”

The writer then cites a long list of great cities, to prove his position; challenges the naming of a single prosperous commercial city, “seven, or six, aye, or one mile distant from navigable waters,” and concludes by asserting, that “if experience is to be listened to, its plain and sound advice is, to choose the seat of your capital by the sea-shore.”

Though not well adapted for a “great commercial city,” Adelaide is and will remain a pleasant little town. When the Torrens is reduced by the summer’s sun to the calibre of a grand junction water-pipe,—about equal to an Irishman’s hat,—Mr. James’s standard, there are some big holes in the bed of the river too large to be exhausted. This was one of the reasons for the choice of the site. But, for a pleasant little town, its plan is something too magnificent. In the window of Mr. Cary’s map-shop, it “beats all natur’,” as Sam Slick would say, eclipsing by its vastness the modest maps of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, which there keep it company. The streets are just double as broad as Portland-place, the bye lanes beat Oxford-street; and as for alleys, faugh! such a thing may be very well for

—“Deptford—navy-building town,  
Lambeth and Wapping, smelling strong of pitch:”

but they are wholly unknown in the city of Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. As for the squares,—which had we been duly impressed with proper colonial ideas of the dignity of the subject, should have been mentioned first,—“they are all on such a scale of magnitude, that *if there were any inhabitants in them*, a cab would almost be required to get across them. \* \* The town, including park lands, is already eight miles round, with 3000 inhabitants only, \* \* and the consequence is, as might have been expected, that in the day-time persons are constantly losing themselves in the midst of the city; whilst at night it is impossible to move out of the house without company, unless you have any desire to sleep under a tree. This has happened to the oldest inhabitants, about whom many droll stories have been told.”—*James*, p. 33.

Whenever the “commercial city” shall be commenced at Port Lincoln, it will be of more modest pretensions. The

streets will not be much wider than Oxford or Regent-street; the squares will be of corresponding dimensions; the parks, those lungs of a great city, will also be in keeping with the squares and streets; and the worthy burgesses will not have to make their wills before they venture to visit a neighbour after nightfall.

There is, however, a growing impediment in the way of a change, in the shape of a *vested interest*. Mr. Gouger, the Secretary of the colony, who was one of its earliest projectors, says, that when he first visited the country, he thought the site ill-chosen, but that he has since become convinced of the erroneousness of his first impression. What can have produced this change? Simply this:—in common with all purchasers of town-lots, Mr. Gouger has profited by the enormous advance that has taken place in their price. He is still a holder, and the establishment of a rival city, the pouring of an increased supply of town-lots upon the market, would strike at the vested interests of the present holders. Every Adelaider,—we suppose we may coin the word,\*—will necessarily be up in arms on the bare mention of a new city; but commerce will find its own resting-place, even if Adelaide be continued as the government city.

“Every month that this measure is delayed, it is made more difficult, and therefore should not be postponed at all. The buyers of the 1200 town acres would feel much disappointment at the measure, as the market would be spoiled for the sale of their building lots; but they would be rightly served, for asking a monopoly price to respectable new comers, who ought to be able to obtain a town allotment, for a trifle, of the government.”

The speculation in town lots has hitherto been almost the only occupation of the settlers, or, rather, of such of them as have capital. Anything deserving of the name of production has scarcely taken place. Sheep-farming must ultimately be the great occupation of the colony, yet the stock of sheep is as yet insignificant. Whatever may be the fancied gains of the town-lot jobbers, and they deserve no other name, the colony is no richer for their *industrie*. If I buy an acre of land for twenty shillings to-day, and sell it for twenty pounds, or two hundred pounds to-morrow, I am undoubtedly the richer by all the difference; but the new-comer, who purchases the lot, is so much the poorer. There is simply a transfer from one colonist to another—from the right-hand pocket of the colony

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\* As London, Londoner: Adelaide, Adelaider.

to the left; but there is no production. It might as well be argued that a nation grew richer by the gains of her pick-pockets. The money-making of the land-jobbers of Adelaide, brings to our recollection an American story, which is, as the lawyers say, "in point." Two American mammas are boasting of the 'cuteness of their respective offspring; each cites various instances in support of their boys' respective claims, until at length one of them says, "Well! I guess, if my two lads are shut up in a room together for an hour, they'll have made five dollars a-piece by the time they come out, by swopping jackets."

To give an idea of the profits of land-jobbing, we will publish a case which was mentioned to the writer by a friend. A gentleman laid out £250 in a lot or lots of land for a merchant in London; after the purchase was completed, he proposed to the merchant, that if he would authorize an outlay of £250 more, he, the colonist, would give him  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. as rent, for fourteen years. The offer was accepted, and the colonist having to pay £37. 10s., let his bargain to a third person for £200 a-year. In all cases, persons having gone out with a few hundred pounds, have soon converted their hundreds into thousands, and in some cases, the gain is said to have been a hundred-fold. This is an evil which presses upon the new-comers; it is, however, susceptible of an easy remedy; there should be a tax on every lot unoccupied by a house, and in default of payment, the land should escheat to the crown. The speculative advance in the price of town-lots, will contribute more than anything else to bring about the establishment of the commercial metropolis on the shores of Port Lincoln, and so far, good will come out of evil.

Another blunder, which has brought difficulties and dissensions into the bosom of the new community, is the tardiness with which the land-surveys have proceeded. The commissioners admit, in their Second Annual Report, that "the surveys have not proceeded with that celerity which the commissioners had reason to expect." Whether the surveying establishment was not sufficiently strong from the beginning, or whether the delay proceeded from any other cause, is not mentioned; but the commissioners attribute it partly to the impatience of the first settlers, who were anxious to get to the colony before the land was ready for distribution. "In colonizing a country so imperfectly explored as South Australia, it would have been desirable to have had the coasts and harbours examined, the site of the capital determined, and a



considerable extent of land surveyed, before the first body of settlers sailed from this country. But the provisions of the South Australian act rendered this course impracticable. By the 26th clause of the Act, the commissioners were precluded from commencing their operations until after the sum of £35,000 had been advanced in this country for the purchase of land in the colony. The persons who had purchased orders for land, and who had broken-up their establishment and disposed of their business in order to do so, and to proceed to the colony, became impatient of delay, and would not be retained in this country, losing their time and wasting their resources, whilst the coasts of South Australia were in course of examination. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for the commissioners to prevent the arrival of a considerable body of settlers, before the surveys were sufficiently advanced to allow them to be placed at once on their locations. The unavoidable inconvenience has been unnecessarily increased, by a misunderstanding respecting the site of the capital, and the consequent want of that unity of purpose and effectual co-operation which ought to have existed.”—Second Annual Report, in *James*, p. 265.

Although the commissioners aver that they had “supplied a surveying staff, which competent authorities have pronounced to be amply sufficient,” yet, to the latest period to which the accounts have reached, the quantity of land surveyed had continued to be considerably in arrear of the “demands for additional land,” and “settlers, on arriving in the colony,” have *not* been able, as the commissioners anticipated, “at once to select and enter upon their locations.”—Report in *James*, p. 265.

In March 1838, although three years had elapsed since the first land was sold and paid for, not a single plough had broken the sod of South Australia. (*James*, 64.) The whole colony has been kept in hot water by the perpetual, but justifiable grumblings of the disappointed emigrants. Under these circumstances, it is, after all, not very strange, that the capital, which under better management, would have gone to the actual business of settling—the cultivation of the soil—has been devoted to jobbing in town lots. When the devil, it seems, catches capital idle, he treats it as he does naughty boys,—sets it upon mischief.

There is one most satisfactory reflection, namely, that, notwithstanding the delay which the blunder above detailed has necessarily caused in the productive employment of capital,

the labourer is well remunerated. Labourers are sought by advertisement, at two pounds a-week, but the case of the "Educated labourers" is far different.

"Reflecting," says Mr. James, "that my friend Mr. —, who is filling one of the most important situations in the new colony, receives £100 per annum, after an expense of £500 on his education, and of £500 more for learning his profession and paying the expense of his passage and fit-out, gets a salary four pounds a-year less than a common labourer. Besides which, Mr. — must dress and associate with gentlemen, and be at a number of other expenses, unknown to the labouring man. And Mr. — is considered uncommonly favoured and fortunate in obtaining such promotion and encouragement. This will show, that in looking at new colonies, it is better to be broad-shouldered and six feet high, than to have taken a degree of A.M. at Oxford or Cambridge: and, that the best capital, next after ready-money, to take to these new countries, is health and strength, and a hard pair of hands, suitable for rough work."—*James*, p. 73.

There is no remuneration, either in the shape of salary or wages, so low as the above in the colony. Meeting a steerage passenger, who had immigrated in the same ship with Mr. James, he asked him what he was doing. "I am employed," said he, "in collecting firewood for the brick-makers." "I hope you are doing well." "Yes," said the man, "I have no cause to grumble; it brings me in, one day with another, fourteen shillings a-day." Now, collecting wood fuel is about the lowest employment,—the merest brute labour to which a man could be put; and yet we find it rewarded with something above 200*l.* a-year.

Skilled labour is more highly remunerated; and, in especial cases, where there is an unsupplied demand, the remuneration is necessarily very high. "That tall man yonder, with his long pit-saw across his shoulders, glittering in the sun, and his mate with him, are both from New South Wales, and were even convicts, or the descendants of convicts, in that colony. They are now earning good wages as sawyers in the Mount's lofty range; and the pair of them last Sunday morning received *eighteen sovereigns* for their previous week's work in the bush. Nine pounds a-week each for a working man!" (*James*, 4, 6.) Being considerably more than the salary of the Secretary of the colony, and more than half of that of the Governor, who gets only 800*l.* a-year;—certainly not enough to keep his family in that colony.

Mr. James mentions, incidentally, that "surveyors are

wanted;" but having done so, he deems it necessary to add this explanation:—

"I have stated here that surveyors are wanted; but they are badly paid: but, as a mere general observation of this kind might still allure some young gentlemen away from their friends in England,—glad of any employment, rather than remaining idle at home,—it is nothing more than right to tell them, before they embark for South Australia, they should, if possible, have a written agreement with their employers, stating their salaries and allowances; because in all the surveying parties, when the author left the colony, which amounted to about *three*, the servants or labourers employed driving in the pegs, holding the chains, and otherwise waiting on the surveyor, were receiving about 30*l.* a-year more than their masters!" —*James*, p. 88.

We recommend these statements to the especial notice of those worthy gentlemen in the House of Commons, who are wont to be lugubriously magniloquent touching the manner in which the employers of labourers "grind" their people; exacting "excessive toil," and yet refusing a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;—we recommend them also to those orators who scruple not to pander to every prejudice, for the sake of the little cheap, though often transitory, popularity, which an implicit agreement with every popular opinion, howsoever erroneous it may be, and an unscrupulous denunciation of every man who has the courage and honesty to oppose error, is sure to bring. Let them say why the South Australian master does not "grind;" or let them say why the same master, who will give the labourer no more than 10*s.* or 12*s.* a-week in this country, is fain to bid five or six times as much in Australia? and having tried their hands at answering these questions, they will perhaps find that wages depend on some natural law, beyond the direct control of the human will. Ordinary labour is high-priced, because it is scarce, compared with the demand; educated labour is low-priced, because there is but little demand for it, and the supply is abundant.

No general inference, however, can be drawn from the present price of labour, provisions, land, or town lots, as the quantity of unemployed money-capital raises the price of everything open to free competition; and the only article not so open is the unfortunate gentleman's labour, whose salary is fixed. A little time must elapse before prices will adjust themselves: if an order were issued to lay out a town at Port Lincoln, down would tumble the prices of Adelaide town lots. The occupation of the country lots would tend, aided by the farther operations of the commissioners, to bring about a

better adjustment of land labour and capital. When the colony actually proceeds to business,—the business of production,—the feuds which have arisen between the partizans, the resident commissioner, and his opponents, will subside. Another source of difference has been the great question as to the merits or demerits of Governor Hindmarsh. Mr. James gives him credit for judgment and firmness; but the merits of the question are beyond our comprehension. According to our author, Colonel Gawler, his successor, will have enough to do to manage the turbulent little community. A light hand is earnestly recommended:—

“ Tender-hearted stroke a nettle,  
And it stings you for your pains ;  
Grasp it like a man of mettle,  
And it soft as silk remains.

’Tis the same with common natures :  
Use them gently, they rebel ;  
But be rough, like nutmeg graters,  
And the rogues obey you well.”

With all the jobbing in town lots—with all the blundering delays respecting the surveys—with the bickerings of the turbulent colonists, and the pecuniary supremacy of the broad shoulder and the horny palm, over the dainty double first-class man, or the senior wrangler, there is not a single word in Mr. James’s book which tells against the soundness of the principles of colonization, now under trial. Moreover, Mr. James bears continued testimony to the eligibility of the country, as a site for the experiments. Its climate cannot be surpassed; its soil is good; and, with regard to the grand defect—a want of rivers, it is not worse, and may, perhaps, turn out better, than the other Australian colonies; but the great pre-eminence of South Australia, consists in its “entire freedom from convicts and *convictism*.” To the abominable system of penal colonization, Mr. James is, as every benevolent man, not corrupted by the influence of the system, must be, warmly opposed: “Although,” says he, “New South Wales is constantly improving in respectable society, by a rapid influx of educated persons, principally attracted by the large profits of sheep-farming, yet it must be many years\* before

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\* We are more sanguine on this point, than Mr. James. A committee of the House of Commons has laboured for two sessions on the subject of transportation; much valuable evidence has been collected, and a very able report presented to the house, highly condemnatory of the system. The originator of this committee, was Sir William Molesworth; and to his continued exertions are the

that colony can present any very material abatement of the enormous evil which now exists in its prison population."

"How different is South Australia! and how delightful and refreshing to know, there, that whatever company you may be in, or whatever business you may be pursuing,—there is no risk of interruption, or intrusion, by any presuming saucy convict; but that all are free, women as well as men; as free as in England. None but those who have been inured to the convict customs of the adjoining colonies, can properly appreciate this joyous contrast. \* \* \* This, then, is the charm of South Australia; and one of the happy consequences of no convicts, is, that labour, which every one now knows is the only\* source of wealth, is there as honourable and respectable, as it is healthy and profitable; and we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of that weighty philosopher, in discussing the subject of colonies, two hundred years ago, who said,—'It is a shameful and unblessed thing, to take the scum of the people, and wicked, and condemned men, with whom to plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever be idle, like rogues, and not fall to work; but be lazy, and do mischief, spend victuals, and be quickly weary.'"—*James*, p. 44.

One of the consequences of the character of the materials out of which this new community is, or rather is about, to be moulded; aided, perhaps, by the continued presence to the colonial mind, of the promise held out by the South Australian act of parliament—namely, that they shall have a constitution the moment they have a population of 50,000, is a very strong leaven of the democratic spirit, which must necessarily pervade new colonies. Where a colonial secretary gets four hundred a-year, and a "top-sawyer" five,—where an educated official's dignity is satisfied with one hundred a-year,†

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public indebted for the evidence which is now before the country, on the subject. A bill will be introduced on this evidence; and should it pass—and pass it must before long—a well-ordered emigration into the two penal colonies, will speedily destroy the predominance, though not wholly extinguish the influence, of the "convictism"—the felony of the older Australian colonies; and in a single generation, no trace thereof will remain. The public owes Sir William a debt of gratitude.

To the subject of transportation, it is our intention to recur in an early number.

\* Mr. James's political economy is not quite sound here. Labour is certainly the "original purchase-money" paid for all things; but it does not follow, that, in our present state of society, unaided labour is the *only* source of wealth. If labour is rendered more productive by the use of implements—such implements are a source of wealth; although they are correctly defined, to be the hoarded result of labour.

† It is no small praise to Mr. Wigley, the resident magistrate, to say, that all

and an indented labourer thinks himself cheated on four pounds more; where the clergyman—a scholar and a gentleman—is fain to work for two hundred, and the hewer of wood turns up his nose at two hundred *plus* eight; where, moreover, that great equalizer, education, soon rears its head in the midst of such a community, an approximation to social equality must prevail; as great an equality as the varieties of physical and intellectual power admit of. In such a case, political equality introduces itself inevitably, and without disturbance. No wonder, that the colonists of South Australia begin to dream of nationality. The spirit of independence, however sublime in itself, may sometimes, when grafted on colonial pomposity, insensibly slip into the ridiculous. Witness the following little history, related by Mr. James :\*—

“One of the public functionaries—which of whom is not stated—is reported, to have ‘peremptorily ordered the government printer to discontinue placing the royal arms of Great Britain any longer at the head of the proclamations; such a custom being ridiculous and childish, and he hoped never to see it again.’ And when the said functionary came into the office, where Mr. Jickling was busily employed in preparing the blank forms of writs, summonses, subpœnas, commitments, &c., in the usual phraseology, he exclaimed, with indignation, to the learned and gentle Jickling,—‘What’s all this, sir?’ hastily reading over the harmless words, ‘William the Fourth, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain and Ireland,’ and so forth. ‘Pooh! pooh! we want no nonsense of this sort here! Kings indeed! Out with it, sir,—*this is South Australia.*’ The quiet barrister was in a tremble; and getting up from his seat, and rubbing his spectacles, in the simplicity of his heart, assured him there was no treason in the words; that he had merely inserted them, because it was the practise of the higher courts at Westminster. But he (the functionary) was inflexible, and said, ‘Strike it out,—we’ll have no kings here; if you must have a name to the papers, put in O. G., meaning that active and enterprising colonist,—Osmond Gilles, Esq.’”—*James*, p. 66.

Mr. James’s book is pleasantly *anecdotal* in its character.

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men concur in speaking well of him. His important and daily duties, are the best executed, and worst paid, in the colony; for all these honours and offices only bring him a salary of £100 a-year, which, when potatoes are £50 a ton, is exactly a remuneration of two tons of potatoes a-year!—*James*, p. 53.

\* Mr. James’s grammar, like his political economy, is sometimes a *little* loose.



Some of the "moving accidents" are graphically described; and, with a little more skill in the use of language, Mr. James might enrol himself among that motley class—the popular writers of the day.

The account of the first execution in Australia will probably never be forgotten in the colony. It is this:—one Magee had attempted to assassinate the sheriff, by shooting at him. He failed in his object; but was, on being tried and found guilty, left for execution. It seems to have been considered that this severity was necessary in the new colony, exposed as it is to the constant visitation of the escaped convicts of the penal colonies.

"Magee was a Catholic; and, in the absence of any clergyman of the Romish Church, the convict made application to be allowed the attendance of a respectable person of that persuasion occasionally, while he was in gaol; and, as he was thought not ill adapted to afford Magee the usual consolations of religion, the authorities immediately complied with his request.

"But it was not so easy a matter to find an executioner as it was a priest; and, to the honour of Adelaide be it spoken, this difficulty became every hour of more serious and pressing urgency. Who was to be Jack Ketch? was the first question in the morning, and the last at night. Five pounds were offered—then ten—so the report spread; but it was all in vain; for, though sensible of the benefits that would accrue to society by the extreme example that was about to be made, yet no man would accept the proffered reward; and they one and all spurned, with an honest indignation, any amount of remuneration which could possibly be offered for the detestable office.

"At length the day of execution came; and the whole population turned out to witness the sacrifice of the first victim to the outraged law. The solemn procession approaches, and it is then discovered that an executioner has been found. With the culprit was seated on the coffin a man with a horrid mask, grotesquely daubed between the eyes with white paint, having one hump on his back, and another on his breast, and so frightfully disfigured, that he seemed an imp of Erebus, ready for his prey; while all the spectators seemed to feel a thrill of horror creeping through their veins. It was a moment of most intense and exciting interest; many wished they had not come.

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"At length all was adjusted; and with a whip or two of the leading horse, the cart was drawn away, and many shut their eyes; whilst the poor sufferer was launched into eternity.

"But here commenced one of the most frightful and appalling sights that ever, perhaps, will be again witnessed in the colony. The noose had been so badly managed, that the knot, instead of the ear,

came right under the chin of the dying man ; and, as the cart was very slowly drawn from under him, he did not *fall*, but merely slid gradually off ; and there he was, hanging in the air, uttering the most excruciating cries :—‘ Oh, God ! oh, Christ ! save me !’ and, to make it worse, he had been so badly pinioned, that he had got both his hands up to the rope above his head, to prevent his choking, and to ease the strain upon his neck. What was to be done ?—Jack Ketch was gone. Where was he ? He had been seen to gallop off, amidst the hootings of the people, on a horse that had been previously provided for the purpose, immediately the cart had been drawn away. ‘ Fetch him back !’ had been vociferated by the crowd ; and one of the mounted police was despatched after him at full gallop. All this while the poor hanging man was uttering the same piercing cries, that might have been heard a quarter of a mile, —‘ Lord, save me ! Christ, have mercy upon me !’—and nobody knew what to do. Some, compassionating his sufferings, cried, ‘ Cut him down !’ whilst others, with a different kind of commiseration, urged the marines to shoot him with their muskets, to put an end to his misery ; whilst the poor wretch was making the most powerful efforts, with his hand up to the rope, to prevent his suffocation. It was a horrid sight, to witness the twisting of the rope, and the man turning round, like a joint before the fire, while women were fainting, and the sheriff attempting to address the multitude, amidst fierce cries of ‘ Shame ! shame !’ Jack Ketch was now seen riding back, in his horrible disguise, with the policeman at his side ; and, amidst one universal shriek of execration, the horrid monster began his work of death. At one bound he made a fiendish leap upon the body of the dying man, and all was comparatively hushed ; the strong man’s hand could cling no longer to the rope, and his agonizing cries were heard no more. We left the executioner hanging on by the legs of the dying culprit, who, after a lapse of thirteen minutes by the watch, was still alive ; for now and then there were still heard a few faint murmurs, and the body even yet exhibited some strong contortions. But it was enough ; the crowd was seen dispersing here and there, amidst a pensive silence, through the forest, all hearts sickening and sad at the melancholy spectacle, and all of them having engraved on their memories, to their own dying day, the first execution in South Australia.”—*James*, p. 60.

Scenes somewhat similar have recently occurred in Canada, on the occasion of the political executions ; but with this difference, that the “ loyal” party,—with the hellish, fiend-like feelings of a dominant, bayonet-sustained minority,—rendered, like the Orangemen of Ireland, and the slave-owners of America, tyrannical and sanguinary by their fears, instead of commiserating the sufferings of the wretched victim, actually exulted therein. On one occasion, where, through the most culpable neglect, the rope broke, and, after intense suffering,

bodily as well as mental, the culprit was hanged a second time, a brutal Jew magistrate, of Montreal, observed,—“that it served the wretch right; he had committed two treasons, and it was no more than just that he should be twice hanged.”

In conclusion, we must remark, that Mr. James's book exposes all that is evil in the management of the experiment of colonizing on the new plan; nothing that his book contains, we repeat, militates against the plan itself; and, in order that both sides may be heard, the reader may consult Mr. Stephens's hypercritical and somewhat captious reply.

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ART. VIII.—*Measures to be adopted for the Employment of the Labouring Classes in Ireland, detailed in an address to the Electors of Galway, with an appendix containing abstracts of the Reports of some of the Provincial Assemblies in Belgium.* By A. H. Lynch, Esq. M.P. 1839.

THE agrarian disturbances which during a long course of years have agitated Ireland, may be referred to certain general causes, which, if they do not lie on the surface, may at all events be discovered by a thoughtful inquirer. There have been persons, though we hope there are none such in these days, who would account for the accumulated evils which have afflicted that unhappy country, by the observation, equally wanting in charity and in truth, that Irishmen were constituted of different materials from other men; that it was their nature to be wild, savage, cruel, and ungrateful, and that we might sooner and easier extirpate the race, than do aught that might alter these their characteristics. With persons advancing such propositions as these, it is not the business of reasoning men to argue; we might pity, but could scarcely hope to convince, them. Nature has not been a step-mother to any of her children; she has not, it is true, given to individuals the same capacities and qualifications; but on the whole she has showered her blessings equally, and if in any particular clime or country, we should go forth, and search for the evidence of these blessings, and should return with the heart-broken confession that they are not to be found, we may with all certainty conclude, that it is because they have been intercepted, marred, perhaps turned to evil, by the policy of man. We might as justly suppose that the soil would resist the labours of the husbandman, and would receive without return the toil, the care, the skill, the capital,

he bestowed upon it, as that any nation having the benefit of sound and well-administered institutions, should repay its governors but with a catalogue of wretchedness and crime. There is an eternal connexion between cause and effect, and in the history of mankind, no such spectacle has ever been presented, as that of a well-governed people remaining steeped for ages, in barbarism, in poverty, and in crime. As we sow, so shall we reap. Culture, whether physical or moral, will ultimately produce fruit, and if we can nourish the seeds of virtue, establish peace and good order, promote public wealth, and spread happiness among millions, what higher aims can be suggested? where shall we find a nobler reward?

After a long, very long, system of oppression and misrule, better days have begun to dawn on Ireland. The Catholic Emancipation Act has given the Catholic people an equality of political rights with the Protestant, and thus one cause of strife and discontent has been removed. The time cannot be far off, when Ireland shall have a measure of corporate reform, similar to that which has been accorded to the rest of the United Kingdom. The bold, offensive, and monstrous notion of withholding from Irishmen the same municipal institutions, which are found good for Englishmen, and Scotchmen, and Welchmen,—and this only because our Irish brethren are Catholics, “and aliens,”—is one which its authors have been forced to abandon. They have to endure the mortification of defeat; but they have not the virtue to feel, nor the grace to express, contrition for having perpetrated a most gross outrage upon a gallant and high-minded people.

Political reforms, under which title we will class the three measures, of Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Municipal Reform, (though the latter is not yet formally accomplished), are the necessary foundations on which to build practical measures for the improvement of Ireland. They are means to an end, but nothing more. It matters little to the Irishman, that you tell him he has a perfect equality of political rights with all other Her Majesty's subjects, if still you leave him cold, naked, hungry, unprotected, and surrounded by a famishing brood, whose cry for food, though it may pierce his heart, he cannot relieve. That which is wanting to the Irishman, is of far greater moment than political privileges, though these may be the first steps, and necessary steps, in his onward progress. What is wanting, is an improvement in his moral and social condition; and this is what, with the blessing of God, and with the co-operation of a just, liberal,

and merciful government, the present generation shall live to see accomplished. No doubt the regeneration of Ireland will be gall and bitterness to many; there are bigots in religion, and factious in politics, to whom such a sight will be a cause of rage and disappointment. There are those who would give a million to support a Church, and twenty times as much to emancipate the slave; but who would neither give nor lend to the people of Ireland. But all these notwithstanding, justice shall yet be done to Ireland!

It is now two hundred and fifty years since Edmund Spenser, then secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote his well known *View of the State of Ireland*, in a *Dialogue between Eudoxus and Ireneus*. In that work he introduces the subject thus,—

“*Eudox.*—But if that country of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soil, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility?

“*Iren.*—Marry, so there have been divers good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already, about reformation of that realm; but they say, it is the fatal destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever, which, are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect; which whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall, by her, come unto England, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.

“*Eudox.*—Surely, I suppose this but a vain conceit of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather think the cause of this evil, which hangeth upon that country, to proceed rather of the unsoundness of the counsels and plots, which you say have been oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintness in following and effecting the same, than of any such fatal course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succeed not as they would, they are always ready to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some, whose great wisdoms in opinion, should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration,) that all that land were a sea pool. Which kind of speech, is the manner rather of desperate men far driven, to wish the utter ruin of that which they cannot redress, than of grave counsellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that through wisdom it may be mastered and subdued.”

Spenser was not entirely right. He was wrong in supposing that any counsels had ever been laid, (unless indeed now

and then, and that fruitlessly, by individuals) for the reformation of Ireland. It was the fatal destiny of Ireland in those days, and it has remained so, almost until the days in which we now write, to be governed in the interests of the few rather than the many. Ireland has not been treated as a nation, nor even as part of that nation to which she has been allied. Her lot has been that of a distant and conquered colony; she has been handed over as a sort of *apanage*, to a cruel and intolerant faction; a faction, than which none worse was ever permitted, in ancient or modern times, to rule over, or rather to prey upon, the vitals of any country; and which in its loud but hollow professions of exclusive loyalty and devotion, stifled the cries of its unhappy victims for pity, and for justice. Every thing connected with the history of Ireland is a marvel; and it is not the least, that a system such as this, should have endured until a few years since; nay, that this very faction, at this very moment, grimly waits the restoration of the prey, which happy accidents have wrested awhile from its talons. That a man of high and chivalrous spirit, not less noble by nature than by birth, should have presumed to build upon a broader foundation, and in governing Ireland, should have consulted the interests, and gained the hearts of its people, is an offence which the malignancy of faction can never forgive.

The idea of tranquillizing Ireland, by laying it under water, is one which not many years since was repeated,—for we see it was not original,—by an individual now no more, and whose melancholy fate will be in the recollection of many. It will be the object of the present article to show, that Ireland, though it needs not to be irrigated, may be fertilized by far better, and far easier processes; and it need hardly be suggested, that he who by judicious treatment, restores the sick to sound and vigorous health, is a better physician, than he who would terminate the malady by killing the patient.

In former times of our own history, the decay of husbandry, and the extension of pasture, had proceeded to such lengths, that parliament was called upon to apply a remedy. Accordingly we find, that in the 4th Henry VII, an act was passed for imposing a penalty, for decaying houses of husbandry, or not laying of convenient land for the maintenance of the same. In the 7th Henry VIII, another act was passed, to the effect, that if any person should decay a house of husbandry, or convert tillage into pasture, he should forfeit the moiety of his land to the lord of the fee, until the offence should be re-



formed. And in the 25th Henry VIII, another act was passed, limiting the number of sheep that one might keep, and the number of farms that one might hold. The preamble of this act is so remarkable, that we cannot forbear to quote a part of it. It states the practice of divers persons to put such lands as they could get, to pasture and not to tillage,—

“by reason whereof, a marvellous multitude, and number of the people of this realm, be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes, necessary for themselves, their wives and children; but be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold; and as it is thought that one of the greatest occasions, that moveth and provoketh those greedy and covetous people, so to accumulate and keep in their hands such great portions of lands of this realm, from the occupying of the poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep. And in conclusion, if remedy be not found, it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend. Therefore, &c.”

We have, in this English statute of 1533, a graphic representation of what has been, and in some degree is, the condition of Ireland.

In Spenser's view of the state of Ireland, he tells us, “that the landlords there, use most shamefully to rack their tenants.” In his plans for the improvement of Ireland, he says, that the first thing we should draw the Irish into, ought to be husbandry; “it is the most easy, most needful, most enemy to war, and most hateth unquietness. It is the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industry. I would therefore wish,” he adds, “that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth no kine, should keep a plough going, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry; which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usual stealths in Ireland.”

The advantages of extending the cultivation of the soil in Ireland, are obvious; it would diminish the present unhappy competition for land, which induces, or rather forces, the labourer, to hire a patch for the growth of potatoes, at a rent absolutely enormous; it would employ, perhaps, ten families, where now one family only is employed; it would check improvident marriages, which at present we find to increase in a direct ratio with the poverty of the people; it would add largely to the store of food for the whole kingdom, and render us independent of foreign supply; and it would give new

customers in great numbers to the English manufacturer, precisely in that quarter in which an increase is most beneficial to him, namely, in the home market. It has been said by Hume, that husbandry is never more effectually encouraged than by the increase of manufactures; it is equally true, that manufactures cannot be more effectually increased, than by the profitable extension of husbandry.

The first step has been taken for providing employment, and therefore for extending cultivation, in Ireland. We have seen, in the year 1838, tardily granted to Ireland, a provision for the poor, such as the parliament of Elizabeth passed for the relief of the English poor in the year 1601. Too long have the miserable peasantry of Ireland been ground to powder, by relentless landlords, (it was in these words, that a large portion of the landlords were characterized by Lord Clare); henceforth the evil-doer shall bear the penalty, if he occasion, or even permit idleness, and poverty, and want, among the people. Though their distress may not touch his heart, yet shall it reach him where he can feel;—in his pocket; and force him to the conclusion, that he might profit by paying his money in exchange for productive labour, rather than expending it in the support of paupers in the workhouse, from whom he can obtain no return. If hereafter there shall be, as too often there have been before, famine and pestilence in Ireland, the lords of the soil shall no longer escape from the consequences of the visitation; nor shall any draw back in the shape of rent from the poor, to be spent in a foreign land, the generous contributions which a kind-hearted people transmitted for the relief of human nature in the agony of distress.

If the act for the relief of the poor be the first great step towards improving the people in their social condition, another act may also be mentioned, as likely to be productive of great advantages to Ireland. We speak of the Act for the Commutation of Tithes. The tithe system in Ireland operated as a direct discouragement of tillage; for the tithe was charged wholly on the produce of agricultural industry, and pasture-lands were exempt. The evils of the pasture system were enormous, but they were grievously aggravated by the tithe system; and both together were, more than a hundred years ago, pronounced by Mr. Dobbs, to be the great and prominent causes of the misery and disquiet of Ireland. In commuting tithe into a rent-charge,—in decreasing the amount of the burthen, and in placing that burthen directly on the land-

lord, a positive good has been accomplished, and many evils have been removed. The Commutation Act is emphatically a Bill of Peace. While the poor law tends, as we confidently hope, to improve the relations between the peasant and the landholder—the commutation act removes a fruitful source of dissension between the peasant and the Protestant clergy. Thus far, the legislature has done well; it is its duty to proceed farther. To provide against absolute destitution, is a point gained,—but we have yet higher objects to accomplish; we have to raise the character, and improve the condition—moral as well as social—of the people of Ireland. A national system of education, upon an enlarged and liberal basis, will operate a moral revolution among the rising generation; and for the rest, all that is wanting, is employment. There are ample means for this purpose: the reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland, will employ all the labour which at present unhappily wants a market; and while the labourer will be made content with the wages of his honest toil, the capitalist will receive abundant interest for his investment; and all the sources of public and private wealth will be incalculably increased. The people supplicate for employment; they travel hundreds of miles in search of it: there does not exist a people on earth so eager for it. Surely, such materials ought not to be thrown away.

In his first report on the subject of poor laws in Ireland, Mr. Nicholls says,—“It is, I think, a circumstance favourable to the establishment of poor laws, that there is so much land lying waste and uncultivated, in Ireland. A large portion of this land appears to be susceptible of profitable cultivation; and the order and security which the introduction of poor laws would tend to establish, would encourage the application of capital to such objects. If capital were to be so applied, considerable tracts would be brought under culture, and thus afford immediate occupation to the now unemployed labourers. I have no experience in the reclamation of bog-land, but the finest crops which I saw in Ireland, were on land of this description; and this often very imperfectly drained. It appeared, from what I saw, and from all that I could learn by careful enquiry, that, wherever sea-sand, or sea-weed, or lime, is to be obtained, bog-land may be cultivated to advantage; presuming always, that it is first effectually drained. Now, Ireland abounds in limestone, beyond any country that I have ever seen; and along the western coast, sand and sea-weed are plentiful. The elements of fer-

tility, therefore, are at hand; all that is wanted, is capital and enterprise to call them into action. The enclosing, and draining, and the whole process of reclamation, would afford employment to a large number of labourers, who are now, for a great portion of the year, idling about, without occupation; and, when the land so reclaimed becomes subjected to a regular process of cultivation, it will continue to afford them regular employment, at daily wages."

The work which we have prefixed to this article, forms a valuable supplement to the two Reports of the Committee on Public Works in Ireland, dated June and August 1835. It is by the same author, and gives him a new claim to the gratitude of his constituents, and of his country. Mr. Lynch is no theorist; he aspires only to measures of practical and proveable utility; and he brings forward no proposition which is not supported by analogy, or proved by experience.

"Our present business," he says, "respects the employment of the people. The want of that employment is one of the greatest and most pressing evils of our unhappy country; and yet the means of employment, as well as the sources of production, are most abundant. There is no country in the world where labour is more required, and none where it can be more profitably employed. The means so bountifully given by Providence have hitherto been neglected; and what is the consequence? Misery of the people, agrarian disturbance, and insecurity of property. The statute book unfolds the sad history of Ireland. In it are contained numerous acts, passed within the last hundred years, penal and coercive in the extreme. From the titles and recitals of these acts, you may discover the causes of their being passed, and you may trace them all to agrarian disturbances, arising from the opposition of the people to the payment of tithes, the want of employment, and the scarcity of cultivated land appropriated to their use. And why is it that the people are not employed, or fairly or adequately remunerated for their labour? The discouragement of her manufactures—the neglect of her agriculture, will easily account for this; and, as a consequence, the unsettled state of the country."

It is but too true, and as lamentable as true, that while we have simply neglected the agriculture of Ireland, we have positively discouraged her manufactures. It is not very easy now to believe, but nevertheless we know it to be a fact, that, at the pressing instance of the two Houses of Parliament, in England, king William III undertook to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland. In answer to the Commons' address, in 1698, he said,—“I shall do all that in me lies, to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland.” He faithfully redeemed

his pledge. If, in other departments of trade, the same policy has not been so directly pursued, in many, the same results have been produced by the unwise expedients resorted to by the Irish parliament, under the direction of the English government. Mr. Lynch says,

“The unimproved condition of Irish estates has a most extraordinary appearance, in close proximity to markets requiring increased supplies of food, and yet as open to those of Ireland as they are to English produce. Ireland has never yet supplied England in a year with much more than half a million quarters of wheat and flour, while the deficiency of English home produce has frequently required an importation of nearly six times that quantity, thereby rendering recourse to other countries necessary for supplying the wants of English consumers, which, under proper management, Ireland is, to a great extent, if not wholly, capable of supplying, with greater advantage, to England.”

“The English agricultural markets invite augmented supplies of every kind—corn, cattle, and butter. At present, £700,000 a-year is paid for foreign butter : and if Ireland were to supply this quantity, the additional cattle necessary for the purpose, would, it is computed, afford means of fertilizing annually thousands of acres of land.

“The relative condition of England and Ireland presents an anomaly in the economy of nations. England's markets for agricultural produce are insufficiently supplied, and her marts for the sale of manufactures are frequently glutted by production exceeding the demand. Ireland has natural resources to render her capable of supplying the produce which England wants. An extensive arable territory, not half cultivated, and millions of acres lying waste, which may be rendered fertile lands, while labour exists to redundancy as compared with the employment it obtains ; in consequence of which the country abounds with misery, turbulence, and crime. Let Ireland be enabled to send into England that quantity of produce which must annually be imported, and in return England will have a corresponding increase in the demand for her manufactures.”

Mr. Lynch refers to the reports of the commissioners appointed in 1809 to enquire into and examine the nature and extent of the bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining them. These reports are full of valuable information. Nothing can be more decisive and satisfactory than the opinions of the commissioners—able, skilful, and experienced men—in favour of reclamation, founded as they are upon the minutest examination, and the reports of the different engineers. It appears, that of the twenty millions of acres of land in Ireland, there are five millions of acres of waste lands. It appears, that the extent of bog lands exceeds 2,830,000

acres, of which 1,576,000 are flat bogs, convertible to the general purposes of agriculture; and the remaining 1,255,000 are mountain bogs, convertible, at a very small expense, to pasturage and feeding. Of the 1,576,000, the largest portion was specially reported on by the engineers. The reports state the situation of the bogs to be highly favourable, the surface of all being level-free (that is, above the level of the sea), and most of them not less than 300 feet above the sea, besides being intersected by streams, the channels of which are calculated to be outlets for the water taken off from the interior of the bogs. Mr. Nimmo has calculated that one-tenth of the mountain bogs may be irrigated and reclaimed, by a judicious distribution of the mountain waters, at an expense not exceeding £1 per acre. With respect to the expense and probable return for the money expended upon the flat bogs, there is some difference of opinion; but the opinions of all are favourable beyond what may be well imagined. The difference of opinion refers only to the extent of advantage and profit. In the commissioners' fourth report, there is the following passage, which may be considered the summary of the opinions of the commissioners:—

“Various as are the modes of improvement, and the estimates proposed by our different engineers, we must consider that the fair average of their opinions represent, that, by an expenditure of from £1 to £20 an acre, the reclamation would secure to the improver a permanent rent of from 10 to 15 per cent. on the expenditure. Some of them, on whose judgment we place great reliance, are even of opinion, that the whole of the capital employed would be returned by the produce of the first crops which effected the improvement.”

There are, besides, vast quantities of land on the sides and banks of rivers and lakes, that might, by proper drainage and reclamation, be brought into cultivation. Mr. Lynch adds,

“In addition to the great facilities already mentioned for the reclamation of these waste lands, I should state, that in most cases there is at hand either limestone, or coral, or sea sand, or sea-weed, and scarcely in any instance is the necessary manure two miles distant. It has been well remarked, as a most extraordinary invitation of Providence, that in the middle of these bogs, and not unfrequently in the granite country, seams of limestone are found—and yet such opportunities have been hitherto neglected.”

In the Appendix to his work, (No. 6,) Mr. Lynch sets out a valuable paper by Mr. Griffith, on the system of reclaiming bog and moory mountain pasture, as practised on the crown lands of Pobble O'Keefe, in the county of Cork. The account



Mr. Griffith gives of these experiments is most interesting. After dividing the bogs at King Williams-town into three classes, he says the cost of the reclamation of the flow bog, (varying from five to twenty feet in depth) per statute acre, is £9. 9s. 10d., which includes drainage, claying, and limeing; of subsequent manure, £2. 15s. 6d.; and of cultivation for four years, £13. 7s.; in all, £25. 12s. 4d. When the land is perfectly reclaimed, the actual return of the four years is £24. 3s. 5d., leaving £1. 9s. 1d. the portion of the outlay not returned in the four years; and for this outlay the land is worth at least 10s. per acre, which was before not worth 2s. In respect of the close-grained mountain bog, there is an actual profit left after four years' cultivation, of £1. 17s. 7d., after the return of all the capital expended, and the land is worth 12s. 6d. per acre. And in respect of shallow mountain bog, the expense he calculates to be £3. 13s. to £4. 11s. and after this outlay the land is worth 10s. per acre for meadow and pasture.

Similar experiments have been tried, and all with success, by various individuals. We may mention, among others, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Fitzstephen French, the present Provost of Trinity College, and Mr. Peirce Mahony. Part of the bog drained by the latter gentleman on his Gunsborough estate, near Listowell, is a deep flow-bog of about forty feet in depth; the one-half is drained by deep under-drains, the other half by small surface drains; the former cost £4. 3s. 4d. an acre, the latter 3s. 4d. only; and the result is, that the division drained at 3s. 4d. is as effectually drained, as the division at £4. 3s. 4d. His expenditure has been considerable; in the first two years, one-half has been returned to him by the crops, and it is estimated that the third year will fully repay him the whole capital employed in reclamation. The kindness of Mr. Mahony has supplied us with all the interesting details of his work, and we only regret that our space is too limited to lay them before our readers.

“The reclaimable wastes of Ireland,” says Mr. Lynch, “including bog lands, marsh lands, and lands flooded or covered with water the greater part, if not the whole, year, amount to five millions of acres, as already stated, which, if properly drained and brought into cultivation, would yield, at least, a rental of three or four millions. The rental of Ireland at this moment is ten millions only, which there can be no doubt might be doubled if the lands were properly cultivated. It is stated by the Poor Law commissioners, that the produce of Ireland is not more than one-fourth of that of England. How is this? The soil of England is less fertile than that of Ireland, but is

assisted more abundantly with manure, and a proper rotation of crops; while the more fertile soil of Ireland is less cultivated, because there are not facilities for transportation of agricultural produce and manure, and no attention is paid to the system of cropping."

Mr. Lynch gives in the Appendix, (No. 2,) a paper taken from among the tables appended to the Second Report of the Irish Railway Inquiry Commissioners, in which Mr. Stanley proves, by contrasting the consumption of exciseable commodities in Ireland and Scotland (a contrast affording the very strongest test of capability), that if the condition of the Irish population were raised to an equality with that of the Scotch, Ireland would be *capable* of paying, in excise alone, an additional revenue of *six millions* annually.

Mr. Lynch suggests several measures as proper to be adopted by parliament. Most of them have been before the country since 1836, when he presented them to the House of Commons, in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the committee of 1835, and have been adopted and recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners. Their design is merely to remove the obstacles which now impede the developement of Ireland's great natural resources. Finding it impracticable for an individual member to pass measures of this description, although recommended by a Committee of the House, Mr. Lynch has placed them in the hands of the government.

To understand the bearing of these measures, it is necessary to premise what the principal difficulties in the way of reclamation are. They are these:—

- 1st. The want of co-operation.
- 2nd. The inability of tenants for life to act.
- 3rd. The want of capital.
- 4th. The confusion of boundaries of estates.
- 5th. The want of confidence in undertakers.
- 6th. The want of power of entering upon adjacent lands.
- 7th. In case of leases, the want of mutual immediate advantages to be derived both by landlord and tenant.

To these several difficulties, the respective measures in question propose to apply suitable remedies.

The first measure, is a bill to promote reclamation and improvement; and to render navigable, rivers and lakes. As regards reclamation and improvement of waste lands, the only process proposed to be effected is drainage; and the general objects, are, first,—to enable those who are willing to improve, to do so; and, secondly,—to compel those who will share in

the benefit, to contribute a due proportion of the expense. The checks on this latter power, are, that two-thirds of the proprietors of the lands to be improved, should apply to the Board of Works for a commission; that the commissioners should be appointed by the board; and that the work should not be executed until a survey is made, and the board satisfied of the practicability and expediency of the proposed work. The money required, is proposed to be advanced by the board, out of the money in their hands, for loans, under the Public Works Act, and to be repaid by easy instalments; and the expense is to be apportioned by the commissioners amongst and upon the lands improved. The details of this measure, are similar to those of several English acts for drainage of marsh and fen lands.

The second measure, is to confer upon tenants for life, in general, powers of leasing, similar to those which, in all well-drawn settlements in England, are conferred upon tenants for life. The powers proposed, are, to lease for thirty-one years in possession, at the best rent, and without any fine; to lease for ninety-nine years, for building, and for sixty years in repairing houses; and to lease mines for sixty years. There is a sufficient check in the fact, that the lease would be void, if contravening any of the terms and restrictions contained in the powers. The object of this measure, of course, is to give the tenant such a tenure in the land, as will induce him to improve, and properly cultivate it.

The third measure, is to increase the leasing powers of the board of Trinity College, Dublin; and of the trustees of Erasmus Smith's schools; and Sir Patrick Dunne's Charity. The estates of these several bodies are, in the whole, very extensive; and a large portion of the college lands are waste, but reclaimable lands. It is proposed to increase the leasing power from twenty-one to forty-one years. The effect of which will be, to save the constant expense to the tenants, arising from the necessity of frequent renewals; and to encourage improvement of the lands.

The fourth measure, is to enable tenants for life to drain, enclose, fence, and plant their lands, in settlement; and to charge three-fourths of the expense—not exceeding, in any case, three years' rent, or value, of the estate of which the lands improved form a part,—upon the settled inheritance of the estate. The checks upon this power, are, that the improvements must be undertaken by leave of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained in a summary way, when all proper proofs and

preliminary enquiries will be required and made, and the actual expenditure must afterwards be duly vouched to the court.

The fifth measure, is, for facilitating the conversion of leases for lives renewable for ever, into estates in fee-simple. The inconveniences of the present system of tenure, are obvious. It is proposed to give power to tenants for life, and other incapacitated persons, to sell the fee-simple to the lessee, with the approbation of the Board of Works; the money to be laid out in the purchase of lands, to be settled to the same uses, under the direction of the Court of Chancery, to be obtained in a summary way. This conversion of the tenure, to be voluntary, for five years; but after that, to be made compulsory, upon the same principle as the tithe commutation in England.

The sixth measure, is to give a summary remedy for partition, and for ascertaining the boundaries of lands,—for the former, by petition to the Court of Chancery; and for the latter, by petition to one of the judges of assize.

The seventh measure, is to provide for the maintenance of public roads, by means of elective boards, who shall have power to levy and apply rates for maintaining the roads; thus superseding the grand juries, who, as not being elective, are not responsible. The rate-payers to be the electors; the districts to be the poor law unions; the rates to be according to the poor law valuations; and the Board of Works to have the general control.

The eighth measure, is to enable the Bank of Ireland to lend money on mortgage.

And the ninth, and last, is to increase the powers and the efficiency of the Board of Works, by placing at their disposal, £500,000, to be advanced on loan for public works; and especially, for making roads and bridges, and small harbours on the coast. Hitherto, the monies advanced by the board have been most beneficially applied; and in no case has there been any loss. But the board has not sufficient funds. It cannot be expected that waste lands shall be cultivated, unless we first afford the means of transport; and especially, of carrying the necessary manure. And, wherever these means have been afforded, the beneficial effect has been such as to amount to something like enchantment. Sir John Burgoyne has stated, in his evidence before the Committee of 1835, that the formation of roads through uncultivated districts, in Ireland, would be more beneficial than in any other country in

the world. We know what they have effected, under much less favourable circumstances, in the Highlands of Scotland.

Under every species of adverse circumstances, Ireland has still made progress during some years past ; it is but an earnest of farther, and more extensive, and more substantial, improvements. We have seen what was the condition of England in former times ; and such, indeed, it remained, until times much later than those which we have noticed. But let us look to the condition of England now ! Not very dissimilar from the former state of England, was that of Scotland before the revolution of 1688.\* But let us look to the condition of Scotland now ! We have seen, also, what was the state of Ireland,—but here, alas ! our triumph ends. It is painful and humiliating to think, how long that state has remained without substantial improvement. There is not a nation on the face of the earth, pretending to civilization, which has made such little progress during the last 250 years, as Ireland. Let us think of this with shame and remorse,—let us seek to repair our faults, which have been many,—and let us encourage ourselves with the sure hope, that the same happy changes which have been produced in England and in Scotland, would appear also in Ireland, if Ireland were equally well treated. It is time that we render her justice ; and while, in truth, we but discharge tardily—and, in part—a debt, which we are bound to pay with interest, she will receive it with gratitude, as a gift of kindness. Let us seek, at length, to attach the Irish, by solid and lasting benefits ; we shall then create a union which shall not be severed :—such chains as these are sure to bind.

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ART. IX.—1. *Geraldine : a Tale of Conscience.* By E. C. A. Vol. III. London : 1839.

2. *The Propagation of the Faith : a Sermon preached in the Sardinian Chapel, London, by the R. R. Dr. Baines.* London : 1839.

WE hail with pleasure a continuation of the admirable religious novel of *Geraldine* ; and such a continuation,—such a development, rather, of the preceding volumes,—as must give them additional value in every point of view. In them was traced the progress of an intelligent and sincere

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\* See Laing's "History of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 502.

mind, following up the truth from point to point, until it has discovered, in the Catholic Church, its earthly home and centre. In this we find the farther progress of that soul, diligently using the means of grace vouchsafed to it in the Church, till, one by one, the temptations and attractions of earth become powerless: even its virtues and best affections are absorbed, not lost, in divine charity, and the soul finds its true and only joy in the bosom of its God. The fearless, but chastened, pen of the author has ventured upon the highest ground of Catholic mysticism; not shrinking from, nor daring to trivialize, the awful subject, nor yet scorning to meet the difficulties of the unspiritualized minds, to whose contemplation she has presented it. Beginning at the commencement of the spiritual life, she has followed, step by step, the progress of the soul towards God, and clearly explained the tendency of every Catholic institution, in schooling, training, and urging the soul onwards in this holy race, till it has ceased to contemplate or desire any thing, save God alone, and has become, like St. Paul, ready to be consummated.

To Protestants this work will convey much information upon those points on which they most require it: nothing is so difficult of comprehension to our fellow-Christians as the voluntary sufferings of Catholics; to many they appear as self-righteousness, to others as absurdities; not a few hear of the austerities of the saints with such feelings of mingled disgust and compassion, as might be inspired by the ancient sacrifices to Moloch; they have not studied the mysterious union, established by the cross, betwixt humiliation and glory,—betwixt the cross and the joys of heaven. “He that hateth his own life, shall find it;” this has been the great secret of the mysterious, the superhuman, sanctity of countless multitudes in our Church; they hated their own lives—all that to mankind in general makes up “life,” they hated; the appetites of the body, the passions of the soul, the temptations of the world,—even that tender affection of the natural heart for creatures, that clings round the souls, and fetters the steps of other men,—they hated; they cast them off, and trampled on them; then, when no human motive, or will, or feelings, remained, and body and soul were alike passive in the hands of their Creator, they found their lives, their new and spiritual lives—a portion, so to speak, of their eternal lives,—commencing within them. If trials remained, by which they perfected their virtue, and glorified God; still, in the words of our authoress, “grace had resumed the vantage ground,” and was victorious.



Thus dwelling on the confines of the spiritual world, they beheld God, as it were, face to face, and He poured out upon them His power and glory, and the perception of His presence, enabling them to love, and labour for their fellow-creatures with a portion of their own inexhaustible charity, and to comfort their weaker brethren by their stupendous miracles, filling them with wisdom and the knowledge of things to come, and penetrating their souls with ecstasy,—sometimes with mysterious sufferings. But this glorification of our regenerated nature belongs to the Catholic Church alone;—can never be attained to without its boundaries. All mankind rejoiced in His mercy, the good in His protection; His sun shone on the just and the unjust, and the prayers of the widow and the orphan ascended before Him; but the “glory of the Lord” filled the “house of the Lord;” the “cloud” was seen in the Temple only, and by the worshippers therein. But while we vindicate to ourselves this sign and seal of the Lord’s favour,—the perceptible, almost familiar, intercourse which in *all times* He has vouchsafed to His chosen people,—let us not forget that multitudes of our erring fellow-Christians are seeking Him,—seeking Him, like Cornelius, by prayer, and alms-deeds; and sensibly feeling that, without Him, there can be no rest to their souls. What has been *their* great cause of complaint against the Catholic Church?—want of spirituality. It was self-righteous; it rested in forms; it appealed to earthly feelings only; it obscured from the soul the love and all-sufficiency of the Redeemer!! To such as these, provided they are sincere in their objections, we recommend the third volume of *Geraldine*; here they will find how many things are used as *means*,—means of self-culture and means of grace, in which they have supposed us to rest as in *an end*. They cannot fail to admire the wisdom of those means; and when they contemplate the state of grace,—nay, let us boldly use the word which, though they object to it, we derive from Scripture, of *perfection*,—to which the human soul is brought by them, will they not consider, in a less presumptuous and harsh spirit, the Church that has *realized*, and brought into action, far more than their own purest, fondest, theories have imagined. Let us return to the work before us, of which we shall give but a short analysis. The convert, whom, at the close of the second volume, we left at a moment of so much interest, is carried by her father to Rome; and we have an instructive account of the ceremonies of Holy Week, and their hidden meaning, which must

be of advantage to all; but chiefly to those who have the happiness of participating in them. The General, whose moral cowardice has not been amended by his daughter's noble example, now obtains a foreign appointment, and proposes to his daughter a marriage with Sir Eustace De Grey; to this she consents, and, with her husband, shortly afterwards returns to England. The first years of the marriage are lightly and skilfully touched; enough only being told to show us Sir Eustace pointing out, and Geraldine eagerly following upon, the road to holiness,—until she has advanced so far, that *to go on* becomes a necessity to her soul; she is “so detached from self, that the next step, detachment from creatures, is already prepared.”

Geraldine tells her husband, that she can love only God. If our human feelings are for a moment pained by this situation, it is not long before the author draws back our thoughts to the Divine agency: no duty, no charity is violated, but the two holy souls strive to detach themselves from earth, and to merge their earthly feelings in those of divine charity. It is borne in upon Sir Eustace's mind, that they are to be separated: and accordingly, he himself is cut off by a fatal accident. All that follows of Geraldine's spiritual life is highly instructive; not a word but must be profitable to the soul. After deliberating some time, she determines to become a nun of the order of Mercy, and sails for Ireland to receive her conventual education, and to take the vows, previous to her returning to establish a convent of the same order at Elverton. Her reasons for preferring this order—the life led in the convent, and many details respecting the exterior duties and internal direction of the nuns, form the remainder of the volume, together with an account of the ceremonies observed at clothing and taking the vows, and it is enlivened by several beautiful episodes. Throughout, the same admirable discretion and good taste is discernible, as in the former volumes; the same easy elegance of style, and, where the subject admits of it, the same vivacity in the description of characters, which are evidently drawn from life; indeed, in one instance, we are inclined to think this generally happy talent carried too far. The heroine is introduced to the late well-known Baroness de M—; and while full justice is done to the munificent charity of the venerable lady, her peculiarities, which will be recognized by her friends, are placed in somewhat too broad a light to be thus presented to the public; and though certainly amusing, we could have wished this part of the work abbreviated, or,

indeed, left out altogether; other means might have been found for introducing the interesting account of the labours of the Trappists in Ireland. With this single exception, we have derived unmixed pleasure from this excellent work; and, when the sanctified heroine sets forth with her companions to found a new convent, we remember, with heartfelt joy, that this, if common report speak true, is not mere imagination. Sisters of the Orders of Mercy—we believe Miss Agnew is at their head,—are even now awaiting but the finishing of their convent to establish themselves, in no peaceful pleasing village, but in the most crowded and destitute part of the metropolis. May all blessings attend their path.

We remember hearing it said by one of our excellent Vicars-Apostolic, that in *this* country he considered the crowning work of mercy to be that of education: we are therefore rejoiced to find that the Sisters of Mercy combine, with their visitation of the poor, the charge of poor-schools; but we trust it will not be long, ere some of those orders who give their exclusive attention to education, may be established amongst us, to come to the aid of the admirable Christian brothers; and to change into joy, the anxiety which Catholics must at present feel for the destiny of the multitudes of little ragged children, our especial charge, who swarm in the streets of London. This subject of education is of such exceeding importance, it engrosses so much of the anxious attention of our clergy, and their bishops, that we must be pardoned for introducing it; nor is it unsuitable to do so, after reviewing a work which brings to our minds the principal wants of our progressive Catholic Society. There are signs in the times, symptoms of angry feeling amongst the populace of this country, at which the boldest must feel some uneasiness; it is for us to decide whether the rising generation of Catholics shall join the ranks of the factious, or whether we shall retain this numerous body in Christian allegiance, and worth and peaceful industry: to do this, we must now provide them with education, and this upon so extensive a scale, that our clergy need not be obliged to select and limit their numbers, but may be enabled freely to seek out those neglected children, who would otherwise be left by their parents to their fate. Nay, how gladly should we see them possessed of means to reclaim the vicious by means of a "Children's Friend Society," which, under their care, might be freed from the mismanagement and abuses which so frequently attend even the best-intentioned institutions of the Protestants. To education again we

must look for the removal of the chief impediment to the conversion of our country; what is that impediment? not the want of chapels; our ancestors and those of all the Christians in Europe, heard the truth beneath the open canopy of heaven. John Wesley, in later times, preached from the hill-side, and was heard by thousands, amongst whom his influence is still felt. We might do the same, had we the priests; but these are wanting. We have so few, that their utmost efforts scarcely suffice to keep together the fold as it now is: they labour, even to the sacrifice of life, to fulfil the needful duties of their own parishes; even for this we have not sufficient. Where then are we to look for those who can undertake the conversion of strangers? where hope to find a supply for the vast colonies, where the English language is chiefly spoken, and for which we are peculiarly interested? Our only hope is in our colleges: let these be generously supported, according to the urgent recommendation of the sermon which we have placed at the head of this article, and we shall have a supply of active, learned, and holy priests, to carry the glad tidings of Catholic truth throughout our land and its dependencies, and to bring down blessings on our own heads. To our colleges also, we must look for the education of our sons, excluded as they are, and as we wish them to be, from Protestant schools. By liberally supporting our colleges, we shall enable them to secure the time and talents of first-rate professors. At present, in those instances where learned men have been prevailed upon to undertake the task of instruction, their services have in general been rendered gratuitously, or for such a paltry pittance, that it is scarcely just, scarcely desirable, that men who have the evening of life to provide for, should make the sacrifice of their best years, upon such terms; still for the love of God, some have submitted to them: but the deficiency has been great, and to supply it, recourse has been had to the assistance of the clergy: for a certain time before entering upon the mission, the younger priests are called upon to teach in the colleges, where they have received their own education. One of two things must of course happen; either the mission is deprived of their services when able and anxious to commence their momentous duties, and souls are perishing for want of the pastor, who, by reason of the poverty of his college, is detained, to perform the duty of a school-master; or the education of the priests themselves is curtailed, and they who have so much to teach, and so much to learn, are obliged to abridge the precious years of their own study. There are many other evils in this system, which are too obvious

to be dwelt upon. The young priests may become wearied, and their ardour cooled, by an employment, for which they may have no vocation; they may not be good teachers, or if they are, the constant change must be injurious to their pupils. These, however, are minor evils, compared with those already alluded to. But the power of increasing the number of the clergy, is even a more grave consideration; at present a very large proportion of the candidates for holy orders, are supplied by the less wealthy classes, and their education is almost always gratuitous. The vocation of these young men cannot be ascertained, till they have for many years received education and maintenance, and of course it often happens that they are considered, or consider themselves, not qualified for holy orders. Colleges are therefore put to a heavy expense, in this primary object of their institution; and unless something more is done towards supporting them, than the mere payment by individuals, of a moderate pension with their sons, it is evident that they must fail either in justice to their pupils, or to the districts which look to them for priests. It is indeed a lamentable thing, that our zealous bishops, before they venture to add to the number of their students in divinity, should be obliged to calculate,—not the wants of their missions; not the requests of their clergy for assistance; not the knowledge that here or there a prospect is opening for bringing souls into the Church—but the number of lay pupils, whom caprice or chance may have brought to their colleges. Yet this must be the case, until our colleges shall be endowed with some property of their own. To raise money for such endowments, by means of small weekly sums, to be collected over the whole kingdom, is, we believe, the present plan of our venerable prelates: let us hope it may be zealously seconded. By means of subscriptions of a single half-penny a week, systematically collected, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith is doing wonders. Were such a trifling sum, (which no one would feel,) paid steadily by only a third part of the Catholics of England, such a sum would be collected as would speedily place our religion, (humanly speaking,) in security, and this without interfering with the demands of local charity, or with the obligation to do our part towards converting the heathen, for which we have now, through the *Société pour la Propagation de la Foi*, so glorious an opportunity.\* Let no one say that we ask too

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\* The more wealthy Catholics would confer exceeding benefit by donations or legacies of small sums, to found exhibitions for the encouragement of deserving pupils in our several colleges.

much :—if there are any such, we will answer them in the eloquent words of the sermon already alluded to.

“And how were our own Saxon ancestors converted? In the sixth century, the gospel was preached to them, by a few zealous missionaries, who possessed no human means, being poor by profession. But their words enkindled, among their converts, the heavenly fire of charity, which failed not to produce its usual effects. In an incredibly short space of time, by the voluntary offerings of the new converts, the whole country was divided into dioceses and parishes, furnished with their respective cathedrals and parish churches; whilst vast numbers of both sexes, “leaving all things to follow Christ,” studded the land with monasteries, convents, schools, colleges, universities, and every other institution, which either the wants of the poor, the sufferings of the afflicted, the instruction of the ignorant, or the cultivation of literature and science, could require. No wonder that heaven rewarded their piety with its richest graces: no wonder that our calendars should have been crowded with native saints: that England should have been denominated the island of saints; that its population formed by nature for religion, should have become models of steady and cheerful virtue, and that religious divisions, for near a thousand years, should have been unknown amongst them. But why enlarge on a subject so full of painful recollections? suffice it to say, that there never was a nation converted to Christianity, but by the united zeal of the lawful successors of the apostles, and the grateful charity of their converts; so that there can be no shade of doubt respecting the intentions of our Divine Legislator. He intended that his ministers should sow the heavenly seed, that their converts should water it, and that God should give the increase. Hence if the apostle could justly say, ‘Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel;’ his converts might with equal justice, say, ‘Woe be to us if we refuse to co-operate in the good work.’ In either case, the graces of God are lost to mankind; his designs of mercy are frustrated; and woe to him by whose guilty apathy, or sordid avarice, the misfortune cometh. The fault is not with God. He gives the prolific seed, and the fertile soil. If the husbandman refuse to sow the former, or cultivate the latter, the want of produce must be imputed, not to God, but to man alone.” —pp. 8-9.

Nor must we lose sight of another important service, which our colleges have it in their power to render us; from their extent, their style of building, and the number of clergy collected within their walls; they are enabled to revive all the accurate correctness and splendour with which the ceremonies of religion should be performed, but which have been often found impracticable in our poor and crowded chapels: thus fixing a high standard in ecclesiastical matters, and impressing the minds of our sons, with a proper sense of the majesty and beauty of



their Church. This idea may appear far-fetched, but we are persuaded that it is not so: too long have men been accustomed to practice their religion in secret places; the rising generation will be differently situated, and their ideas should be enlarged accordingly. The unequalled situation, and princely building of Prior Park, has now for some time been the object of admiration. There for the first time we believe, of late years, or at any rate for the first time in the neighbourhood of a large town, the blessed sacrament was publicly honoured and carried on Corpus Christi Day, around the extensive grounds, attended by every member of the household; while crowds of Protestants witnessed the grand procession; and it is not too much to hope, that some amongst them might be touched by the beauty of the worship, and receive their portion of the benediction. Since that time, the New College at Oscott has been finished, in the best style. Very large, solid, and commodious, it is built upon a plan which admits of almost any extension without detriment to its symmetry. Fronted by a noble terrace, and surrounded by orchards, plantations, and fields of its own land, it forms a little world within itself, yet is near enough to the important town of Birmingham, to afford to its inhabitants the means of seeing the beauty as well as holiness of our religion. Here too, Catholic gentlemen may at stated seasons of the year perform their retreats, under the same direction as the members of the establishment, edified by its collegiate stillness, and the holy spirit which pervades all its regulations. It is scarcely to be believed how exquisitely beautiful the ceremonial of our Church becomes, in these establishments, and in the hands of ecclesiastics, who have the time, and to whom it is a labour of love, to adorn the altar of the Lord. An instance of this, was the manner in which the last Easter was kept at Oscott. It was the first since they had had full possession of their stately building, and all were desirous to hallow it. They had the advantage of the direction of the talented enthusiast, Mr. Pugin, who threw into the task all his ingenuity, and all his antiquarian lore; and the result was worthy of it. At the beginning of mass on Holy Saturday, the chapel was not only stripped, but darkened; the light admitted only through the side windows; and the high altar stripped of all ornament, thrown into deep shadow, and its exquisite screen concealed, had an air of peculiar desolation. Throughout the wide bounds of the college, swarming with inhabitants, the stillness was remarkable; no bell or sound of joy was heard; the boys were in retreat, and

even during the intervals of relaxation, seemed penetrated with the spirit of the time. During those days of fasting and prayer, the chapel and the awful mysteries which were there being represented, seemed to absorb the thoughts of all. But now the great mystery of redemption was accomplished; the Church invited all to the anticipation of her joy; the *Gloria in excelsis* was once more heard; and in an instant the altar appeared clothed with white, its ornaments were discovered, the screens fell from the windows, and the morning sun streamed through the painted glass, upon a scene of light and brilliancy: at that moment, while the choir responded to the pealing organ, the bells of the college sent the tidings of gladness over the silent fields. It seemed difficult to surpass all this; but the full magnificence of the college was reserved till Easter Sunday. Then the sanctuary was adorned with tapestry and carpets; a throne of superb velvet was prepared for the venerable bishop; the paschal column with its gilded candlestick, reached nearly to the roof of the chapel; a blaze of light surrounded the high altar; and the priests in the sanctuary, attending on the altar, wearing the richest vestments, and preceded by the young acolytes, formed a procession of upwards of forty persons. The effect of these processions is most striking. On Palm Sunday, when the priests in their vestments, and their attendants bearing lights, and branches of the real palm, and preceded by the scholars in their surplices, formed a procession of nearly two hundred persons, defiling through the long gothic corridors, the imagination was indeed carried back to the ages of faith. It is impossible not to consider the effect of all these elevating scenes upon the minds of the scholars, surrounded by sights and sounds of holy beauty; beholding their religion under so impressive an aspect; trained from their infancy to glory and rejoice in it; to *feel*, in the words of the excellent President of the college, "that it should be the *primum mobile* of their existence;" can they, in after life, forget its precepts? if so, their parents may seek solace in the reflection, that they have done their part, and that before the angels of those little ones, they are guiltless. To this religious and moral training, let us add such a secular education, as may enable them, hereafter, not only to love their religion, but to adorn and to defend it. Let us enrich these sanctuaries of our Church, from whence we shall receive such incalculable benefits; let us afford to our pastors, so austere and self-denying to themselves, the only luxury they prize, the power to embellish and illustrate the service of

the Church. We conclude with the words of a reverend prelate,—who has devoted so much energy and time to building a magnificent college, in a diocese where there was none before; and is now waiting till our exertions shall turn his long anxiety into joy, and give stability to a work, for which Catholics in all times must cherish his memory.

“ Arise, then, restore his fallen temples, erect his demolished altars, load them with holocausts, and surround them with priests; prepare a joyful feast, and crowd your table with grateful guests. In other words, educate priests, build churches; provide space where the poor may adore, the ignorant be instructed, and the erring converted.”— *Sermon*, p. 14.

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ART. X.—“ *Homeward Bound:*” *A Tale of the Sea.* By J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., Author of “ *The Pilot*,” “ *The Spy*,” &c. London: 1838.

2. *Ere Effingham, or Home.* By the author of “ *Homeward Bound*,” &c. &c. London: 1839.

AFTER a somewhat protracted interval of silence, Mr. Cooper again, appears before the public in the character that suits him best, that of a novelist. His *Excursions in Italy, Recollections of Europe*, &c. have not done much to increase his literary fame, and there was an impatience beginning to be manifested at his having so long abandoned the regions of fiction and romance, in which he has proved himself so powerful a magician. To this impatience, he has at length responded, with two novels within six months of each other; connected in the story, but of widely different character. The one is, as its title-page announces, a *Tale of the Sea*; a class in which Mr. Cooper is so much at home, and for which we were going to say, his genius has its particular bent. But ere the words were written, the remembrance of *The Spy, The Last of the Mohicans, The Prairie, The Borderers*, came seasonably to check our pen; not to speak of their equal, if not their superior, in splendour of genius, depth of interest, and skilful management of story,—*The Bravo*,—his first and sole entirely successful attempt among the scenes and traditions of the European continent. The second is intended as a delineation of American manners and customs, and, but for its being such,—coming from the hand not of a prejudiced foreigner, like Captain Basil Hall, or one who adds coarseness of mind to prejudice, like Mrs. Trollope, but of a native American, and of one too who has shown in

former works such eager and laudable jealousy of his country's honour,—it possesses but little interest. As a novel, it is heavy and tedious; especially after the somewhat nervous suspense, in which the abrupt termination of “Homeward Bound” leaves us, as to the ultimate denouement of its story, is quieted, lamely and impotently enough, by long-winded explanations in the second volume of *Eve Effingham*.

The judgment of the public upon these works has been as different as their respective merits. The appearance of the first was most cordially hailed, and a meed of applause conceded to it in no measure inferior to that so justly the due of his other graphic and spirit-stirring sea narrations. The other, on the contrary, has raised a loud and angry outcry against him. In its pages, he certainly has not too much spared his own country; he has not hesitated to expose to the vigilant and eager criticism of the old world, the faults and follies, mistakes and vices, that are so rife in the new; yet, this he has done in a manner certainly not *more* offensive, although perhaps more completely, than have the crowd of English writers upon America. So far is he from exaggeration, that he has left wholly untouched the monster sin of the Americans—their conduct towards the people of colour—the red man and the black: the Indian, defrauded or openly plundered of his lands and possessions, and driven an outcast to the far West; and the hapless negro, deprived of his most sacred right, the possession of himself; or, if mocked with the name of freedom, degraded and enslaved still, in spirit, by the contempt and insult he is met with at every turn, and which is most foully connived at by the State. However, this cautious abstinence and discreet reservation on the part of Mr. Cooper, have by no means proved the propitiatory offering he no doubt intended them to be, to the hurt feelings of his fellow-countrymen. They denounce him with a vehemence and a fury which go far to prove that he must have spoken much truth, and revealed to the world matters that they consider he should rather have aided in keeping concealed. Unquestionably, however, they have some reason in their attack upon him. It is not the most creditable or amiable point of view in the world for a man to present himself in—that of the satirist of the world that gave him birth. The pretext of assuming so ungracious a position solely with a view to open the eyes of his countrymen, and lead them to better things, will scarcely hold water. Such professions can rarely deceive; the temptation and opportunity to indulge in remark and sarcasm at

the expense of those among whom we live,—against whom we have a thousand little personal piques that poor human nature longs to gratify, have almost always far more to do with these *exposés*, than real sound true-hearted patriotism. We fear Mr. Cooper must be considered peculiarly obnoxious to this charge. There is a frequent virulence in the remarks that he puts into the mouths of his characters, or makes in his own proper person, upon the social state of his country, that would be most unwise, were his purpose really no more than friendly correction. The commonest remembrance of our schoolboy days, is of the inefficacy of rebuke, when coupled with insult to self-love. So accompanied, it was directly attributed to other motives than solicitude for our well-doing; while the reproof administered with consideration and gentleness, carried its point at once. “Men are but children of a larger growth,” says the old dictum, and in nothing is it more verified than in the effects, on boy and man, of offence against our sacred *amour propre*. Knowing this, and in addition, knowing how peculiarly sensitive and thin-skinned his countrymen have shown themselves whenever they have found themselves “in print,” Mr. Cooper, were his purpose *honest*, should have chastised more mildly; or, did he deem that caustic severity was indispensable, should have rather directed it against the monster outrages we have before noted, upon justice and humanity, than against foibles and faults of minor degree.

The countrymen of our author may, we think, be considered in some measure justified in their displeasure at his pictures of their manners and ways of thinking. But it is not a little amusing to find them joined in their reprehension of his conduct by a majority of the English periodical writers; of those writers who have so unceasingly put forth, and encouraged, the expression of opinions inveterately hostile to the United States and its citizens. It would seem as if English writers, and, above all, the English press, claimed a monopoly of abuse and satire upon those whom, in the midst of their most violent philippics against America and all things American, they kindly denominate their transatlantic *brethren*; and that they look upon Mr. Cooper, in this instance, as an intruder upon their especial province. We question if the most excited of the journalists and reviewers, of the most excitable portion of the American community, have been more unsparingly severe upon him, on this occasion, than have those of England.

In the two novels before us, our author has, as in some of his others, executed an idea nearly altogether his own;

namely, that of connecting them with each other, by means of the same characters in each. Between *Homeward Bound* and *Eve Effingham* the connexion is by far the strongest; all the leading persons of the *dramatis personæ* being the same,—the latter novel, in fact, being avowedly a sequel to the former. In other instances, the connexion was established by describing the different fortunes, at different times, of the same individual; as in the case of our old friend Natty Bumppo, the “scout,” in the *Last of the Mohicans*; the “hunter,” in the *Pioneers*; and the “trapper,” in the *Prairie*. Another connexion may be said to exist between the first and last-named of these novels; but in a very remote degree,—the hero of the *Prairie*, Duncan Uncas Heyward Middleton, being made a descendant of Duncan Heyward, the hero of the other. Between the *Pioneers* and the books before us there is also a link of connexion; the family of the Effinghams playing a conspicuous part in both, and the scene in America being the same. The substance of the six goodly volumes we are about to examine, was intended to have been compressed in three; but, as Mr. Cooper informs us in his preface, the friends whom he consulted no sooner found, from his first chapter, that he had got once more *afloat*, than they insisted on his continuing so throughout the legitimate number of three volumes; not allowing him, until the end of the third, to land his characters, to enter upon their American adventures, the description of which had been his primary object when he took up his pen. We think much gratitude is owing to his advisers, for this exercise of their influence: one more admirable “tale of the sea” has been added to the list of those which have so delighted, and so powerfully interested, his readers. With its conclusion, as we have said, begin the *American* adventures of the chief characters in it; and to these the succeeding three volumes are dedicated.

*Homeward Bound* commences with the departure from England, on her homeward voyage, as the title of the book indicates, of one of the splendid packet ships which, for several years, have plied between America and the mother-country. Being one of the London “liners,”—a designation it is hardly necessary to explain,—she starts, of course, from London river; and, at the period when the story opens, is at anchor at Spithead, waiting for the bulk of her passengers, who, according to a common practice, were to join her there. There have, however, come round in her, from London, four, who are destined to be chief actors in the work; viz. Mr. Effingham,



an American gentleman of fortune, and his daughter, Eve; his cousin, John Effingham (constantly addressed throughout the book by the not very elegant appellation of "Cousin Jack"); and a Parisian lady, in a situation something between that of governess and companion to Miss Effingham. Of the father, little peculiarly characteristic is said; he is described generally as mild, benevolent, enlightened, and affectionate;—not so, however, the cousin. John Effingham is represented not only as possessing at least the three latter qualities, but, in addition, a vein of satire, and a power of sarcasm, such as few possess; in the exhibition of which he was wont freely to indulge,—impelled to do so, Mr. Cooper informs us, by the consciousness of his own superiority over the generality of mankind. We had thought that such a consciousness ought rather to beget indulgence for others, and that satire and sarcasm were the ordinary resorts of minds of inferior degree, seeking to cover their littleness. A somewhat better reason, or excuse, for this sourness on the part of one whom, some say, our author drew for himself, is, his being represented as yet labouring under the effects of domestic disappointment and calamity. Eve Effingham is but another specimen of the stiff, forced, uninteresting creations, which, with some beautiful exceptions, Mr. Cooper's female characters generally are. Her sprightliness is of the deadly-lively sort; her "archness" and "wit" savour strongly of pertness; and on all occasions where emotion might be displayed, she is so cold, correct, and proper, that we despair of her. Mlle. Viefville is merely an outline sketch of a Parisian at a certain age.

The ship is now boarded by two gentlemen, bearing the rather quaint *noms de guerre* of Mr. Sharp and Mr. Blunt, but destined to act important parts in the subsequent history. Then follows an American newspaper editor, demagogue, &c., boasting the unaristocratic name of Dodge, and on his return from what he himself calls a "tower through Europe." These, with Captain Truck, the master of the vessel,—an admirably drawn character,—form the *état major* of the two novels. There are, however, several additional characters, among whom the most important are, a foolish young man, styling himself Sir George Templemore; and an inimitable portraiture of the English commercial traveller (as the Americans pithily designate them, "bagmen"), in the person of Mr. Monday. A crowd of fore-cabin passengers also come on board,—only one of whom, however, obtains even temporary notice; as a limb of the law, aided by a bailiff, comes off

in search of him, at the instigation of a fraudulent relative on shore. The poor man's case excites general sympathy on board, in which the good-natured master of the vessel participates, in a degree fully equal to his horror of "an attorney;" and the departure of the vessel is accelerated, in order to prevent the chance of being boarded by some one who might recognise and point out to the bailiff his victim. An interesting and graphic scene follows, during which the packet is fruitlessly chased by a man of war's boat, and succeeds in getting so far from the land, that the legal functionaries have to give up their vain search, under the fear of being carried to America, should they delay longer. They accordingly take to their boat, and all is joy on the decks of the packet at the escape of the poor fellow who was thus threatened,—when anxieties are again awakened by the sight of a sloop of war getting under weigh, apparently with the intention of giving chase.

Then follows the description of an animated chase at sea, during several successive days. The packet, like most of the fine ships sailing from American ports, is a fast sailer, although not quite equal, when "on a wind," to the lighter equipped sloop of war. This superiority of the latter renders it necessary, in order to prevent capture, to put away before the wind, the "Montauk's" best point of sailing. Independent of the general wish to save the poor fore-cabin passenger from the hands of the law, should any of the law's myrmidons be aboard the man of war, Captain Truck has another reason for wishing to avoid being come up with. A single pound of tobacco, smuggled into England by one of the crew, would involve the vessel in serious difficulties, and cause her to be brought back to England,—should it turn out, as seemed probable, that such an offence had been committed,—and its punishment entrusted to their pursuer. Influenced by these fears, and unable to cope with the sloop of war on a bowline, Captain Truck has no resource but in running away to the southward before the wind, trusting to the trade winds, in the low latitudes he is approaching, to help him to recover some of the lost time, when his pursuer shall have given up the chase. During its progress we have several well-drawn scenes in the cabin, in which the characters of the different personages are well brought out. Mr. Dodge, insolently familiar, where allowed—servilely respectful to the *soi-disant* Sir George Templemore—full of loud declamations about liberty, yet all his ideas narrowed and constrained by his respect for "a ma-

jority," which on every occasion he deems should trample upon individual freedom. Mr. Monday is well described:—the good-humoured, sensual, narrow-minded, self-satisfied being, that we have a thousand times met in coach or packet-boat, caring for no one but self; and with one fixed set of ideas, from which human power could not change him. The over-worked steward of the packet, and his luckless subordinate, are also well brought in, and brought *out*,—although, perhaps, we have a little too much of the conferences of these worthies. The dialogues in which the principal characters take share, are, so far as *they* are concerned, tedious, and a good deal of what is generally known by the term "*on stilts*."

The chase is continued, until both vessels, driven by a gale of wind, are rapidly nearing the coast of Africa. The packet-ship is now, at length, overtaken; and the description of the occurrence is, we think, one of the most *life-like* pictures that even our author, great as his powers are known to be, has ever drawn. Early in the morning, a cry is heard on deck, and all the passengers hurry up as fast as possible:—

"The gale continued, if anything, with increased power; the ocean was rolling over its cataracts of combing seas, with which the ship was still racing, driven under the strain of a reefed forecourse, the only canvass that was set. Even with this little sail, the hull was glancing through the raging seas, or rather in their company, at a rate little short of ten miles in the hour.

"Captain Truck was in the mizen rigging, bare-headed; every lock of hair he had blowing out like a pendant. Occasionally, he signed to the man at the wheel which way to put the helm; for, instead of sleeping, as many had supposed, he had been conning the ship for hours in the same situation. As Eve appeared, he was directing the attention of several of the gentlemen to some object astern; but a very few moments put all on deck in possession of the facts.

"About a cable's length, on one of the quarters of the *Montauk*, was a ship careering before the gale like themselves, though carrying more canvass, and, consequently, driving faster through the water. The sudden appearance of this vessel in the sombre light of the morning, when objects were seen distinctly, but without the glare of day; the dark hull relieved by a single narrow line of white paint dotted with ports; the glossy hammock-cloths, and all those other coverings of dark glistening canvass, which give to a cruiser an air of finish and comfort, like that of a travelling carriage; the symmetry of the spars, and the gracefulness of all the lines, whether of the hull, or hamper, told all who knew anything of such subjects, that the stranger was a vessel of war. To this information, Captain Truck added, that it was their old pursuer, the *Foam*.

“ ‘ She is corvette-built,’ said the master of the Montauk, ‘ and is obliged to carry more canvass than we, in order to keep out of the way of the seas ; for, if one of these big fellows should overtake her, and throw its crest into her waist, she would become like a man who has taken too much Saturday night, and with whom a second dose might settle the purser’s books for ever.’ ”

“ Such, in fact, was the history of the sudden appearance of this ship. She had lain to as long as possible, and, on being driven to scud, carried a close-reefed maintop sail ; a show of canvass that urged her through the water about two knots to the hour faster than the rate of the packet. Necessarily following the same course, she overtook the latter just as the day began to dawn. The cry had arisen on her sudden discovery, and the moment had now arrived when she was about to come up quite abreast of her late chase. The passage of the Foam, under such circumstances, was a grand, but thrilling thing. Her captain also was seen in the mizen rigging of his ship, rocked by the gigantic billows over which the fabric was careering. He held a speaking trumpet in his hand, as if still bent on his duty, amid the awful warring of the elements. Captain Truck called for a trumpet in his turn, and, fearful of consequences, he waved it to the other to keep more aloof. The injunction was either misunderstood, the man-of-war’s man was too much bent on his object, or the sea was too uncontrollable for such a purpose, the corvette driving up on a sea quite abeam of the packet, and in fearful proximity. The Englishman applied the trumpet, and words were heard amid the roaring of the winds. At that time, the white field of old Albion, with the St. George’s cross, rose over the bulwarks, and by the time it had reached the gaff end, the bunting was whipping in ribbons.

“ ‘ Show ’em the gridiron,’ growled Captain Truck, through his trumpet, with its mouth turned inboard.

“ As everything was ready, this order was instantly obeyed, and the stripes of America were soon seen fluttering nearly in separate pieces. The two ships now ran a short distance in parallel lines, rolling from each other so heavily, that the bright copper of the corvette was seen nearly to her keel. The Englishman, who seemed a portion of his ship, again tried his trumpet ; the detached words of ‘ lie by ’—‘ orders ’—‘ communicate,’ were caught by one or two, but the howling of the gale rendered connexion in the meaning impossible. The ships were now rolling to, and it appeared as if they would interlock their spars. There was an instant when Mr. Leach had his hand on the main-brace, to let it go ; but the Foam started away on a sea, like a horse that feels the spur, and disobeying her helm, shot forward as if about to cross the Montauk’s fore-foot.

A breathless instant followed, for all on board the two ships thought they must now inevitably come foul of each other ; and this the more so, because the Montauk took the impulse of the sea just as it was lost to the Foam, and seemed on the point of plunging di-

rectly into the stern of the latter. Even the seamen clenched the ropes around them convulsively, and the boldest held their breaths for a time. The '*P-o-r-t—hard-a-port, and be d—d to you,*' of Captain Truck, and the "*S-t-a-r-b-o-a-r-d, starboard hard,*" of the Englishman, were both distinctly audible in the two ships, for this was a moment when seamen can speak louder than the tempest.

The affrighted vessels seemed to recede together, and then they shot asunder in diverging lines, the Foam leading. All farther attempts at communication were instantly useless, the corvette being half a mile a-head in a quarter of an hour, rolling her yard-arms nearly to the water."—vol. ii. pp. 18-24.

By sunset, the corvette has disappeared altogether, and no more is heard of her for some time. The gale at length breaks; but when its steadying power is lost, the Montauk, tumbling about in the heavy sea that remains, rolls away her masts, all but what is little better than a stump of a foremast. Being now in what Captain Truck (to use a phrase which is put continually in his mouth) calls a "category," the offer is made to all the passengers to tranship themselves on board an American store-ship, fallen in with on its return-voyage from the Mediterranean. The fore-cabin passengers eagerly avail themselves of this, while those aft determine to remain with the vessel, trusting to Captain Truck's conduct, and his assurances, that they must speedily meet with trade-winds, that will give them a fair passage across the Atlantic, even in their present dismantled state. In a day or two, however, what with the indraught on the land, and the small and defective show of canvass they are able to set, they fall in with the N.W. coast of Africa, and are driven to seek a temporary anchorage among reefs that promise some protection against the full force of the waves, should another gale spring up. The description of the wild, bare, sandy coast, and their visit in boats to a stranded and half-plundered vessel, whose crew had evidently been carried off into captivity, by some of the wild hordes of Arabs that are wont to prowl along the coast, after a tempest, prompt to plunder and murder the shipwrecked mariner, is full of interest; but we must refer our readers for it to the book, and turn to an extract which will introduce to their notice the modest-minded Mr. Dodge. The ship is now, as far as possible, safely moored, to the honest captain's great ease and satisfaction:—

"'Now,' cried the captain, all his anxiety ceasing with the responsibility, 'I expect to be made a member of the New York Philosophical Society, for discovering a port on the coast of Africa; which harbour I hope to be permitted to call Port Truck. If Mr. Dodge, however, should think this too anti-republican, we'll com-

promise the matter and call it Port 'Truck and Dodge ; or, the town that will sooner or later arise on its banks, may be called Dodgeborough, and I will keep the harbour to myself.'

" ' Should Mr. Dodge consent, he will render himself liable to the charge of aristocracy,' said Mr. Sharp ; for, as all felt relieved by being in a place of security, so all felt disposed to join in the pleasantry ; ' I dare say his modesty would prevent his consenting to the plan.'

" ' Why, gentlemen,' returned the subject of these remarks, ' I do not know that we are to refuse honours fairly imposed by the popular voice ; and the practice of naming towns and counties after distinguished citizens, is by no means uncommon with us. A few of my own neighbours have honoured me in this way already, and my paper is issued from a hamlet that certainly does bear my unworthy name. So there will be no novelty in the appellation.'

" ' I could have made oath to it, from your well-established humility. Is the place as large as London ?'

" ' It can boast little more than my own office, a tavern, a store and blacksmith's shop, as yet ; but Rome was not built in a day. . . . . The name is not absolutely decided. . . . . At first, it was called Dodgetown, but this was thought vulgar, and common-place. Six or eight weeks afterwards, we'—

" ' We, Mr. Dodge ?'

" ' I mean the people, sir. I am so much accustomed to connect myself with the people, that whatever they do, I think I have a hand in. . . . . We, the people, six or eight weeks afterwards, altered the name to Dodgeborough ; but a new family coming in that summer, a party was got up to change it to Dodgeville, a name that was immensely popular, as ville means city in Latin ; but it must be owned, the people like change or rotation in names, as well as in office, and they called the place Butterfield Hollow, for a whole month, after the new inhabitant, whose name is Butterfield. He moved away in the fall ; and so, after trying Belindy (Anglice Belinda), Nineveh, Grand Cairo, and Pumpkin Valley, they made me an offer to restore the ancient name, provided some addendum more noble and proper than town, ville, or borough, could be found. It is not yet determined what it shall be, but I believe we shall finally settle down in Dodgepeople, or Dodgeopolis. ' There are a few discontented and arrogant innovators, who affect to call the place by the name of Morton ; but these are the mere vassals of a man who once owned the patent, and who now has been dead these forty years. We are not the people to keep his old musty name, or honour dry bones.' " &c. &c. —vol. ii. pp. 157-161.

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" Ultra as a democrat and American, Mr. Dodge had a sneaking predilection for foreign opinions. Although practice had made him intimately acquainted with all the frauds, deceptions, and lies, of the ordinary arts of paragraph-making, he never failed to believe reli-



giously in the veracity, judgment, and talents, of anything imported in the form of types. He had been weekly, for years, accusing his nearest brother of the craft, of lying; and he could not be altogether ignorant of his own propensity in the same way; but notwithstanding experience, all that reached him from a European journal, was implicitly swallowed. . . . . As was due to his colonial origin, his secret awe and reverence for an Englishman, was exactly in proportion to his protestations of love for the people; and his deference for rank was graduated on a scale suited to the heart-burnings and jealousies he entertained for all whom he felt to be his superiors."—vol. ii. pp. 162-163.

Captain Truck's determination is now announced to the crew and passengers. During his short visit to the wrecked vessel, he has perceived that her masts and rigging are entire, and in good condition; and he purposes taking them to refit his own vessel. With this view, he mans two boats, with every disposable person on board, leaving only the females, under the protection of the Messrs. Effingham, Sharp, and Blunt, and the steward, in the capacity of cook. Even Mr. Dodge is taken; though much is not expected from his valour, should the Arabs attack the party. He is brought solely to swell the numbers. The small quantity of arms and ammunition aboard is also taken, excepting a light signal-gun, which is left loaded, that those who remain in the vessel may give notice, by firing it, should the Arabs attack them, instead of the larger party gone to the wreck. The distance between the places where the two vessels lie, is about four leagues, with an intervening headland, which soon shuts the two parties from the view of each other.

The few left in the Montauk, after overcoming the first sense of loneliness, pass the remaining hours of day in tranquil conversation; and, early in the night, retire to rest, leaving Mr. Blunt to keep watch. He is relieved by Mr. Sharp; but has not long resigned himself to rest, when the latter summons him to the deck, with the fearful tidings, that the Arabs have made their appearance, and are out on the reef, seeking means to board the defenceless vessel.

" 'Do you see the pointed rock, a little to the right of the spot where the kedge is placed? It is now naked, and yet, I am quite certain there was an object upon it, when I went below for you.'

" 'It may have been a sea-bird, for we are so near the day, some of them are probably in motion. Was it large?'

" 'The size of a man's head; but this is by no means all. Here, farther to the north, I distinguished three objects in motion, wading near the point where the rocks are never bare.'

“ ‘They may have been herons; the bird is often found in these low latitudes, I believe. I can discover nothing.’

“ ‘Would to God I may have been mistaken, though I do not think I could be so much deceived.’

“ Paul Blunt caught his arm, and held it like one who listens intently.

“ ‘Heard you that?’ he whispered hurriedly.

“ ‘It sounded like the clanking of iron.’

“ Looking around, the other found a handspike; and passing swiftly up the heel of the bowsprit, he stood between the night-heads. Here he bent forward, and looked intently towards the lines of chains which lay over the bulwarks as bowfasts. Of these chains, the parts led quite near each other in parallel lines, and, as the ship’s moorings were taut, they were hanging in merely a slight curve. From the rocks, or the place where the kedges were laid, to a point within thirty feet of the ship, these chains were dotted with living beings, crawling cautiously upward. It was even easy, at a second look, to perceive that they were men, stealthily advancing on their hands and feet. Raising the handspike, Mr. Blunt struck the chains several violent blows. The effect was to cause the whole of the Arabs—for it could be no others—suddenly to cease advancing, and to seat themselves astride on the chains.

“ ‘This is fearful,’ said Mr. Sharp; ‘but we must die, rather than permit them to reach the ship.’

“ ‘We must. Stand you here, and if they advance, strike the chains. There is not an instant to lose.’

“ Paul Blunt spoke hurriedly, and, giving the other the hand-spike, he ran down to the bitts and commenced loosing the chains from their fastenings. The Arabs heard the clanking of the iron rings, as he threw coil after coil on the deck, and they did not advance. Presently two parts yielded beneath them, and then two more. This was the signal of a common retreat, and Mr. Sharp plainly counted fifteen human forms, as they scrambled back towards the reef; some hanging by their arms, some half in the water, and others lying along the chains, as best they might. Mr. Blunt, having loosed the chains, so as to let their lights drop in the sea, the ship slowly drifted astern and rode by her cables. When this was done, the two young men stood together in silence on the forecastle, as if each felt that all which had just occurred was some illusion.

“ ‘This is indeed terrible,’ exclaimed Paul Blunt, ‘we have not even a pistol left! no means of defence,—nothing but this narrow belt of water between us and these barbarians! no doubt, too, they have fire-arms; and as soon as it is light, they will render it unsafe even to remain on deck.’ ”—vol. ii. pp. 290-3.

It is in depicting such moments of fearful suspense, and mortal peril, that Mr. Cooper excels. Who can forget, that has once read those thrilling scenes in his other novels, where

danger, imminent and deadly, surrounds his characters; all escape seemingly hopeless, and each circumstance of horror so put before the imagination, that the reader's breath comes short, and the blood runs cold to his heart, with participation in all the agonizing anxieties of those whose perilous adventures are before him? What scenes of deep and most powerful interest are those of the beleaguered party in the cavern of the Falls, in the *Last of the Mohicans*!—the abandoned and helpless group cowering in the long boat of the Royal Caroline, in the *Red Rover*, as they wait the slow sinking of the deserted ship beneath them, to know if their frail bark will float clear when the vessel goes down into the depths of the gloomy ocean around; or, if they are to be swallowed up in the vortex—the defeated, but determined *Borderers*, driven into their little citadel, girt round with triumphant and merciless enemies; and marking the sure approach of a still more terrible enemy—the devouring fire, that already has begun to attack the huge blocks of wood forming the walls of their last frail refuge—the party drifting far out into the ocean, on the ill-fastened spars of the *Coquette*, and signalling in vain to the French frigate to rescue them from inevitable fate, while they see her changing her course, and standing off from them, apparently giving up farther search as useless. We had almost omitted the condemnation to death, and narrow and un hoped for escape, of the English officer, in *The Spy*; and the terrible doom that seems inevitably to have circled round Miss Temple, when the woods on the mountain are on fire, in the novel of *The Pioneers*.

In all these instances, the different plans and means by which destruction is warded off, display considerable invention and ingenuity on the part of Mr. Cooper; and in very few cases, are marked by any improbability that is not most pardonable. How the perils that beset the Effinghams, and their few companions, aboard the deserted Montauk,—perils that, as was expected, increase greatly with the coming of day,—how they are finally escaped, the reader must discover from the book; as we do not wish to weaken the breathless interest the perusal will occasion. Escaped, however, they are, as might be expected, though not without having to abandon the vessel to the Arabs; and after a thousand dangers, they make their way to sea, in the heavy launch of the packet, under the guidance of Mr. Blunt (or Powis, as his real name turns out to be), who is discovered to be familiar with sea matters. Off the headland already mentioned, the fugitives

fall in with the other boats, on their return from the wreck, with the spars that they went for, in tow. They had been got with some difficulty indeed, but, most unexpectedly, without any opposition on the part of the Arabs, although the latter had been down in crowds to witness the removal. As this is a good opportunity to bring out the old captain, we will extract part of the scene that follows.

"The party just arrived alone felt joy. They found those whom they believed dead, or captives, whereas, the others now learned the extent of misfortune that had befallen them. Captain Truck listened to Paul like one in a trance, and it was some time after the young man had done before he spoke. . . . He got on the roof of his own launch, and paced backwards and forwards rapidly, heeding nothing. . . . At length he stopped suddenly and called for his mate—'Mr. Leach!'

" 'Sir.'

" 'Here is a *category* for you!'

" 'Aye, aye, sir, bad enough, still we're better off than the people of the wreck.'

" 'We might have spared ourselves the trouble, Leach, of culling these cursed spars. . . . I am glad you are safe, Mr. Effingham, and you, too, my dear young lady; God bless you, God bless you,—it were better the whole line should be in their power than one like you!'

"The old seaman's eyes filled as he shook Eve by the hand, and for a moment he forgot the ship.

" 'Mr. Leach, we are likely to have a busy morning,—lift the kedge, and let us drop down towards these gentry. We have both wind and current with us now, and shall make quick work.'

"The kedge was raised, sails set, and with the two launches lashed together, the whole line of boats and spars began to set to the southward at a rate that would bring them up with the inlet in about two hours. . . . .

" 'Splice the mainbrace, Mr. Leach,' said the captain; 'and you, gentlemen, do me the favour to step this way for a consultation. This much is due to your situation. Gentlemen, everything in this world has its nature and its principles. . . . The nature of a traveller is to travel, and see curiosities; of old men to think on the past and young men to hope for the future. The nature of a seaman is to stick by his ship, and a ship to be treated like a vessel, and not ransacked like a town taken by storm. You are but passengers, and your wishes beyond question are to be safe in New York: mine are to get the Montauk there too, in as little time as possible. You have a good navigator among you; and I now propose you take the Montauk's launch, and fill away for the Cape de Verdes, where I pray God you all arrive in safety. Your effects shall be safely delivered to your respective orders, should it please God to put it in the power of the line to honour your drafts.'

“ ‘ You intend to attempt recapturing the ship,’ said Paul Blunt.

“ ‘ I do, sir,’ returned Mr. Truck, who having thus opened his mind, for the first time that morning, gave a vigorous Hem ! and set about lighting a cigar. . . . .

“ ‘ We must join you in this, captain,’ said Mr. Sharp, quietly, ‘ but with the air and manner of a man of spirit and nerve.’

“ ‘ Certainly, certainly,’ cried Mr. Monday, ‘ we ought to make it a common affair ; as, I daresay Sir George Templemore will agree with me in maintaining, the nobility and gentry are not often backward when their persons are to be risked.’

“ The spurious baronet acquiesced readily, for though a vain and weak young man, he was far from being a dastard.

“ ‘ This is a serious business,’ observed Paul, ‘ and it ought to be ordered with method and intelligence. If we have a ship to care for, we have also those who are infinitely more precious. . . . The launch ought to be left at a safe distance with all the females, as any disaster to the boarding-party would probably throw the rest of the boats into the barbarians’ hands. Mr. Effingham and Mr. John Effingham, will, of course, remain with the ladies.’

“ The father assented with the simplicity of one who did not distrust his own motives, but the eagle-shaped features of his kinsman, curled with a cool and sarcastic smile.

“ ‘ Will *you* remain ?’ he asked pointedly of Paul.

“ ‘ Certainly, it would be greatly out of character were I not to do so. My trade is war ; and I trust, Captain Truck means to honour me with the command of one of the boats.’

“ ‘ I thought as much, by Jove !’ exclaimed the Captain ; ‘ I should as soon expect to see the sheet anchor wink, or the best bower give a mournful smile, as to see you duck. Still, gentlemen, I am well aware of the difference in our situations. I fancy, my regular people, aided by Mr. Blunt, who can really serve me by his knowledge, will be as likely to do all that can be done.’ . . . .

“ ‘ But the question has not yet been put to the *people*,’ said Dodge, mystified by the last term, which he had yet to learn was strictly technical as applied to a ship’s crew.

“ ‘ It shall, sir, and I beg you will note the majority. My lads, now the Arabs have the ship, they do not know how to sail her, and it is no more than a kindness to take her out of their hands ;—for this, I want volunteers—those who are for the reef and an attack, will rise up and cheer ; while they who like an offing, have only to sit still.’

“ The words were no sooner spoken, than the mate, Mr. Leach, jumped on the gunnel and waved his hat. The people rose as one man, and taking the signal from him, gave three as hearty cheers as ever rung over the bottle.

“ ‘ Dead against you, sir !’ observed the captain, ‘ and I hope you are now satisfied.’

“ ‘ The ballot might have given it otherwise,’ muttered Mr. Dodge, ‘ there can be no freedom of election without the ballot.’

"No one however thought any longer of Mr. Dodge or his scruples, and the dispositions for attack were promptly made."—vol. iii. pp. 87-90.

The attempt is made accordingly; and, after a little hard fighting, succeeds; not, however, until Mr. Monday, who has borne himself gallantly through the fray, receives a wound that threatens to be mortal.

A day then passes in preparations for sea. The vessel is once more got afloat, having been grounded by Powis, as a necessary measure, while effecting the escape of his party and himself in her launch; the masts are stepped—yards crossed—and, finally, sail enough set to bring her out from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Arabs, into the open sea, where the rest of her equipment can be finished at leisure. This latter manœuvre is not, however, accomplished without additional loss; as the men who go aloft to secure the necessary ropes, are exposed to the fire of the infuriated Arabs. The man at the wheel, too, is shot, just as the ship has reached the most dangerous part of the inlet; and she narrowly escapes total and hopeless wreck, in the very moment when safety seems within grasp.

There is not much delay in detailing the prosperous remainder of the voyage to New York, save where the death of Mr. Monday is described. The perplexity of the honest captain, when, as commander of the ship, he deems it his duty to seek to administer religious consolation to the dying man, is humorously described; though the smile it would occasion, is checked by the sad evidence it gives of the darksome and benighted state of mind in which multitudes of our fellow-beings are, on the subject of man's eternal interests, in consequence of the apostacy of their fathers from the Catholic Church,—from that Church that *provides* an unerring guide for the feeblest intellect, as for the strongest; for the individual begirt and distracted by a thousand worldly cares, as for him who has sought refuge from all these cares in the voluntary abandonment of all earthly possessions, and taken refuge in the quiet of a monastic cell.

After some attempt in his new vocation, the captain gladly resigns the task of attending the parting spirit, to Mr. John Effingham, as a person peculiarly fitted for the pious office. Mr. Cooper thus describes his qualifications:—

"John Effingham was often proud and self-willed in his communications with men; the inferiority of most of his fellow-creatures to himself, in principles as well as mind, being too plainly apparent not



to influence the opinions of one who did not habitually study his own failings; but, as respects God, he was habitually reverent and meek: spiritual pride formed no part of his character, for he felt his own deficiency in the Christian qualities; the main defect arising more from a habit of regarding the infirmities of others, than from dwelling too much on his own merits. In comparing himself with perfection, no one could be more humble; but, in limiting the comparison to those around him, few were prouder, or few more justly so, were it permitted to make such a comparison at all. Prayer with him was not habitual or always well ordered, but he was not ashamed to pray," &c. &c.—vol. iii. p. 230.

This specimen of the humble pious Christian, accordingly waits by Mr. Monday's bed-side, till the last hour comes. The death of the hard, sensual, worldly-minded man, is described with painful minuteness; and the unpleasant feeling is increased by the sad reflection, of how many pass out of this world as unprepared for the terrible change, and with as broken a reed to lean upon, as the spiritual consolations of Mr. John Effingham.

The vessel makes America at last, and is steering gladly towards her port, now in sight, when, to the consternation and anger of the worthy captain, the "eternal Foam!" as he styles the corvette that had chased him, is discovered hove to, right in the track of the Montauk. A sudden and ill-advised change of course, reveals to the man-of-war the approach of her late chase, notwithstanding the difference of appearance caused by her being fitted with the spars and rigging of a vessel two hundred tons smaller. The chase is renewed, and, in the end, the Montauk, hard pressed, comes to, close to the American shore; so placed by her captain, in order to leave no doubt that she is in American waters, and, therefore, secure from violence. The corvette's commander, Captain Ducie, boards; and, although acknowledging the rights of her position, requests leave to take from her a criminal, in search of whom he has been dispatched. This turns out to be no other than the self-styled baronet, whose real name is Sandon, and who is accused of having carried off a large sum of government money. Mr. Green, a government *employé*, who has come out in the sloop in order to identify the fugitive, is an admirable specimen of his class in England; and the conference between him and the captain is well described.

"Mr. Green was as thorough-going an Englishman as any of his class in the island. Methodical, plodding, industrious, and regular in all his habits, he was honest by rule, and had no leisure or inclination for other opinions than those obtained with the smallest effort. . .

His hatred of France was unconquerable, as he had early learned to consider her the fast enemy of England; and America he deemed the general asylum for the rogues of his own country.

" 'We have our share of bad men, sir,' said he to Captain Truck; 'but the thing that has most attracted attention is, that they all go to America.'

" 'And we receive our share of rogues, sir; and it is the subject of remark, that they all come from England.'

" Mr. Green did not feel the full force of this retort; but he wiped his spectacles, as he quietly composed his features into a look of dignified gravity.

" 'Your most considerable men in America, I believe, sir, have been Englishmen, who preferred a residence in the colonies, to a residence at home. There was your Washington; my father was at school with him in Warwickshire, and he was thought anything but clever.'

" 'You perceive, then, we made something of him when we got him back. . . Judging from the language of your prints, sir, I should think your King William enjoys the reputation of being a respectable man?'

" Although startled to hear his sovereign spoken of in this irreverent manner, Mr. Green answered promptly,—

" 'He is a king, sir, and comports himself as a king!'

" 'And all the better, I dare say,' returned Captain Truck, 'for the thrashing he got, when a youngster, from the Vermont tailor.' "—  
vol. iii. pp. 300-4.

The unfortunate young man who is hunted after, surrenders the money; and, after another sharp encounter between Captain Truck and the narrow-minded methodical office-man, who is admirably depicted as yet looking on the independence of the United States, only as the temporary success of a rebellion soon to be crushed, the person of the unhappy culprit is demanded.

" 'You will not deliver me up, Captain Truck?' exclaimed the delinquent. 'They will hang me! Oh, you will not have the heart to let them hang me?'

" Captain Truck was startled; but he sternly reminded the culprit, that it was too late to remember the punishment, when the crime was committed.

" 'Never fear, Mr. Sandon,' said the office-man, with a sneer; 'these gentlemen will take you to New York, for the sake of the thousand pounds, if they can. A rogue is pretty certain of a kind reception in America, I hear.'

" 'Mr. John Effingham, you have heard this wanton insult,' exclaimed Captain Truck; 'in what manner ought it to be resented?'

" 'Command the offender to quit your ship instantly,' said John Effingham, firmly.

" Captain Ducie stared, and his face flushed; but, disregarding

him altogether, Captain Truck walked deliberately up to Mr. Green, and ordered him to go into the corvette's boat.

" 'I shall allow of neither parley nor delay,' added the exasperated old seaman, struggling to appear cool and dignified, though his vocation was little for the latter. 'Do me the favour, sir, to permit me to see you to your boat, sir. Saunders, tell Mr. Leach to man the side; *three* sideboys. Now, sir, I ask it as the greatest possible favour, that you will walk on deck with me, or—or...damn me! but I'll drag you there, neck and heels!'

"It was too much for Captain Truck to seem calm when in a towering passion; and the outbreak at the close of his speech was accompanied by a violent gesture with his hand.

" 'This is strong language, sir, to use to a British officer, under the guns of a British cruiser,' exclaimed the commander of the corvette.

" 'And his was strong language to use to a man in his own country, and his own ship. Captain Ducie, *you* are welcome; but your companion has indulged in a coarse insult upon my country; and, damn me, if I submit to it, should I never see St. Katharine's Docks again. I had too much of this when a young man, to wish to find it repeated while an old one!' "—vol. iii. pp. 325-8.

Captain Ducie is obliged to give way to the honest passion of the stout-hearted and justly indignant old mariner; and Mr. Green is hurried out of the vessel. The defaulter is, however, surrendered, in Captain Truck's complaisance at carrying his point; and the wretched young man, disgraced and spirit-broken, is dragged away, and put aboard the sloop. Mr. Powis, too, leaves the Montauk for the man-of-war, in a most unexpected and suspicious manner; and the book closes with the landing of the rest of the party in New York, regretting their late companion, and feeling much uneasiness at the mysterious manner in which they have been deprived of his company. The reader, doubtless, will feel the same; and is referred by the author to the second of the novels before us, for a solution of the mystery.

Mr. Cooper seems to have anticipated the censure we think he deserves, for joining himself to those writers who have represented his country and countrymen in an unfavourable light. Paul Blunt, or Powis, in the third volume of the book from which we have hitherto made extracts, has a defence by anticipation put into his mouth.

" 'It is the duty of the parent to educate and correct the child, but it is the duty of the citizen to reform and improve the character of his country. With foreigners, one should not deal too freely with her faults; but, with one's own countrymen, I see little use and much danger, in observing a silence.' "

This is but a weak answer to the charge against him. Were his books circulated and read in America alone, the defence would then be good; but when this is notoriously not the case—when in England his writings are as universally spread and as familiar as those of any native author, it is ridiculous to say, that he wrote only for an American eye. Mr. Cooper appears to us to be under a delusion, very common with writers of eminent talent; that of mistaking the bent of his own genius. He has fancied the province in which he excels, to be that of describing society; its intricacies, its variety of characters, its follies and its faults. Instead of the grave, calm, and dignified moralist and philosopher, to which character he had established high claims by the reflections, hardy indeed, but most just and sound, with which he has interspersed his novel of *The Bravo*, and some others of his works, light as well as serious, he has imagined his vocation to be that of the keen-witted, brilliant satirist, whose sharp-pointed weapon dazzles while it wounds. This is a sad and an utter mistake, and that it is so, no proof is needed beyond the manner in which his efforts in this line have been received by the public. Where those efforts are displayed in occasional passages of his former writings, it may be remarked, that in no one instance of all the quotations cited for applause and admiration, have one of these passages been brought forward. The same ill success attends his efforts on a larger scale; oblivion is fast closing round the adventures of Lady Chatterissa, Dr. Reasono, &c. in the wearisome three volumes of that most puerile and unhappy of all his productions, *The Monikins*. The present book, *Eve Effingham*, seems doomed to a similar and well-merited oblivion: happy for him if it be so; and if its fatiguing remembrance be not kept up by his irritated countrymen, to cast into his teeth, when next he shall call for their sympathies, and parade his loudly-vaunted patriotism.

While we express these opinions, we must not be understood to charge Mr. Cooper with false representations of his countrymen. So far from it, that we have already said his book is a more complete *exposé* of all relating to them than the active intellect of Mrs. Trollope, sharpened as it was by all the malice of a vain and vulgar mind, suffering under mortification, or the patient, earnest, plodding researches of Miss Martineau, had as yet furnished. The faults of the work before us, lie in its having been undertaken by a native American, and evidently made the vehicle of gratifying per-

sonal pique, and, still more evidently, of personal and most unbecoming and most ridiculous vanity. They also lie in the attempt to make a complete *Hogarthian* (if we may coin a word) and finished picture of what is a vigorous and sufficiently faithful portraiture indeed, but rudely and unartistically limned. We shall presently allude to the parts where Mr. Cooper's vanity has obtruded itself, but first give our readers a specimen of his descriptions of social life in American cities. To our former summary of the chief characters in this novel, we have only to add, that Mr. Sharp now appears in the character of the *real* Sir George Templemore; and a few new personages are introduced, of whom, however, none but two act prominent parts in these volumes; the one, Grace Van Courtlandt, cousin and companion in childhood of Eve Effingham—beautiful, amiable and affectionate. This young lady is put forward as a sample of the young American female of her class, (equivalent to what are called in aristocratic societies, the *upper* classes); thoroughly educated of course, so far as book-learning goes; but with her untravelled mind warped and constrained by the provincial ideas and opinions among which she has been brought up. The other personage is “Mr. Aristobulus Bragg, attorney and counsellor-at-law, and agent of the Templemore Estate.” The words we have marked with inverted commas, form the beginning of a description of this worthy, from the pen of “*Cousin Jack*.” As we are farther informed that he is but one of a most extensive *genus* in America, individual specimens of which are to be met at every turn, we will transcribe the rest of Mr. John Effingham's description.

“Mr. Bragg was born in one of the western counties of Massachusetts, and emigrated to New York. His talents are undeniable; as he commenced his education at fourteen, and terminated it with *éclat* at twenty-one,—a course of law included. At twenty-one he was admitted to the bar; and has for the last seven years been a successful practitioner in all the courts of Otsego. This man is an epitome of all that is good, and all that is bad, in a very large class of his fellow-citizens. He is quick-witted, prompt in action, enterprising in all things in which he has a real stake,—and ready to turn, not only his hand, but his heart and his principles, to anything that offers an advantage. With him, literally, ‘nothing is too high to be aspired to—nothing too low to be done.’ He will run for governor, or for town-clerk, just as opportunities offer; is expert in all the *practices* of his profession; has had a quarter's *dancing*, with three years in the classics;—and turned his attention towards medicine and divinity, before he finally settled down into the law. Such a compound

of shrewdness, impudence, common-sense, pretension, humility, cleverness, vulgarity, kindheartedness, duplicity, selfishness, law-honesty, moral fraud, and mother-wit, mixed up with a smattering of learning, and much penetration in practical things,—can hardly be described, as any one of his prominent qualities is certain to be met by another quite as prominent, and almost its converse.”—vol. i. pp. 19-20.

We have nothing to add to this ;—as a picture of an extensive class in the United States, it is complete.

The sketch of town society, of which we have spoken, is preceded by a conversation between the young ladies and Sir George Templemore, in which the latter learns, to his surprise, that in America *genealogies* are not, *practically*, although they are *theoretically*, considered as waste paper. That he should have required to be specially informed of the fact seems strange, when it is so well known, to those who read at all in these countries, that this, unfortunately, is by no means the only point in which theory and practice are sadly at variance in America. As he seems disposed to push his enquiries farther, the offer is made and accepted, of giving him an opportunity of judging for himself of the state of society about which he displays such interest, by taking him into the middle of it. He is accordingly made one of the Effingham party, to visit three houses to which they have invitations for the evening. The worthy commander of the packet, Captain Truck, having dined with them, is also made to join. The first house on the list is that of a Mrs. Jarvis.

“Notwithstanding much management on the part of Mrs. Jarvis, to get showy persons to attend her entertainments, the simple elegance of the two carriages that bore the Effingham party threw all the other equipages into the shade. The simple, useful, graceful, almost indispensable, usage, of announcing at the door, indispensable to those who receive much, is but little known in America. Mrs. Jarvis would have shrunk from such an innovation, had she known that elsewhere the custom *prevailed*, but she was in happy ignorance. When Mlle. Viefville appeared, therefore, walking unsupported, followed by Eve and Grace, and the gentlemen of the party, she at first supposed there was some mistake, and that her visitors had got into the wrong house, there actually being an opposition party in the neighbourhood.

“‘What brazen people!’ whispered Mrs. Abijah Gross, who, having come from a New England village two years previous, fancied herself *au fait* in all the niceties of breeding and social tact ; ‘positively two young ladies walking about without gentlemen.’

“But it was not in her power to put down two such lovely creatures as Eve and her cousin. The surpassing beauty and mo-



desty of mien of both, effectually silenced criticism, after this solitary outbreak of vulgarity. . . . John Effingham presented the baronet, whom Mrs. Jarvis, out of pure ignorance of his rank in his own country, received with perfect propriety and self respect.

" ' We have very few people of note in town at present, I believe,' said Mrs. Jarvis to John Effingham: ' a great traveller, a most interesting man, is the only one I could obtain, and I shall have great pleasure in introducing you, Mrs. Snow;—really the ladies are thronging about him as if he were a Pawnee; have the goodness to step this way, Mr. Effingham; Mrs. Snow, just touch his arm and let him know I wish to introduce a couple of friends. Mr. Dodge, Mr. John Effingham—Miss Effingham, Miss Van Courtlandt. I hope you may succeed in getting him a little to yourselves, ladies, for he can tell you all about Europe—saw the king of France riding out to Neuilly, and has a prodigious knowledge of things on the other side of the water.'

" It required all Eve's self-command to suppress a smile, but she had the tact and discretion to receive Mr. Steadfast Dodge as an utter stranger. John Effingham bowed haughtily, and then it was whispered they were rival travellers. . . . The *clientèle* of Mr. Dodge increased rapidly.

" ' It is Mr. Dodge, the great traveller,' said one young lady, a *blue* in her own set; ' his beautiful and accurate descriptions have attracted great attention in England.'

" ' Have you read them, Miss Brackett?'

" ' Not the letters themselves absolutely, but all the remarks on them in the last week's *Hebdomad*,' &c. &c.

" . . . ' I should like to know your real opinion of all this set,' said John Effingham to the baronet aside, ' not that I plead guilty to our common provincial sensibility to the judgment of strangers, but with a view to aid you in forming a just estimate.'

" ' As I know the precise connexion between you and our host,' replied Sir George, ' there can be no objection to giving a frank reply. The women strike me as singularly delicate and pretty; well dressed, too, I may add; but while there is a great air of decency, there is very little high finish, and yet it is remarkable that there is scarcely any downright vulgarity or coarseness.'—*Eve Effingham*, vol. i. pp. 93-100.

From this they proceed to the second place of invitation.

" ' Mrs. Hawker is widow and daughter of men of long established New York families,' said John Effingham, as the party drove from one house to the other; ' she is childless, affluent, and universally respected, where known, for her breeding, benevolence, and good sense. Yet in most of the sets in this town, not one in ten would know there is such a being, the *pêle-mêle* of a migratory population keeping persons of her character and condition out of view. Those who will prattle by the hour of the establishments of Mrs. Peleg

Pond, Mrs. Jonah Twist, Mrs. Abiram Wattles, people who first appeared five or six years since, and have launched out into vulgar finery, would look with surprise at Mrs. Hawker's claims to social distinction being mentioned.' . . . . .

"A respectable, quiet, and aged black servant admitted the party. With respectful attention Mrs. Hawker rose, and, though she kissed the cousins affectionately, her reception of Mlle. Viefville was so simply polite, as to convince the latter she was valued on account of her services. After paying proper attention to the greatest stranger, Mrs. Hawker turned to Captain Truck, and said,

" 'This, then, is the gentleman to whose courage and skill you all owe so much—I might more properly have said *we* all.'

" 'I have the honour of commanding the 'Montauk,' ma'am,' replied Captain Truck, singularly awed by the dignified simplicity of his hostess, though her quiet, natural, and yet finished manner, was as unlike what he had expected as possible, 'and, with such passengers as she had last voyage, I can only say, it is a pity she is not better off for one to take care of her.'

" 'Your passengers give a different account; but, that I may judge, do me the favour to take this chair, and let me learn a few of the particulars from yourself.'

"Observing that Sir G. Templemore had followed Eve to the other side of the room, Mrs. Hawker resumed her seat, and, without neglecting her guests generally, she contrived to put the worthy captain, in a few minutes, entirely at his ease."—vol. ii. pp. 103-106.

" 'Is the circle large to which Mrs. Hawker and her friends belong?' asked Sir George, as he assisted Eve and Grace to cloak, when they had taken leave. 'A town which can boast of half-a-dozen such houses as hers, need not accuse itself of wanting society.'

" 'Ah, there is but one Mrs. Hawker in New York,' answered Grace; 'it would be too much to say we have even half-a-dozen such houses as hers.'"—p. 117.

An agreeable hour having been thus passed at Mrs. Hawker's, the party once more seek their carriages, and repair to the third invitation.

"Mrs. Houston was, what was termed, a fashionable woman, in New York. She also was of a family of local note, though much less so than that of Mrs. Hawker. As her means were ample, and her tastes perhaps superior to those of most around her, she kept what was thought a house of better tone than common, even in the highest circle. In Grace Van Courtlandt's eyes, it was the house of all others that she thought might make a favourable impression on her cousin. The noise, rude clamour, and swearing, before Mr. Houston's door, said little for this part of the arrangement.

" 'One hardly knows which is the most terrific,' said Eve involuntarily, as soon as with difficulty the door was passed, 'the noise within, or the noise without.'

"This was spoken rapidly, and in French, to Mlle. Vieville; but Grace heard it, and, for the first time in her life, perceived that Mrs. Houston's company was not composed of nightingales. The surprise is, the discovery should have come so late.

Mrs. Houston received her guests with ease and dignity. She was what the Americans call *gay*; in other words, she opened her house to a very promiscuous society, ten or twelve times in a winter, and accepted invitations. Still, in other countries, as a fashionable woman, she would have been esteemed a model as a wife and mother; and had actually taught all her children the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and commandments. Feminine, well-mannered, rich, pretty, of a very positive social condition, and naturally disposed for society, she had found no difficulty in rising to the pinnacle of fashion. . . . .

" 'These rooms are very crowded,' said Sir George; 'it is surprising this contracted style of building should be so very general, in a town that increases so rapidly as this.'

" 'These houses,' said Eve, 'are but types of the social state of the country, in which no one is permitted to occupy more than his own share of ground. . . . .'

An American *belle* is now described.

"The young lady in question, Miss Ring, was about twenty; of delicate features and frame, and, under proper training, would have been the *beau ideal* of feminine delicacy and gentleness. Around this young creature were no less than five young men, dressed in the height of the fashion. They all laughed,—the lady most; and sometimes all spoke at once. Notwithstanding these outbreaks, Miss Ring did most of the talking; and once or twice, as a young man would gape after a most exhilarating show of merriment, and discover an inclination to retreat, she managed to recall him to his allegiance by some remark particularly pertinent to himself, or his feelings. . . . The loud tone in which she gave her opinions, startled Mlle. Vieville, quite as much as the subjects the *belle* selected. The French lady would have moved, as listening to a conversation not meant for their ears; but John Effingham quietly assured her, Miss Ring seldom spoke in company, without intending as many persons as possible to hear her."—vol. i. pp. 127-35.

We proceed to another, and the last description Mr. Cooper purports to give of town society.

"Our task of describing town society will soon be ended. The gentlemen of the Effingham family, and Sir G. Templemore, had been invited to one or two dinners. . . . A well-spread board, highly respectable cookery, and delicious wines, were met everywhere. Two rows of men, clad in dark dresses, and a solitary female at the head of the table, invariably composed the convives. The exaggerations of a province were often ludicrously apparent. . . . At table, the first great duty of restoration performed, conversation turned on

prices of lots, speculations in towns, or the currency. Then came the regular assay of wines, during which, it was easy to fancy the master of the house a dealer; for, he was usually either sucking a syphon, or flourishing a corkscrew. . . . . Shortly after Mrs. Houston's ball, our party were invited to look in on a Mrs. Legend, a lady of a literary turn. Desirous that this evening should be memorable in the annals of conversazioni; therefore, anxious to have foreign nations duly represented, poor Mrs. Legend was obliged to invite certain gin-dealers, from Holland; a German linen-merchant, from Saxony; an Italian dei cavalieri, who amused himself in selling beads; and a Spanish master, born in Portugal; all of whom had just one requisite for conversation in their respective languages, and no more. . . . . At the appointed hour, the foreign corps arrived first, for the refreshments were something to them; and then came the blues in force. Miss Annual, as regular a devotee in letters as ever conned a primer; Mrs. Monthly; Miss Economy, S. R. P. Marion; Longinus, D. O. V. E.; Julietta, &c., &c., &c.; and, at least, a dozen travelled ladies, who, having seen pictures and statues abroad, must necessarily have the means of talking about them at home. The list of men was still more formidable. At its head, stood Steadfast Dodge, Esq., whose fame had so far swollen, that, for the first time in his life, he now entered one of the better houses of his own country. Then there were the authors of *Lapis Lazuli*, *The Aunts*, *The Reformed*, *The Conformed*, *The Transformed*, *The Deformed*; the editors of *The Hebdomad*, *The Night Cap*, *The Chrysalis*, *The Seek no Farther*, the *Real Maggot*; also, *Junius*, *Junius Brutus*, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, *Captain Kant*, *Single Rhyme*, a genius who had prudently rested his fame on a couplet of one line, *Florio*, &c., &c. . . . .

"John Effingham was fully aware of the error which existed as to Captain Truck, who had, by some process or other, been metamorphosed by common report, into the Hon. and Reverend Mr. Truck; 'a gentleman,' said the newspapers, 'travelling in our country, from whose liberality, a just account of our society was to be expected. In order that the public might be disabused in a matter of so much importance, he persuaded the old man to accept this invitation, without explaining to him, however, the mistake. . . . The personal appearance of the honest tar was well adapted to his new character. His hair had long been getting grey; but the intense anxiety resulting from his recent adventures, had gradually, but rapidly, increased this mark of time. The hale fresh red of his features, might very well pass for the tint of port; and his tread, which had always something of the quarter-deck swing about it, might easily have been mistaken for the human frame staggering under a load of learning.

"'What a Byronic head,' whispered the author of the *Transformed* to D. O. V. E., 'and was there ever such a curl of the lip?'

"The truth was, the captain had thrust his tobacco into his cheek, as a monkey is known to *empocher* a spare nut, or a lump of sugar.

" 'Pray,' said Miss Annual to Lucius Junius Brutus, 'which is thought the best of his works: that on a-a-a, or that on e-e-e?'

"Now it so happened no one but the "lion" himself had any idea of the books he had written, and he only knew of some fifteen or twenty log books. All that was generally understood was, that he was a great English writer, and this was more than sufficient.

" 'I believe the world generally prefers the a-a-a,' said Lucius Junius Brutus, 'but a few give decided preference to the e-e-e.'

" 'Oh, out of all question preferable,' exclaimed half-a-dozen voices within hearing,' " &c. &c. . . . .

A conversation follows between Eve and the lady of the house, during which, with the satirical aid of Mr. John Effingham, the characters of the other literati present are fully discussed. Some favourites of our author are now introduced.

"The new guest was Mr. Pindar, one of those careless, unsentimental fellows, that occasionally throw off an ode that passes through the world, and yet who never fancied spectacles necessary to his face, nor *soirées* to his renown. . . . A moment after came Mr. Gray, a man who needed nothing but taste in the public, to stand near the head of the poets of our own time. These persons came late, like those who had already been dosed too often in the same way, to be impatient of repetition. They soon got together in a corner, for refuge from the *oi polloi* of literature, joined by Mr. Pith, a man whose caustic wit needs only a sphere for its exercise, manners to portray, and a society with strong points about it to illustrate [pretty extensive requisites], in order to enrol his name high in the catalogue of satirists. Another ring announced Mr. Fun, a writer of exquisite humour, but who, having perpetrated a little too much sentiment in his time, was seized on by the ladies.

" 'Who, in the name of the twelve Cæsars, has Mrs. Legend got to lionize yonder?' asked the odcist of the party in the corner.

" 'Some English pamphleteer, a fellow who has achieved a pert review, or Minerva pressism, and now flourishes among us like a bay tree. A modern Juvenal on his travels.'

" 'Fun is well badgered,' observed Mr. Gray. 'Do you not see Miss Annual, Miss Monthly, and that young alphabet, D. O. V. E., have got him within the circle of their petticoats, and where he will be martyred on a sigh? Here comes the 'lion,' and he breaks loose from his cage like a beast poked up with sticks.'

" 'Good evening, gentlemen,' said Captain Truck, wiping his face intensely, and who, having made his escape from a throng of admirers, took refuge in the first port that offered; 'quite cool and agreeable in this corner, as I hope to be saved.' "

The mystification of poor Captain Truck, who has now, at

length, made his escape from a bevy of literary ladies, all anxious to hold communion with the "lion" of the evening, is increased by these gentlemen, who maliciously encourage the honest sailor to light a segar. Even this does not open the eyes of the general company, who at length, however, find out their error, and seek to cover it by a precipitate flight.

In passing from this part of the book, to Mr. Cooper's other delineations of manners in America, the remark forces itself upon us, that however loudly he is denounced by his countrymen for thus holding them up to ridicule, and however overcharged such pictures, at first sight, would seem to a European eye, their accuracy has been in no one instance denied.

It is not necessary to occupy much time with the story as here continued. Sir George Templemore, who in *Homeward Bound* appears in the character of a rival to Paul Powis for the affections of Eve Effingham, now begins to perceive that his absent competitor has forstalled him, and wisely relinquishes all farther contest, ere his own feelings are too deeply engaged. In the course of the present volumes he is made gradually to conceive an admiration of the beauties and graces of Miss Van Courtlandt, which feeling ere long deepens into love, and we may as well at once say, that the matter ends by the fair American becoming Lady Templemore. The baronet's character would appear to us to have been introduced with something of the same design, that led Lady Morgan to conceive that of Sir Frederick Mottram in her novel of *The Princess*,—the design of exhibiting the effect upon an Englishman of some station, bred up among, and deeply imbued with, the prejudices of his class and country, of a sojourn in a land where liberal principles are in the ascendant. But the execution is not equal in the two cases, owing, we think, in a great measure, to Mr. Cooper's having been insensibly led away from his original plan, by the temptation to dilate upon the imperfections of his fellow-countrymen. Sir George Templemore accordingly returns to England at the end of the book, with apparently little other benefit from his tour in America, beyond the very important one of having there found a lovely and amiable wife.

Subsequently to the scenes we have quoted, and previously to the departure of the party for the country residence of the Effinghams, Sir George Templemore is taken, by the latter gentlemen, to see the business parts of New York. The description that follows, of the visit to the Exchange, reads



much more like one of the allegorical visions that the essayists of the last century were so much in the habit of using, to convey moral reproof to the community for which they wrote, than like a plain and truthful narration of every day occurrences. That it is borne out by fact—that it is not even exaggerated in the slightest degree—nay, scarcely comes up to the real state of the case, Miss Martineau and a thousand other writers, native Americans as well as foreigners, bear most abundant witness. At the risk of exceeding our limits, we must extract at least a portion of this description. Comment there is none to be made, beyond Mr. Cooper's own remarks, or those he puts into the mouths of his characters.

“ John Effingham led the way up stairs into the office of one of the most considerable auctioneers. The walls were lined with maps, some representing houses, some lots, some streets, some entire towns.

“ ‘ This is the focus of the *town trade*,’ said he ; ‘ here you may suit yourself. If a ville is wanted, here are a dozen ; of farms there are a hundred in market ; there are merely half-a-dozen streets ; and here are towns of dimensions and value to suit all purchasers. Mr. Hammer, are you selling to-day ?’

“ ‘ Not much, sir,’ replied the auctioneer, ‘ only a 100 or 200 lots on this island, and some six or eight farms, with one smallish western village. . . . This was the farm of old Volkert Van Brunt five years ago, off which he and his family made a livelihood by selling milk. Two years since the son sold it to Peter Feeler for 5000 dollars. Feeler sold it to John Search, as keen a one as we have, for 25,000. Search sold it, at a private sale, to Nathan Rise, for 50,000, the next week. Rise had parted with it to a company, before the purchase, for 112,000, cash. The map ought to be taken down, for it is eight months since we sold it, in lots at auction, for the gross sum of 300,000. As we have received our commission, we look on that land as out of the market for some time. . . . These walls are covered with estates in the same predicament. Some have risen 2 or 3000 per cent. within a few years, and some only a hundred. It is all fancy.’

“ ‘ And on what is this enormous increase founded. Does this town extend to those fields ?’ ”

“ ‘ Much farther, sir, *on paper*, but in the way of houses, is yet some miles short of them. A good deal depends on what you *call* a thing. Had old Van Brunt's property been still called a farm, it would have brought but a farm price ; but when surveyed into lots and *mapped*,—that is, brought into visible lines, with feet and inches, instead of acres, it rose to its just value. We have a good deal of the bottom of the sea that brings fair prices, in consequence of being well mapped !’ . . . Descending, the gentleman entered a crowd,

where scores were eagerly bidding against each other, in the fearful delusion of growing rich, by pushing a fancied value to a still higher point.....

“‘When I first entered that room,’ said John Effingham, ‘I thought it filled with maniacs. Now, that I have been in it several times, the impression is not much altered.’

“‘And all these persons are hazarding their means of subsistence on the imaginary estimate mentioned by the auctioneer?’

“‘They are gambling as recklessly as he who places his substance on the cast of the die..... I have witnessed many similar excesses in the way of speculation, but never an instance so widespread, so alarming as this.’.....

“‘The desire to grow suddenly rich, has seized on all classes. Even women and clergymen are infected, and we exist under the most corrupting of all influences,—the love of money.’”—vol. i. p. 216.

The great fire at New York now occurs, and its results are thus described :

“The day which followed this disaster was memorable for the rebuke it gave the rapacious longing for wealth. Men who had set their hearts on gold, were made to feel its insecurity ; and those who were as gods so lately, began to experience how utterly insignificant are the merely rich, when stripped of their possessions.

“A faint voice was heard from the pulpit, and there was a moment when those who remembered a better state of things, began to fancy that principles would once more assert their ascendancy, and that the community would, in a measure, be purified. But this expectation ended in disappointment, the infatuation being too widely spread, and too corrupting, to be stopped, even by this check ; and the rebuke was reserved for a form that seems to depend on a law of nature,—that of causing vice to bring with it its own means of punishment.”—vol. i. pp. 218-19.

This is a fearful picture, and but too true ! Commentary upon it would but weaken its force.

The Effinghams, with Miss Van Courtlandt and Sir George Templemore in company, proceed to their country-place, the same that in *The Pioneers* is the residence of Judge Temple. There is much description of scenery and conversation on its merits, all of which we pass over as heavy in the extreme, and only serving to add to the *longueurs* of the book. They are as yet little more than arrived, when they learn from Mr. Bragg, that the valley and lake have begun to be haunted by a *poet*. Meeting accidentally with this candidate for the bays, they find him, to their great surprise, to be no other than their old companion in adventure, Paul Powis. The mystery that hung around his leave-taking of them in the former volume is now

explained, in a way, that we venture to predict, the reader will find more calculated to make him angry with himself for having suffered Mr. Cooper to *entrap* him into feeling interest on the subject, than to give much satisfaction. We must refer him to Mr. Cooper's pages for the explanation; its disjointed and prosing details are really not worth copying.

One of our author's real, though not acknowledged, designs in weaving this tale of American manners and American social condition, now begins to peep out. Notwithstanding all his loud declamations on the beauty and fitness of a republican state of things, and the powerful contrasts that in some of his former works he has drawn between a government in the hands of the people and one in those of an individual, or of an oligarchy, to the disadvantage of the latter; ideas and tendencies of a very different nature begin now to manifest themselves. There have been those who thought religion not a bad thing, for the *lower* classes. Mr. Cooper places republicanism in the same "category," to borrow a word from Captain Truck. Paul Powis, who is evidently a second "*alter ego*" in the story before us, explains, among other things, that he possessed a claim to a British peerage, which, however, he magnanimously had determined not to assert.

" 'There are many young men in this country,' said John Effingham, 'who would cling to the hopes of a British peerage with greater tenacity.'

" 'It is probable there are; but my self-denial,' replied Paul, 'is not of a very high order, for it could scarcely be expected, that the English ministers would give the rank to a foreigner, who did not hesitate about avowing his principles and national feelings. I shall not say, I did not covet this peerage, for it would be supererogatory; but I am born an American, and will die an American; and an American who ever swaggers about such a claim, is like the daw among the peacocks. The less that is said about it the better.' "—vol. ii. p. 253.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Cooper in the latter remarks, and think it would have been best of all if he said nothing at all on the subject. This is not the only instance in which he indirectly intimates his aristocratical leanings and pretensions; we have several other passages that go to impress on our minds, with rather anxious earnestness, the important and gratifying fact, that such things exist, even in republican America, as family pedigrees; deemed too, by their possessors, to be often far purer and clearer to be traced than the generality of pedigrees in the old world.

The interpretation put by our author, and his circle in America, on the great principle and doctrine of "Civil Equality," may be gathered from a scene between Eve, who has had her ideas enlarged by travel and communion with the superior mind of John Effingham, and the simple and inexperienced Grace Van Courtlandt, who is credulous enough to believe, that words in the United States have their obvious and natural meaning.

"'Sir George does not seem to think of rank at all,' said Grace, 'even Mr. Powis treats him in all respects as an equal.'

"'And why should he *not* do so?' asked Eve impetuously.

"'Why, Eve, one is a baronet, and the other but a simple gentleman.'

"'A simple gentleman, Grace,' Eve repeated slowly, after her cousin, 'and is not a simple *American* gentleman, the equal of any English baronet? Would your uncle think you, would cousin Jack, proud, lofty-minded, cousin Jack, think you, Grace, consent to receive so paltry a distinction, as a baronetcy, were our institutions to be so far altered, as to admit of such social classifications?'

"'Why, what would they be, Eve, if not baronets?'

"'Earls, counts, dukes, nay princes! These are the designations of the higher classes of Europe, and such titles, or those that are equivalent, would belong to the higher classes here. . . . Do you not know, that there are families in America, which, if disposed to raise any objections, beyond those that are purely personal, would object to baronets and the wearers of red ribbons, as unfit matches for their daughters, on the ground of *rank*? . . . Let us respect ourselves properly, let us take care to be truly ladies and gentlemen, and so far from titular ranks being necessary to us, we shall before long, bring all such distinctions into discredit.'—Vol. ii. pp. 60, 70.

What is all this, but the poor and thinly disguised hankering after those "social classifications," which the American professes to despise. What is it after all, but a manifestation of that desire, which has been falsely said to actuate those, who are designated "*Radical Reformers*," in this country,—the desire of bringing down all above them, to their own level, but of allowing the existing order of things to remain undisturbed, with regard to all below them. Steadfast Dodge, Aristobulus Bragg, and some less prominent characters, in these volumes, put forward as representatives and personifications, we are informed, of very large classes of persons in the States, are held up as objects of ridicule and contempt, merely because they seek to bring the level down a step lower, so as to include themselves. It is true that they are made to display offensive self-conceit, and obtrusiveness; but we must recollect, that the

description is from the pen of one of the class, to which they aspire, and their conduct could not be more offensive to the Effinghams, than would the aristocratic pretensions and haughtiness of the latter be to them.

We scarcely fear, that the spirit of our remarks will be so far misunderstood, as to have it supposed we deny the perfect propriety in itself, of Eve Effingham's recommendation to her fellow-citizens, in the extract last quoted, to be "truly ladies and gentlemen." A proper self-respect is most commendable, and the unfailing means of insuring respect from others. Still less are we disposed to deny the universally established axiom, that there is no rank *intrinsically* higher than that of a "gentleman." But what we do not relish, is the constant and nervous anxiety Mr. Cooper displays, to impress upon the minds of all whom it may concern, that he considers himself no whit inferior, in position, to any person in any country, and that there are large classes in his own country, whom he does not think worthy of associating with him. If he be so intimately convinced of his own perfect *real* equality, with those whose *nominal* titles are higher sounding than his, where is the necessity of repeating it to us over and over again; and if it be his fidelity to republicanism that would make him scorn to lay claim to a title, that his pedigree informs him he has a right to in England, why should it not also prevent his flouting so unmercifully at those who but seek to carry out the principles he so professes to revere?

We turn from this disagreeable part of our subject, to an amusing contrast of two characters, (perhaps we should have said *outlines* of characters, for the parties are so little connected with the main part of the story, that they are nothing more,) the one, the "American of forty years ago, full of provincial notions of England," the other belonging to "the opposite school, and as ultra-American, as his neighbour was ultra-British."

"'Here comes our old neighbour, Tom Howel,' said Mr. Effingham, 'as kind-hearted a man, Sir George, as exists; one who is really American.'

"'Aye,' added John Effingham, 'as real an American as any man can be, who uses English spectacles for all he looks at, English opinions for all he says, English prejudices for all he condemns, and an English palate for all he tastes. American quotha! The man is no more American, than the Times newspaper, or Charing Cross.'

"The meeting was cordial, Mr. Howel greeting them like a warm friend. John Effingham was not more backward, for he too

liked their simple-minded, kind-hearted, but credulous neighbour.

“ ‘You are great travellers, very great travellers,’ said Howel; ‘while I am a fixture. Well, Miss Eve, of all the countries in which you have dwelt, to which do you give the preference?’

“ ‘I think Italy,’ answered Eve, with a friendly smile, ‘although there are some agreeable things, peculiar to almost every country.’

“ ‘Italy! well that astonishes me a good deal! I never knew there was anything particularly interesting about Italy! I should have expected you to say England.’

“ ‘England is a fine country, too, but wants many things.’

“ ‘Well now, *what?* what *can* Italy possess, that England does not enjoy in a still greater degree?’

“ ‘It’s recollections, and all that interest time gives.’

“ ‘And is England wanting in this? Are there not the Conqueror, or if you will, Alfred, Elizabeth, Shakespeare? Think of Shakespeare, my dear young lady, and Sir Walter Scott, and the Gunpowder Plot, and Oliver Cromwell, my dear Miss Eve, and Westminster Abbey, and London Bridge, and George IV, the descendant of a line of real kings.’

“ ‘Very interesting, no doubt, but Italy has its relics of former ages too; you forget the Cæsars.’

“ ‘Very good persons in their way, for barbarous times, but what can they be to the English monarchs? . . . Then there are the noble ruins of England! *They* you must admit are unrivalled.’

“ ‘The temple of Pæstum, is commonly thought an interesting ruin, Mr. Howel.’

“ ‘Yes, for a *temple*, I dare say. But no temple can ever compare to a ruined *abbey*.’

“ ‘Taste is an arbitrary thing, Tom Howel, as we all know,’ said Mr. Effingham, willing to put an end to this discussion. ‘I am anxious to make you acquainted with our countryman, Mr. Powis, and this is an English friend, who I am certain, will be happy to know so warm an admirer of his own country,—Sir George Templemore.’

“ ‘Mr. Howel had never before seen a titled Englishman, and he was taken so much by surprise, that he made his salutations rather awkwardly. He soon however recovered his self-possession.

“ ‘I hope you have brought back a sound American heart, Miss Eve,’ resumed Howel, ‘I have all along trusted too much to your patriotism, to believe you would marry a foreigner.’

“ ‘I hope you except Englishmen,’ cried Sir George, gaily, ‘we are almost the same people.’

“ ‘I am proud to hear you say so, sir, nothing flatters me more, than to be thought English,’ &c. &c.—Vol. ii. pp. 37, 44.

So much for the lover of England, now for the true-hearted American.



“ ‘ You must be much gratified, Miss Effingham,’ observed Mr. Wenham, who, like a true American, being a young man himself, supposed it *de rigueur* to address a young lady in preference to any other person present, ‘ with the great progress made by our country since you went abroad.’

“ Eve simply answered, that her extreme youth, when she left home, had prevented her retaining any precise notions; ‘ one like myself,’ she added, ‘ who remembers only older countries, is more apt to be struck with deficiencies, than with what may in truth be improvements, though still far short of excellencies.’

“ Mr. Wenham looked vexed, or indignant would be a better word; but he succeeded in preserving his coolness; a thing not always easy to one of provincial habits and education, when he finds his own *beau ideal* lightly estimated by others.

“ ‘ Have you read the articles in the *Hebdomad*, signed Minerva, Miss Effingham?’ said he, determined to try her on a point of sentiment, having succeeded so ill in his first attempt to interest her, ‘ they are generally thought a great acquisition to American literature.’

“ ‘ Well, Wenham, you are a fortunate man,’ said Howel, ‘ if you can find any literature in America, to add to, or subtract from: beyond almanacks, reports of cases badly got up, and newspaper verses, I know nothing that deserves such a name.’

“ ‘ We may not print on as fine paper, Mr. Howel, or do up the books in as handsome bindings as other people,’ said Wenham, bridling and looking grave, ‘ but so far as sentiments and sound sense are concerned, *American* literature need turn its back on no literature of the day.’ ”—Vol. ii. pp. 50, 52.

A graver matter for consideration to the party, and especially Mr. Effingham, speedily arises, when during a pleasure excursion on the lake, in the grounds, on general attention being drawn to a particular spot, on a jutting point of great natural beauty, John Effingham informs them, that this point, although the private property of the family, is claimed by the people of the village, as theirs of right. Mr. Effingham determines not to submit to the imposition, and refers to his agent, Mr. Aristobulus Bragg, to be informed of the nature of the claim.

“ ‘ Do you gravely affirm, Mr. Bragg, that the public pretend to claim that point? You are a lawyer, and ought to give an intelligent account of their pretended right.’

“ ‘ Why, sir, your father gave it to them in his lifetime. Every body knows that; ‘ it is the common tradition of the whole country.’

“ ‘ This then only shows, how idly and inconsiderately country traditions take their rise. Tell the public, they are not the owners of the point, but that I am, and am determined to maintain my claims.’

“ ‘ It is hard to kick against the pricks, Mr. Effingham; some of those I have conversed with, have gone so far, as to desire me to

tell you, they hold your rights cheaply, and that they defy you. Your advertisement against trespassing on the point, has created one of the greatest sensations it has ever been my fortune to witness.'

" 'This ought to be very encouraging to us, Mr. Bragg; as people acting under excited feelings, are very liable to fall into error.'

" 'Very true, sir, in individual excitements, but this is a public one.'

" 'I am not aware that that alters the case. If one excited man does silly things, half a dozen backers only increase his folly.'

" Aristobulus listened with increasing wonder, for excitement was one of the means of effecting public objects, so much practised by men of his habits, that it had never crossed his mind, that any single individual could be indifferent to its existence. . . . He at length gave up, in despair, the attempt to convince Mr. Effingham. On quitting the house, he forthwith informed all, of that gentleman's determination not to be trampled on by any public meeting. Both he and Mr. Dodge agreed, that there was unheard of temerity in thus resisting the people. Among some points of resemblance between these two worthies, was the fault of confounding the cause with the effects of the institutions under which they lived. Because the law gave the public that authority, that elsewhere is entrusted to one, or to a few, they believed the public invested with far more power than a right understanding of their own principles would have shown. In a word, both these persons made a mistake that is getting too common in America, that of supposing the institutions of the country were all means and no end. Under this error, they saw only the machinery of the government, becoming entirely forgetful, that the power which was given to the people collectively, was only so given to secure to them, as perfect a liberty as possible, in their characters as individuals. Neither had risen sufficiently above vulgar notions, to understand, that public opinion, in order to be omnipotent, must be right. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Mr. Effingham and his cousin, viewed matters differently from Messrs. Bragg and Dodge. Clear-headed, just-minded and liberal, Mr. Effingham felt greatly annoyed at what had occurred.

" 'It strikes me, John,' he said, 'this is a poor return for the liberality with which I let others use my property thirty years. Unequalled pecuniary prosperity, may sensibly impair manners, by introducing suddenly into society, uninstructed and untrained men and women,—may corrupt morals,—but I confess, I did not expect to see the day, when a body of strangers, birds of passage, should assume a right, to call on the older, long-established inhabitants, to prove their claims to their possessions.'

" 'Long established!' repeated John Effingham; laughing, 'have you not been absent a dozen years, and do not these people reduce everything to the level of their own habits? These people deem everything reduced to the six legal months required to vote, and that rotation in persons, is as necessary to republicanism, as rotation in

office. Look around you, and you will see adventurers uppermost everywhere,—in the government, in your towns, in the country; we are a nation of changes, men are become impatient of any sameness, though it be useful. Of the two, I should prefer the cold, dogged, domination of English law, with its fruits, to the heartlessness of a sophistication, without a parallel,—to being trampled upon, by every blackguard, that may happen to traverse this valley, in his wanderings after dollars. There is one thing you yourself must admit; the public are a little too apt to neglect duties they ought to discharge, and to assume duties they have no right to fulfil.'—Vol. ii. chap. xv.

The result of all this is, that Mr. Effingham maintains his right, and for having done so, is not only defamed and abused in the village, but his conduct is denounced by Mr. Dodge in his newspaper. The clamour is at once taken up by the press throughout the country, without enquiry. "It was in print, and that struck the great majority of the editors and their readers, as sufficient; and this rank injustice was done a private citizen, as much without moral restraint, as without remorse, by those, who to take their own account of the matter, were the regular and habitual champions of human rights."

There are several other equally unflattering pictures of the social condition of the United States, by our author, which we would gladly dwell on, bringing out, as they do, all the salient points of the national character; but our limits forbid us. What the cure for the existing evils is to be, becomes a serious question, when, according to Mr. Cooper's own confession, they have reached their present alarming height with such rapidity and vigour of growth, and are still daily and hourly increasing. Mr. Cooper would not seem to see his way very clearly in the matter of finding the desired remedy, as his views of the present order or rather *disorder* of things, vary in different parts of the work before us. At one time his tone is desponding—amelioration seems impossible, and his characters are made to announce their intention of speedily absenting themselves once again from their country, to seek in foreign lands that *tolerance*, regularity and quiet, they cannot find in their own. At another moment our author has begun to entertain hopes, more or less strong, of improvement, and he dwells upon the few points of good that yet remain standing and evident, above the whelming stream of national corruption, with an energy quite equal to that of his former denunciations. Again, at a third time, he seems to balance

between the two extreme opinions, endeavouring, as it were, to find a mean between them.

“There are limits to the knowledge and tastes and habits of every man. As each is regulated by the opportunities of the individual, it follows of necessity that no one can have a standard much above his own experience. That an isolated and remote people should be a provincial people, or, in other words, a people of narrow and peculiar practices and opinions, is as unavoidable as that study should make a scholar; though, in the case of America, the great reason for wonder is, that causes so very obvious should produce so little effect. When compared with the bulk of other nations, the Americans, though so remote, are scarcely provincial; for it is only when the highest standard of this nation is compared with that of others, that we detect the existing great deficiency. That a moral foundation so broad should uphold a superstructure so narrow, is owing to the fact, that the popular sentiment has domination; and all being referred to judges who, in the nature of things must be of limited attainments, the decision participates in the qualities of the tribunal. The great mistake has been the supposing that, because the mass rules in the political sense, it has a right to rule in all other matters. It is to be hoped, that time, and a greater concentration of taste, liberality and knowledge, than can well distinguish a young and scattered population, will repair this evil; and that our children will reap the harvest of the broad fields of intelligence that have been sown by us. Meantime, the present generation must endure that which cannot easily be cured,” &c. &c.—Vol. iii. p. 24-5.

It is always an easy thing to write, when the faults and imperfections of others are our theme. There is an unfortunate proneness in human nature to dwell upon such a subject,—a proneness, which true religion, whose essence is charity, condemns and reprobates, as energetically and as repeatedly as it does the most flagrant and most undefended vice of a direct and positive nature. This facility is very much increased, when those we write about offer such glaring points of attack as do the Americans, and, indeed, censure is seldom more excusable, than when directed against them. But censure is only excusable when administered with the sincere purpose of friendly correction, and with temper, if with severity. So administered, it becomes most laudable; but these conditions must be observed with great care. The slightest exhibition of personal feelings—the slightest approach to insult upon those on whom we remark, must be sedulously avoided; as, independent of other considerations, calculated utterly to defeat the end we profess to have in view. The often-quoted expression of “Junius” tells us, that “injuries may be atoned for and for-

given, but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge." Mr. Cooper ought to have borne this in mind when he conceived the idea of writing *Ere Effingham*. He has put strongly before the world, with all the authenticity and influences of his name and position, representations, there is every reason to believe accurate, of much of what deserves reprehension in the social condition and manners of his countrymen: and from the sensitiveness they have displayed to the attacks of others, who, as foreigners, were of course likely to be less well-informed and to carry less weight with them, there would have been good ground for hoping some improvement from his *exposé*,—but that hope is destroyed by the frequent unnecessary insults offered by him in many parts of the present work, to American self-love. He has thus deprived himself of the only good and plausible answer to the charge of *treachery*, so loudly and directly urged against him by his exasperated fellow-countrymen.

If he has played them false, he has played yet more falsely to the duties of his position as a public writer. As we have said at the commencement of this article, not one word do the six volumes we have been reviewing, contain, on the subject of the people of colour in America! And this, when three of those volumes contain frequent discussions upon the social state of that country, and the other three are avowedly and entirely devoted to an examination and exposition of that state. This is indeed the play of *Hamlet*, omitting the Prince of Denmark. That subject, that is, and has been, disturbing and convulsing the Union,—on its borders, by the wars of extermination with the plundered and maddened Indians; and in its interior and to its very centre, by the base, atrocious and worse than heathenish conduct observed towards the unhappy negroes, and those who dare to speak one word of justice, or of kindness towards them: that question, pregnant with the worst—the most fearful—almost the only real dangers to the republic—that question, Mr. Cooper does not once touch upon! There can be but two reasons for his abstinence on this point; let him choose between them; and let the world judge how fitting it is for a man actuated by either, to set himself up as a judge, or corrector of others. Either he is one of those, who outrage humanity by sanctioning and approving the manner in which the Negroes and the Indians are treated, or he has been *afraid* to speak out: he has truckled to the majority more basely and more vilely than

ever yet was done by any among the large classes, that he informs us, he personifies in the character of Mr. Bragg and Mr. Dodge. In direct and full proportion to the tremendous importance of the question at issue between the whites and the two races they trample on, is the degree of turpitude and disgrace deliberately and wantonly incurred by Mr. Cooper.

We cannot close our remarks, without expressing our astonishment, that in a work professing to lay open America to our view, the important subject of her religious condition; her immense variety of religious professions, &c. should not have been touched upon, or so very lightly, as almost to have escaped notice. We could have wished to have entered upon this curious and interesting subject, but his allusions to it offer no peg to hang our remarks on, and we must therefore defer its consideration to some other, and we hope speedy opportunity.

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ART. XI.—*Musical Reminiscences: containing an Account of the Italian Opera in England from 1773. Fourth Edition, continued to the present time, and including the Festival in Westminster Abbey.* By the Earl of Mount-Edgumbe. London: 1834.

THE “Decline of the Drama” is the burthen of a lament, which, ever and anon, is permitted to escape the lips and pens of those whose habits and tastes, rather than the voluntary suffrage of others, have erected into *arbiters* on the subject. Whether the complaints be just or not, our experience is not sufficiently extensive to determine. To us the general run of both performers and performances hath been distasteful enough, as long as memory serveth us; but whether they were better, *on the average*—for that is the fair point for consideration—in days by-gone, we really cannot decide. We certainly do not believe that there now exists the man who could write the play of “Hamlet;” neither do we think that “Julius Cæsar” could, just at this moment, be cast as we have seen it, “even in our boyish days;” nevertheless, taking all that can be included in the phrase “state of the Drama,” we opine that the plaint already noticed, is only part and parcel of the common dogma of those whose memory of past pleasures, hath outlived their present power of enjoyment; and who, therefore, fancy that things are not as they were wont to be—



—— “ in their young days,  
When George the Third was king.”

Touching this mighty question of the state of the drama generally, we have nothing to say. It is too large a matter for our humble powers; we must, therefore, leave it to critics more competent—to critics, who, having less indifference towards the subject than we ourselves, are candid enough to plead guilty of, can approach it with all that knowledge, which, as Helvetius telleth us, interest gives, and indeed alone can give.\*—Under this impression, it is our intention, to confine ourselves in the following few pages,—and we promise the reader they shall be but few—to a simple section only of the whole subject:—a section which, whether the reader agree with us or not, we take leave most dogmatically to pronounce the most delectable, simply because it most delighteth us;—we mean the state of the Italian musical drama, as exhibited in this country.

The idea of occupying an occasional evening, by theorizing on our own experiences, first suggested itself to our minds after a perusal of the pleasant little volume at the head of this chapter; and if we are sometimes induced to differ with the noble author, as to his rationale of certain changes which have taken place, we must, at all events, set out by recording the very great satisfaction we have experienced, on the whole, from the perusal of his book. The fact that his lordship does theorize on the statement he records, strips his work of the character of a dry chronicle,—a sort of book we abhor. Whilst perusing his *Reminiscences*, we feel that we are, as it were, commercing with the emanations of a mind accustomed to investigate the sources of its own emotions. We sympathize with his lordship's enthusiasm, even while we differ with some of his doctrines; and as we stumble upon points which have not unfrequently occupied our own thoughts, we feel that Lord Mount-Edgumbe is precisely the man with whom we should like to have a hard, but by no means an angry, discussion.

The first edition of Lord Mount-Edgumbe's *Reminiscences*, published anonymously, comprised a period of half a century; the last edition extends the period to sixty years,—a long musical experience certainly. Our own recollection of the opera exceeds a quarter of a century; but all that we retain of our early visits is, the vivid emotion of delight

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\* Vide Helvetius “ De l'Esprit,” *passim*.

with which we listened to the music of the *Zauberflöte*, then (1811-12) the favourite opera of the season. We have not since heard it; though its recent revival at Drury-lane theatre afforded an opportunity of so doing.\*

Lord Mount-Edgumbe is among those who are of opinion that the Italian musical drama has not escaped that all-pervading deterioration which we hear so much of. He says:—

“ So great a change has taken place within these few years, that I can no longer receive from it any pleasure approaching to that which I used to experience. The remembrance of the past is, therefore, much more agreeable than the enjoyment of the present; and I derive the highest gratification, that music can yet afford me, from hearing again, or barely recalling to mind, what gave me such unqualified delight.”—*Introduction*, p. viii.

That whilst the character of the singers has, of late years, rather improved than deteriorated, that of the operas produced, has, at the same time, decidedly declined, we apprehend cannot be denied; but, that on the whole, the opera has ceased to be worth attending, as Lord Mount-Edgumbe asserts, is a proposition to which we cannot agree. The rationale of his Lordship's feeling is well understood by the world. That which delights in childhood, becomes distasteful in manhood; whilst the objects which interest us in manhood, again lose their power over us in age. The “ remembrance of the past ” is more agreeable than “ the enjoyment of the present.” Something, then, must be allowed for that natural change which takes place in the human mind, so exquisitely characterized by Byron:—

“ No more!—no more!—oh never more on me,  
The freshness of the heart can fall like dew,  
Which out of all the lovely things we see,  
Extracts emotions, beautiful and new,  
Hived in our bosoms like the bag o' the bee.  
Think'st thou the honey with those objects grew?  
Alas! 'twas not in them, but in thy power  
To double e'en the sweetness of a flower.”

There is another circumstance which ought, in fairness, to be taken into the account, and may help to explain his lordship's view of the subject,—a circumstance on which we are disposed to lay great stress. During the period to which

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\* We may here mention, that from the high character of the music assigned to nearly all the characters, it is almost impossible to do justice to this opera on any stage. It is said to require sixteen or eighteen first-rate singers!

his lordship's little treatise refers, he has been continually refining and improving his musical taste and knowledge; thus he has been continually rendering himself more alive to the faults and abuses of the opera; so that even had the character of the drama, the music, and the performers, somewhat improved, the improvement would not have been apparent to his lordship, unless it had shot rather a-head of the continued refinement of the critic's musical taste. By parity of reasoning, deterioration would appear of two-fold degree.

More than one hundred pages of his lordship's little volume are filled up with a chronological sketch of the opera up to the time of Catalani, when, according to the Reminiscent's opinion, the opera was in the highest state of perfection. With this part of the volume, we have but little to do; nevertheless, we find some of his lordship's criticisms so just—so completely indicative of a refined and cultivated taste—that we cannot avoid making a few extracts. The first we shall offer is a short critique on Braham's singing and compositions, but more especially on the former:—

“ Though it seems needless to say much of so well known a performer, yet it is impossible to pass over a singer of Braham's reputation, without some remark. All must acknowledge that his voice is of the finest quality, of great power, and occasional sweetness. It is equally certain that he has great knowledge of music, and can sing extremely well. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that he should ever do otherwise,—that he should ever quit the natural register of his voice, by raising it to an unpleasant falsetto, or force it by too violent exertion;—that he should depart from a good style and correct taste, which he knows and can follow as well as any man, to adopt, at times, the over-florid and frittered Italian manner; at others, to fall into the coarseness and vulgarity of the English. The fact is, he can be two distinct singers, according to the audience before whom he performs; and that to gain applause, he condescends to sing as ill at the playhouse, as he has done well at the opera. His compositions have the same variety; and he can equally write a popular noisy song for the one, or its very opposite for the other. A duetto of his, introduced into the opera of “ *Gli Orazi*,” sung by himself and Grassini, had great beauty, and was in excellent taste.” —p. 97-8.

Such of our readers as have heard Braham sing, “ *Comfort ye my people*,” at an oratorio, and some gallery song, in some such character as *Tom Tug*, will be sensible of the force of the criticism. Fifteen years since, Braham's execution of “ *Comfort ye my people*,” was as near per-

fection as anything we can well imagine ; but the roaring of "The Bay of Biscay, oh !" we presume, proves more profitable ; so that, after all, the viciousness of taste often, nay, always, of late years, displayed in everything Braham has undertaken, is chargeable chiefly upon his audiences.\*

Lord Mount-Edgumbe has a sort of holy horror of the *wonderful* in execution, in which we most cordially agree. Speaking of Catalani, he says :

"It were to be wished that she was less lavish in the display of those wonderful powers, and sought to please rather than surprise ; but her taste is vicious—her excessive love of ornament spoiling every simple air ; and her great delight (indeed, her chief merit) being in songs of a bold and spirited character, where much is left to her discretion (or indiscretion) without being confined to the accompaniment, but in which she can indulge in *ad libitum* passages, with a luxuriance and redundancy no other singer ever possessed—or, if possessing, ever practised—and which she carries to a fantastic excess. She is fond of singing variations on some known and simple airs ; and latterly, has pushed this taste to the height of absurdity, by singing, even without words, variations composed for the fiddle..... Whenever I hear such an outrageous display of execution, either vocal or instrumental, I never fail to recollect, and cordially join in the opinion of a late noble statesman, more famous for his wit than for love of music, who, hearing a remark on the extreme *difficulty* of some performance, observed, 'that he wished it had been *impossible*.' "†—p. 101.

There is not a single word in the above paragraph to which we should hesitate to subscribe. We never yet heard a *surprising* performer, either vocal or instrumental, who had the power to excite in our mind those vivid emotions which we expect from music in its most perfect state. If we desired to be astonished, we should not dream of seeking it in music, but should straightway visit Signor Hervio Nano, the celebrated man fly, or the Bedouin Arabs, to neither of whom can the most flexible throat ever hope to approach in the power of exciting that feeling. To the opera we go to be delighted, not surprised ; and delight we *do* experience in spite of the

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\* Before a committee of the House of Commons, Braham said he distinguished between the applause he received from the boxes and from the galleries ; and declared that the latter was becoming more discriminating from year to year.

† "This *bon mot* has usually been given to Dr. Johnson ; but I have reason to know it was said by the noble lord alluded to, of whom a similar one is recorded respecting his distaste for music. Being asked why he did not subscribe to the ancient concerts, and it being urged as a reason for it, that his brother, the bishop of W———did, 'Oh,' replied his lordship, 'if I were as deaf as my brother, I would subscribe too.' "—Note to p. 101.

many abuses which his lordship points out, and many of which certainly do want reforming.

Lord Mount-Edgumbe contends, that it was "soon after Catalani's departure that a new era (the era of abuses) began." It appears to us, that his lordship does not prove his case. The existence of the abuses we admit and deplore, but we cannot perceive that they are of modern growth. His lordship himself speaks of Catalani's prevailing vice, and he gives various other instances of malpractices previous to the "new era."

The following is his lordship's statement of the changes of which he complains:—

"The opera in England, for a period of ten years after the departure of Catalani, will afford much less room for observation than any of the preceding, as far as the singers are concerned; for with one or two exceptions, there were not any of whom I feel inclined to say much, because there is not much to be said in their praise. But so great a change has taken place in the character of the dramas, in the style of the music, and in its performance, that I cannot help enlarging a little on that subject before I proceed farther.

"One of the most material alterations is, that the grand distinction between serious and comic operas is nearly at an end, the separation of the singers for their performance entirely so. Not only do the same sing in both, but a new species of drama has arisen—a kind of mongrel between them—called a semi-seria, which bears the same analogy to the other two that that nondescript the melodrama does to the legitimate tragedy and comedy of the English stage. The construction of these newly invented pieces is essentially different from the old. The dialogue, which used to be carried on in recitative, and which in Metastasio's operas is often so beautiful and interesting, is now cut up (and rendered unintelligible if it were worth listening to) into *pezzi concertati*, or long singing conversations, which present a tedious succession of unconnected, ever-changing motions, having nothing to do with each other; and if a satisfactory air is for a moment introduced, which the ear would like to dwell upon, to hear modulated, varied, and again returned to, it is broken off before it is well understood, or sufficiently heard, by a sudden transition into a totally different melody, time, and key, and returns no more; so that no impression can be made, or recollection of it preserved. Simple songs are almost exploded, for which one good reason may be given—that there are few singers capable of singing them. Even a prima donna, who would formerly have complained at having less than three or four airs allotted to her, is now satisfied with one trifling cavatina for a whole opera.

"The acknowledged decline of singing in general (which the Italians themselves are obliged to confess) has, no doubt, in a great measure, occasioned this change. But another cause has certainly

contributed to it ; and that is, the difference of the voices of the male performers. Sopranos have long ceased to exist, but tenors for a long time filled their place. Now, even these have become so scarce, that Italy can produce no more than two or three good ones. The generality of voices are basses, which, for want of better, are thrust up into the first characters, even in serious operas, (where they used to occupy the last place,) to the manifest injury of melody, and total subversion of harmony, in which the lowest part is their peculiar province.

“These new first singers are called by the novel appellation of *basso cantante*, (which, by the bye, is a kind of apology, and a sort of acknowledgement, that they ought not to sing,) and take the lead in operas with almost as much propriety as if the double bass were to do so in the orchestra, and take the part of the first fiddle. A bass voice is too unbending and deficient in sweetness for single songs, and fit only for those of inferior character, or of the buffo style. In duettos, it does not coalesce well with the female voice, on account of the too great distance between them ; and in fuller pieces, the ear cannot be satisfied without some good, intermediate voices to fill up the interval, and complete the harmony. Yet three or four bass now frequently overpower one weak tenor, who generally plays but a subordinate part.”—pp. 118-122.

Some of the evils enumerated in the above extract exist in full force at the present day ;\* others, we think, are scarcely predicable of the present state of the opera.

The first complaint urged in the above extract, namely, the *almost* total want of distinction between serious and comic operas, and the entire want of distinction among the singers in their performance, does not appear to us to be such an evil as our author supposes. Let us for a moment exclude from our minds the idea of music, and confine ourselves to what is usually called the “legitimate drama,” and we shall find that the successful performance of tragedy and comedy by no means requires two distinct sets of actors, who are on no account to encroach upon each other’s province. In a tragedy (except in a few cases of domestic tragedy, such, for instance, as the *Gamester*, where every individual in the piece is expected to be perpetually in a dolorous mood, and where the audience is deemed very hard-hearted, if not equally so,) it is not above two, or at the most three, of the characters which require to be filled by decidedly tragic actors. Moreover in most tragedies there is generally room for one, two, or three purely comic actors : all the rest are very worthy personages

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\* Of the state of the opera during the present season nothing can as yet be predicated ; our “present day,” therefore, has reference to the last two seasons.



in their way, who are expected to get through the play as their prototypes got through the world—respectably; and who take a sort of medium position—like Garrick in the picture—between comedy and tragedy. The tragedy of *Hamlet*, for instance, has its Polonius and its Grave-digger; in our time played by comic actors, perfect in their kind,—namely, Munden and Emery, and latterly Dowton; whilst the Horatios, and the Cassios, and the Roderigos, and Bernardos, *et id genus omne*, are to be found making up the mass of characters in almost every tragedy and comedy with which we are acquainted. What is wanted is a good working company of general actors—actors of all work, with a few of superior comic powers, and still fewer of high tragic powers.

Now if this be true of the acting drama, it is still more true of the opera, where the structure of the *libretto* is much more inartificial; the story being more simple, the characters fewer in number, and the plot and incidents much less complicated. Had we been called upon to say what we conceived to be the sort of drama best adapted for the opera, we should certainly have given the preference to that species of mixed drama which his lordship deprecates. In such mixed dramas the serious will in some cases predominate, the comic in others; and this, we take it, is all the distinction that ever did prevail, except in some rare cases, such as the opera of *Agnes*, (a musical tragedy, as domestic as the *Gamester*,) on the one hand; and some few, which are so ultra comic, as to rank as farces rather than comedies, such, for instance, as *La Prova d'un Opera Seria*, on the other. To keep a distinct company for these extremes would involve an expense which would, we fear, tend to impair the excellence of both, and deteriorate the opera in all its departments.

That too little attention is paid to the structure of the drama, is an evil which we greatly deplore. The plot, in many cases, is so extremely confused as to amount to no plot at all. *I Puritani* is a sample of this. It is not until the opera has made very considerable progress, that the whole scheme is indicated. It is, indeed, wonderful how so much confusion can be produced with so small a number of characters; the more especially as the whole opera is busied in working out no more than a couple of incidents.

With the language of the libretti generally we have but little to quarrel, neither does Lord Mount-Edgumbe find much fault with it, confining his condemnation to the new dramas written for Rossini's music. The language of the

libretto is for the most part extremely simple, though impassioned. Variety of expression is very properly left where it should be—to the music; and lastly, the prosody of the language is especially attended to—a point which all but the Italians and the Germans entirely neglect.\*

There is an absurdity common enough in our English operas, which the Italians generally, though we are sorry to say not always, avoid. We mean some such an incident as this:—Two sighing lovers are persecuted by a cruel tyrant—a powerful rival or a guardian, for instance; they fly, are closely pursued, reach within a single step of the point of safety, and are just congratulating themselves thereon, when the tyrant's footsteps are heard. Hereupon occurs a little stage hurry-scurry. The lovers rush tumultuously round the stage three several times, passing at each turn the point which lead to safety. Suddenly the lover stops, begins to sing something about tyrants and chains, and love and chains, drawing, of course, a most beautiful epigrammatic contrast between the two sorts of chains, which makes the lady simper amazingly. All this time the tyrant's footsteps are arrested. At length the song is over, when the footsteps are heard again. Hereupon there is more hurry-scurry, the lovers circumnavigate the stage three times more, and at length actually do escape, by a path or way that has been open to them all the while. This done, the "cruel tyrant" enters, treats their escape as something almost supernatural, and sings a song—a bass song, of course—telling the audience what he would have done if he had caught them. We have sometimes heard a child put a natural question concerning a scene of this kind, which embodied a just criticism on the practice from which the Italian drama is tolerably free.

Thus, then, our conclusion is, that as regards the mere structure of the drama, considered as a vehicle for the higher order of musical compositions, Lord Mount-Edgumbe has scarcely made out his case. Turn we now to the performers, and musical composers, and their productions.

Taking the more recent half of the period of his lordship's reminiscences, which may be said to date from the commencement of his new era, we find him carefully reviewing the talents and acquirements of the principal singers who have occupied prominent positions on the opera stage. Those who

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\* The last we heard of poor Bellini, a short time before his death, was, that he was residing in the neighbourhood of Paris, and studying the prosody of the French language, in order to compose an opera to a French drama.

have been fortunate enough to engage his lordship's attention, and to be deemed worthy of his praise, are far from numerous. Among the females we find, Fodor, Camporese, Ronzi de Begnis, Caradori, Pasta, and the Signorina Garcia, (the lamented Malibran) at her first appearance. The talents of all of these are characterized with discrimination, and in most cases—Ronzi de Begnis, Camporese, and Pasta, for instance—lauded to an extent somewhat to shake his lordship's doctrine of deterioration. To the exquisite taste and lady-like manner of Camporese, in particular, ample justice is done; but though considerable praise is bestowed upon Pasta, his lordship appears to us scarcely to appreciate her great powers as an actress as well as a musician. To our mind, no one since the best days of Siddons has at all approached her in *action*. We can conceive nothing more classical and chaste than her performance of Medea. With every disadvantage of figure and stature, she managed to throw into the part a degree of dignity, which, excepting the great name we have ventured to introduce as a standard of comparison, we cannot associate with our recollection of any other actress.\*

Of her singing, whether we consider it in reference to taste, knowledge, or execution, we can pay it no higher compliment than to say, that it bears the severest comparison with her acting; indeed, taking the sum of her qualifications, both natural and acquired, we doubt if the musical world has on any occasion seen her equal. Even with the recollection of that exquisite piece of acting and singing—the *Amina* of Malibran—fresh in our mind, we can recal no pleasureable emotions equal to those which Pasta has excited.

The mention of Malibran induces us to give our author's record of her first appearance in this country as little more than a child, and to append thereto some recollections of our own:—

“ — In order to repair these losses, (those of Ronzi de Begnis and Camporese,) it became necessary to engage a young singer, daughter of the tenor Garcia, who had sung here for several seasons. She was as yet a mere girl, and had never appeared on any public stage; but from the first moment of her appearance she showed evident talents for it, both as a singer and as an actress. Her extreme youth, her prettiness, her pleasing voice, and sprightly, easy

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\* One of the most finished public speakers of the present day, unfortunately for the country not at this moment in the House of Commons, informed the writer of this article, that he had derived some hints as to gesture from this distinguished actress.

action, as Rosina, in the *Barbiere di Seviglia*, in which part she made her debüt, gained her general favour; but she was too highly extolled, and injudiciously put forward as a prima donna, when she was only a very promising debutante, who in time, by study and practice, would, in all probability, under the tuition of her father, a good musician, but (to my ears, at least,) a most disagreeable singer, rise to eminence in her profession. But in the following year she went, with her whole family, (all of whom, old and young, are singers, *tant bons que mauvais*,) to establish an Italian opera in America; where, it is said, she is married, so that she will probably never return to this country, if to Europe."

We may here mention that the establishment of the Italian Opera at New York created, as it was likely to do, a complete revolution in taste, or more properly speaking, it generated a taste for the higher order of musical composition. After Garcia's visit, all the singing young ladies of the place, and they are almost as numerous as in London, abandoned "We're a Noddin," and "Home, sweet Home," for "Di piacer," and "Una voce poco fa." There was a corresponding improvement in manner; in short, the musical world took its tone from the Garcia family.

That Malibran *did* return to Europe, arose out of the unfortunate character of her marriage. She was really taken in. Her husband had engaged deeply in the speculative mania of 1825, was irretrievably involved at the time of his marriage, and failed very shortly after. Suspicion arose that in marrying her he merely speculated on her talent; a separation took place, and ultimately they were divorced. She afterwards married De Beriot, a violin player of considerable talent, with whom, we believe, she lived happily until her untimely loss; an event which created a marked sensation throughout Europe and America.

Apologising to the reader for this short history, which somewhat breaks in upon our subject, we shall merely add, that several male singers at the same time receive his lordship's praise, especially De Begnis, Curione, and Zuchelli, and (as actors) Ambrogetti and Naldi. Zuchelli's voice, his lordship characterises as the richest, mellowest, and most flexible basso voice he ever heard, and the merits of the others are pointed out with his usual discrimination; every word of his praise, be it observed, going against his theory of the deterioration of the singers.

We now approach his lordship's definite complaint of the extinction of sopranos (male), the paucity of tenors, and the

increased business assigned to the bassos, as stated in the long extract given at page 534.

In the first place, we must candidly avow that a difficulty stands in the way of our judgment on the first of the above three points, inasmuch as the class of singers alluded to was lost to the Anglo-Italian stage long before our time; with one recent exception, which, as we never happened to be in England when he was performing, it was not our fortune to hear. Nevertheless we cannot conceive that the association of a pleasurable emotion with voices of that class, can possibly belong to a sound and healthy taste. In speaking of Veluti's first appearance, Lord Mount-Edgumbe himself admits, that the first sound of his voice produced a *shock* upon the audience, for which they were wholly unprepared, although packed for the occasion, and pledged to support the singer. Such voices violate all our associations, and Lord Mount-Edgumbe himself grieves, that an interval of twenty-five years had proved too strong for his ancient associations in favour of "the divine Pacchierotte;" and when he again listened to a voice of that class, though he admitted it was a good one, it is easy to perceive his lordship could not conceal his disgust.

With regard to the second complaint, we cannot help thinking it is not that tenors have become really scarce, but that good bassos have become more plentiful.

In the old operas, his lordship tells us, nothing of any importance was written for the basso, who had a low part assigned to him, being generally a mere comic actor. Now, the basso is always a singer, and frequently a first-rate singer. The very phrase *basso cantante*, as the reader will have seen, his lordship treats as an apology for setting the basso to sing. Granting the change, we cannot join his lordship in condemning it. We should not object to an orchestra wherein all the double basses were Dragonettis—all the violoncelli, Lindleys. A man, gifted with a basso voice of a good quality, who should cultivate it highly, would naturally demand that contemporary composers should write for him. The public, too, would back this demand, and thus would arise the basso cantante. The basso part of several operas being thus elevated to the singer, and not the singer "thrust up into the first characters," a new inducement would be afforded to cultivate other basso voices. Let it be for a moment supposed, that a Tamburini had sprung up among the old, unimportant bassos; would he not immediately

have demanded of a Mozart or a Bellini an appropriate part? Between the question and the answer there is not room even for a momentary doubt. If this single Tamburini had kept possession of the stage for a few years, so as to give time for the production of several operas with basso-cantante parts, would not this circumstance, together with the popularity of the singer, have excited competitors? Evidently so. It is the Tamburinjs and the Lablaches who give importance to the parts, as the Dragonettis and the Lindleys call into notice their previously half-neglected instruments. To compare the position occupied by the great singers whose names we have made to stand for a class, with "the double-bass playing the part of the fiddle in the orchestra" is egregiously over-strained.

Lord Mount-Edgumbe seems to have a faint glimmering of what we take to be the true rationale of the improved character of basso voices, where he expresses surprise that the part of *Il Don Giovanni* should be written for a basso instead of a tenor, but at the same time suggests that it must have been written *expressly for some celebrated singer*. Just so. A singer of peculiar powers will make it worth a manager's while to have parts prepared, calculated for the exhibition of those powers; after which the said parts will, as we have stated, stand as a point of attraction, as it were, for calling forth similar powers wheresoever they may be to be found.

Besides this set of consequences, as likely to flow from a single instance of a superior basso, we may observe, that the public taste may receive a direction from the same cause. Take Lablache as an instance. To a bass voice of vast, of unparalleled power and volume, he adds a perfect knowledge of his art in every branch. It is easy to perceive that he is a great favourite. Now there may be other men with similar voices not yet called forth; but until public opinion had pronounced itself, the inducement to cultivate them was but small.

Taking the opera company of the last season, Lablache and Tamburini, Rubini and Ivanoff,\* Grisi, Persiani, Assandri,

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\* At the Philharmonic Concert of April 22, Ivanoff sang Mozart's exquisite air of "O Cara Imagine," from *Il Flauto Magico*, in a manner but little short of perfection. The "Spectator" of the 25th of April, (the only paper in London the musical criticisms of which are worth reading, and they are excellent,) observes thereon: "Ivanoff's song was perfectly beautiful. The chaste simplicity with which he delivered Mozart's exquisite passages, the sweetness and purity of his tone, and the truth of his expression, combined to stamp on this performance the character of faultless excellence."



together with Catone, Brambilla, and some others who performed the opera buffa at the Lyceum, we certainly cannot subscribe to his lordship's lamentation as to any want of good voices; moreover, when we reflect that Begrez is still among us, (though he has long been unconnected with the opera,) we should say, that our command of tenors especially, is quite adequate to our wants.

We now come to the last ground of complaint, namely, the altered character of the modern operas, considered as musical compositions. In many respects we entirely agree with his lordship's remarks. In his condemnation of the noise of some of our modern operas, we heartily join with him; but we cannot sympathize with his somewhat exclusive enthusiasm in favour of the quiet and even tenour of Paësiello's productions. From the manner in which his lordship dwells on the unadorned simplicity of the school which he so much admires, he cannot well avoid a feeling of regret that the arch-reformer, Mozart, should have broken in upon the dreamy sweetness of the writers who preceded him. Exquisite has been the enjoyment which we ourselves have derived from Paësiello's compositions;\* but it is, at the same time, less in degree that the gratification we have experienced from the richness and great variety of *Il Don Giovanni*, *Figaro*, *La Clemenza de Tito*, and *Così fan tutti*, perfect as they are in all their varieties; from the highly wrought concerted pieces, (exquisitely harmonised as they are, and never noisy, as in some of Rossini's *pezzi concertati*,) to the simple melody of *Vedrai Carino*, or *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto*.

The fact is, the public taste has long ceased to be satisfied with the simple compositions with which it used formerly to be content. It admires simplicity still; but not with an exclusive and undivided passion. It demands a more spirit-stirring variety, which is not only agreeable in itself, but seems to render occasional simplicity more appreciable. For this reason it is that Mozart's operas retain their hold upon the public mind, excluded though they be from the opera stage.

Lord Mount-Edgumbe regrets the "cutting up" of the dialogue, which used to be carried on in recitative into *pezzi concertati*. In this regret the musical public will not go with him, and moreover, will dispute, along with us, every inch

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\* Especially in private concerts.

of the ground his lordship takes up. Mind, it is not at present a question between good and bad concerted pieces; but between the presence and absence of such pieces. Harmonized music is what is especially looked for. The public has been long enough accustomed to it to appreciate it, and to be unwilling to part with it: and its best defence, as compared with the long recitative dialogue is, that it is more essentially *music*; in other words, it is what people go to the opera to hear.

The abuse of the pezzo-concertato, and more especially of the chorus, is another matter. We doubt much if the chorus be adapted to the stage; and if used at all, should certainly be resorted to but sparingly. The *Siege of Corinth*, as performed the year before last at Drury-lane, affords a sample of the abuse of the chorus; the whole opera is a perpetual series of noisy, brazen, distracting choruses, to which the following just remarks are especially applicable:—

“It is really distressing to hear the leading voice strained almost to cracking, in order to be audible over a full chorus, strengthened often by trombones, trumpets, kettle-drums, and all the noisiest instruments. I confess that I derive little or no pleasure from these pieces, which, to my ears, are scarcely music, but mere noise.”—p. 124.

Our mind recurs with pleasure to some few choruses which contrast finely with those of the noisy class, which we view with distaste equal to that which is displayed in the above extract. Two especially occur to us, as being models of the kind of composition now under review. They are, first, the trio and chorus in the first act of *Der Freischütz*, beginning, “Oh diese sonne,”\* and the exquisite aria and chorus, “Ah, grazzie si rendano,” in *La Clemenza di Tito*. In both these cases, the chorus, exquisite in its intrinsic character, is kept in due subordination to the principal part. In Weber’s chorus especially, where it is with the principals; it aids and accompanies, rather than overloads and oppresses, and as it occasionally is lulled, the beautiful tenor part of Max seems to burst forth with renewed sweetness. The same feature is observable in Mozart’s aria and chorus. This is the class of chorus which should alone find a place in the musical drama;—those of the noisy and brazen kind, we are ready, at any time, to join Lord Mount-Edgumbe in laying in the Red Sea.

It appears then to us that there are enough of good

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\* In the English opera of the same name, “O dread to-morrow.”

operas, and of good singers too, if there did but exist the determination to use them properly. Besides the *disminores*, the opera company, when "the season" shall have commenced in earnest, will consist of two unparalleled basses, three tenors, and three, or perhaps four sopranos, with Giulietta Grisi at their head.\* With this company, Mozart's best operas might be produced *without retrenchment*, whilst Bellini's would scarcely require above half the corps. Nothing stands in the way of putting the opera on a most attractive footing, except the want of a competent manager. There may be faults in the public taste; but they do not run to the extent of preferring bad operas to good. The opera visitors will always appreciate good operas. Mozart ranks uppermost in the public mind; and that we hear so little of his music, is owing to the lamentable fact, that the opera has for many years fallen into the hands of a *trading*, and not a *musical* manager. Lord Mount-Edgumbe's catalogue of the qualifications which a manager should possess, are certainly most formidable. A manager, according to his lordship, should be,

"Conversant with the Italian stage, a good judge of music and singers, acquainted with foreign languages and usages, of liberal ideas, not sparing of expense, but judicious in the application of it; knowing what is right, and firm in exercising his authority to enforce it; in short, one who can act for himself, and not be dependant on the ignorance or bad faith of subordinate agents. Such a one only can carry on the business of the theatre with success, and give the English public a really good Italian opera."

With such a manager,—but where, alas! is he to be found?—all minor difficulties would vanish. As the performers could not but respect his judgment, so they would implicitly obey his dicta. The much talked of quarrels of the women for precedence, would subside, and, above all, there would be no such thing as mistaking what is really the manager's own bad taste, for that of the public. It is quite impossible that a non-musical manager can have authority with highly instructed musicians. He must appeal in many cases to some one possessed of such knowledge; hence, he is liable to be influenced by the petty jealousies of a singer, instead of relying on his own unbiassed judgment. Under such circumstances, his must be a partizan management.

To an ill-instructed manager, who does not know his

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\* The great difficulty now seems to be, to find a competent *contralto*.

business, it is, doubtless, both cheap and convenient to occupy the season chiefly with one popular opera. Last year we had *I Puritani* night after night, until the public grew well nigh tired of it. What is wanted is, a better selection from the works of Mozart, Beethoven, Cimarosa, Rossini, Bellini, and others, excluding Donizetti, and taking especial care that the best works of the master are chosen, instead of the worst. With a "moderate reform" of this kind, the public will have but small cause to lament over the state of the Italian Musical Drama.

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ART. XII.—*Summary Review of French Catholic Literature, from October 1838, to April 1839.*

SINCE our last account of French literature, three new periodicals have been presented to our notice; the *Revue du Nord de la France*, a monthly journal published at Lille, which is wholly dedicated to religious subjects, and conducted with much ability, and in a highly Catholic spirit; the *Tablettes du Chrétien*, a weekly periodical, destined for the advancement of religious instruction among every class of persons, an object which the nature of its matter, and the low price at which it is sold, (12 fr. per ann.) are well calculated to ensure; each number contains instructions on the feast or gospel of the day; a meditation for every day of the week; a sketch, historical, religious, or catechetical; facts interesting to religion; an account of new books. On the first Sunday of each month, it contains an article on the points of Catholic belief; on the second, a portrait of a saint or pontiff; on the third, a piece of edifying religious intelligence; on the fourth, a relation of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. The third periodical to which we have alluded, is more limited in its object, but not less religious or less interesting to the cause of charity, than the other two. The *Ami des Sourds-muets*, (5 fr. per ann.) conducted by M. Piroux, director of the deaf and dumb asylum at Nancy, professes to explain the manner in which the deaf and dumb may be comforted and relieved, and the way in which they ought to be treated. M. Piroux is a man of considerable experience in the treatment of these persons, and his journal is worthy of the encouragement and support of all, both on account of the interest which such a production naturally excites, and the warm affection and tender charity towards these unhappy fellow-creatures, which breatheth throughout the writings of the editor.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

*Introduction historique et critique aux Livres de l'ancien et du*

*nouveau Testament*, 5 vols. 12mo. M. Glaire, professor of Hebrew to the Faculty of Theology at Paris, has undertaken in the present work, of which the first volume has already appeared, to give a general and particular introduction to the Bible, and to explain the rules of scriptural interpretation, against the system upheld by the rationalist writers of Germany. The first volume contains a general introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament, and treats, in six chapters, of the nature, excellence, inspiration, and canonicity of the sacred books; of the original texts and principal version of the polyglotts, the different senses of Scripture, the various methods of interpreting it, and the rules to be followed in interpretation. In two appendices to the sixth chapter, he succinctly explains the false system of exegesis, adopted by rationalists, and refutes their dangerous doctrines. For his account of these writers, he has been indebted to Mr. Rose's work, *The state of Protestantism in Germany described*. The second volume, which is in the press, is a supplement to the first, and embraces a dissertation on biblical archæology, a knowledge of which is so essential to the right understanding of the many allusions to Jewish customs and practices, which occur in the sacred volume. With the third volume will commence the second portion of the work, the particular introduction to each book; and in it will be given the leading questions connected with the Pentateuch, and each of the other historical books of the Old Testament, such as its object, its authenticity, its inspiration, the commentators upon it, &c. The particular introduction to the prophets, and the remaining books of the Old Testament, will form the fourth volume. The fifth will be dedicated to the New Testament. M. Glaire has the advantage of having studied the languages of the east, which are such an important requisite to the interpretation of Scripture, under two of the most celebrated scholars of our times, M. de Sacy, and M. Etienne Quatremère.

*Etudes sur le texte des Pseaumes*, 4 vols, 8vo. M. Nolhac of Lyons, the author of the present work, published, a few years ago, a similar work on Isaias. In the present work, he has endeavoured to show, that the proper method of arriving at the sense of many parts of the Psalms, is by going back to the time when they were sung in the Temple. He does not think that the Jews, in singing them, invariably followed the system of alternate choirs, but that the music was executed by a Coryphæus, and a band of singers and musicians. He therefore suggests some changes in the division of the verses, and supposes, that by the study which he has made of the Psalms, he has discovered allusions to the history and customs of the Jewish people. In a preliminary discourse, he treats of the manner of singing the Psalms; of the union of poetry, music and the dance in ancient feasts; the duties of the coryphæus and the choir; of the distribution of the Psalms, &c. This discourse displays a diligent study of the Psalms, both in the original and in the different versions; and the author expresses his belief, that the Jews are

not chargeable with having altered the original text. He advances the opinion, that St. Jerome had not sufficiently studied the manners of the ancient nations with whom the Jews came in contact. The Psalms are distributed through the four volumes of which the work consists ; there are twenty-nine in the first volume : the second volume brings us down to the sixty-eighth psalm ; the third to psalm one hundred and eight, and the fourth concludes the psalter. To each psalm are added a preamble, and numerous philological and critical notes.

*Catéchisme raisonné sur la Sainteté et la Dignité du Mariage*, 18mo. The author of this work, M. Vairon, curate of Geneva, has been convinced, by an experience of thirty years, that the profanation of the holy sacrament of matrimony, is one of the chief causes of many of the disorders which afflict religion, and are the bane of families. He has, therefore, deemed it advisable to collect into one book, the principles and maxims of the Church, respecting the dignity and sanctity of marriage ; and has written his work in the form of a catechism, to render it more adapted to the level of ordinary understandings. It contains thirty-four chapters, which treat of the dignity of marriage, of the necessary dispositions and purity of intention requisite for receiving the sacrament, of impediments, dispensations, confession, the duties of married people, the education of children, &c.

The author speaks likewise of the holiness of celibacy, of mixed and civil marriages, unfolds the doctrine of the Church upon celibacy and virginity, and shows the dangers resulting to religion, from mixed marriages.

*Lettre sur la Présence réelle*. In this small publication, M. Dolet establishes the doctrine of the real presence of our Lord in the blessed Eucharist ; his chief object has been to provide his flock with an antidote against the poisonous works, so industriously scattered by the emissaries of the Bible Society.

*Histoire de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ*, 2 vols. 8vo. It is a sufficient commendation to this work, to mention, that it is a translation from the German of the illustrious convert, the Count de Stolberg.

*Collection des Ouvrages de Frédéric Schlegel*. The translation of the works of this eminent philosopher, fills nine volumes, though any single work may be had separately. *The History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, 2 vols. 8vo. 14 francs. *Philosophy of Life*, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. *Philosophy of History*, 2 vols. 8vo. 12 francs. (This work has been translated into English, by Mr. Robertson.) *Essay on the Philosophy of the Indians*, 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. *Modern History*, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. The complete work costs only 45 francs.

*Le Siècle jugé par la Foi, ou des mœurs, de la morale et de la religion*, 8vo. *Cours abrégé de Géologie, destiné aux gens du monde, ou Développement du Tableau de l'état du globe*. M. Nérée Boubée,



whose preceding work on *Elementary Geology* advances the proofs of the deluge, and demonstrates the accordance of this science with Scripture history, has undertaken, in the present work, to explain the highest philosophical questions of Geology, in a manner adapted to every understanding. The first part, now published, forms one volume, 8vo. (4 fr.) It contains a complete treatise upon the fundamental principles of Geology, and is enriched with coloured illustrations.

*De la Cosmogonie de Moïse comparée aux Faits géologiques*, 1 vol. 8vo. M. Marcel de Serres, is professor of Mineralogy and Geology at Montpellier, and is already known to the public by his geological discoveries. He has in the present work boldly proclaimed his opinion, that the narrative of Moses, although not written as a geological treatise, but solely for the purpose of unfolding to the Jewish people the infinite power displayed in the works of the creation, contains notions of the formation of the world, the justice whereof modern discoveries daily tend to establish and confirm. It is a learned work, which may be consulted with fruit, and which will contribute considerably to the glory of religion, and the progress of the science of which the author is a distinguished professor.

We are happy to perceive that the encouragement afforded to the edition of *St. Chrysostome*, published by M. Gaume of Paris, has induced them to undertake a reprint of the works of St. Bernard, in four volumes, 8vo., and of St. Basil, in Greek and Latin, in six volumes, 8vo. both from the editions of the Benedictines, with the addition of some new *opuscula*, discovered since their time. It is stated in the prospectus, that they will both be completed during the present year; and the price is fixed at thirty francs for St. Bernard, and sixty-six for St. Basil, to subscribers.

*Conférences sur le Protestantisme*. M. A. Nettement has translated the lectures delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman, at St. Mary's Moorfields, three years ago, and has prefixed to them an essay on the progress of Catholicism in England. The first volume (7 francs) is already published.

*Concordantiæ Librorum Sacrorum*, 40 francs, pp. 1520. This new edition of the concordance of the vulgate has been superintended by M. Dutripon, and it possesses many advantages not to be found in the common editions, besides containing twenty thousand additional texts, and a variety of tables connected with the chronology and history of the Bible.

#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Two new works on the *History of the Church*, have been announced; one by the Abbé Blanc, professor of Theology and Ecclesiastical History at the College Stanislas at Paris. It will fill three volumes, 8vo. the first of which is to be published in June. It will be followed by a dissertation on the History of the Church, by the Abbé Gerbet. The other work is by the Abbé Receveur,

professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Sorbonne. It will extend to six volumes 8vo. three of which will appear during the present year.

*Manuel des Dates en forme de Dictionnaire*, 1 vol. 8vo. 8 francs. M. de Chantal proposes, in this work, to supply a book of reference for the use of the student, upon the most important points of chronology. The book contains the dates of the leading events of modern and ancient history, such as the foundation of cities, political revolutions, wars, battles, and sieges, as well as councils, synods, heresies, &c.; the dates of the most interesting discoveries and inventions in the arts and sciences; of laws and treaties; of all remarkable natural phenomena, earthquakes, eruptions, epidemics, &c.; dates connecting the most celebrated individuals in history, the sovereign pontiffs, doctors of the Church, founders of orders, warriors, &c.

*Histoire du Bas Empire, depuis l'avènement de Constantin le Grand, jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II.* The accomplished authoress compiled this work for the use of the pupils at the house of the Sacred Heart, and it is a triumphant defence of the excellence of the system of education pursued in that and other similar institutions, for the instruction of youth. The highest praise that we can give it, is to say that it is written with extreme correctness and precision, and with a neatness of style, which charms and interests the reader. A few trifling faults, such as the want of chronological tables, and some traces of hurry in writing, are hardly worth mentioning, save to express the hope that they will be corrected in another edition.

*Louis-le-Pieux et son siècle*, 2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs. M. Frantin has chosen a difficult but noble subject for his theme. He has chosen a period fertile in great events; when the empire of Charlemagne,—in its vastness and magnificence, almost a type of that great empire on the ruins whereof it had been formed,—was disjointed and severed by its arbitrary division into new and independant states; it is an epoch that unfolds to us the spirit of faction and of ambition, contending for a share of the spoil; the development of the feudal system; the last inroads of those hordes of barbarous tribes, that had annihilated the Roman empire; the decay of the kingdom of the Franks, and the rise of a new nation and a new language. Nor are there wanting more peaceful events, on which the historian may rest, when weary with the intrigues and turbulence of faction and war, such as the monastic reform introduced by St. Benedict, of Anian, the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Corbie, and the glorious conquests of religion, in the conversion of so many of the northern nations. Illustrious pontiffs, and bishops and men of learning, pass in review before us, and fill up the episodes in the vast political drama represented by the historian. Such are Gregory IV, Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, St. Anschar the apostle of Denmark and Sweden, and Eginhard. Then comes the

monarch himself, whom posterity has judged so severely. His differences with the Pope bring to view the first germ of that superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, of mind over matter, which was afterwards developed by St. Gregory VII and his illustrious and calumniated successor, Innocent III. M. Frantin has discharged his duty in a manner worthy of the high reputation, which his former work, *Les Annales du Moyen Age*, so justly gained him.

*Souvenirs de la Congrégation de Notre Dame.* These *Souvenirs* present an edifying account of fourteen young ladies, who have died between the years 1823 and 1837, in the religious house of the above named congregation, in the Rue de Sèvres, at Paris. Appended to one of the lives is a notice of the conversion of an English lady, who taught English in the house, and of a German lady; both of whom were converted by the prayers and conversation of the subject of it.

*Vie et Lettres spirituelles de Madame de Cadrieu*, 12mo. The subject of this book was born in 1703, and died in 1790. Her letters are full of the most exalted spirituality, and several miracles are said to have been wrought through her intercession, since her death.

*Chronique d'Einsidlen*, 8vo. By Joseph Régner. This Chronicle of the famous Abbey of Einsidlen, the glory of Switzerland, and familiar to all the readers of the "Broadstone of Honour," has been compiled from the authentic archives kept in the Abbey. It is divided into two parts; the first embraces the history of the foundation and the biography of its abbots and other remarkable personages; the second contains the account of the Abbey and the pilgrimages performed to it. It details the history of its different vicissitudes, from its foundation by the holy hermit Meinrad, who was murdered in 863, to the present Abbot, who is the forty-ninth from that time. We have the account of their successive endeavours to improve the condition of the neighbouring country; the town which they have raised around the Abbey; the famous *Devil's bridge* thrown over the Sylle in 1112, which connected two strange cantons together; the gradual decline of the Abbey by the apostacy of one of its Abbots, and the want of the monastic spirit in others; its return to its ancient fervour and glory; the dispersion of its inmates during the French revolution, when they departed, bearing in secret to a safe place the miraculous statue of Our Lady of the Hermits, in whose honour so many thousands of pilgrims annually visit the Abbey; and finally, their return during the brief period of peace, and the restoration of the chapel of Our Lady in 1817. The history of this Abbey is a chronicle of the immense services rendered by it to the canton of Schwytz, and it forms an irrefragable defence of the utility of monastic institutions, against the attacks of the so-called liberal party in Switzerland. The Abbey has given rise to a town of 2,400 inhabitants. It has an hospital for the poor of the district. The principal portion of the Abbey is a square

building, four hundred and sixteen feet (French) in length, and four hundred and eighty in depth. The church is in the centre. It contains a library, rooms for boarders, the seminary, and the cells of the monks. The Holy Chapel, with the statue of Our Lady, is in the middle of the church. It has been the resort of pilgrims from a very early date. Cities and corporations used to send deputations thither, and the emperor Otho visited it in 965. The number of pilgrims is calculated at 120,000 in each year, and among them are the names of prelates, princes and nobles of the highest rank.

*Vie du bienheureux Pierre Fourier, curé de Maittaincourt.* This saint was born in 1564, at Mirecourt in Lorraine. He studied at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, and was ordained priest in 1589. He was appointed curate of Mattaincourt in 1597, and established there an association of pious females, who were to employ themselves in the visitation of the sick and the instruction of youth. This was the origin of the congregation of Our Lady, which was formed into a religious order by Paul V in 1615. It went on gradually increasing, and at the death of the founder in 1640, it possessed fifty houses. The saint was beatified by Benedict XIII in 1730. The life is written with great care, and contains an interesting account of the virtues and miracles of the holy man.

*Biographie Catholique, ou histoire des hommes qui se sont le plus distingués par leurs vertus chrétiennes, leurs fonctions ecclésiastiques, leurs écrits religieux, &c., disposée en ordre chronologique.* The Abbé de Genoude has collected around him a society of some of the most learned men in France, to assist in the composition of this work, and many others are expected to contribute to the forthcoming volume, the third of the series. His object is to supply a complete magazine of dates and important facts connected with the personages whose lives, writings or actions, form the leading portion of ecclesiastical history, and to represent their characters divested of the shades of prejudice which modern writers have cast around them. The price of each volume (8vo.) is nine francs.

*Essai sur les écrits politiques de Christine de Pisan, suivi d'une notice littéraire et de pièces inédites; 5 francs.* M. Raimond Thomassy has here presented to the public an interesting account of the life and writings of this extraordinary woman, who was the ornament of the court of Charles V, and his successor Charles VI of France, and the envy of neighbouring princes. Henry IV of England endeavoured in vain to draw her to his court, and Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, was equally unsuccessful. After the death of her husband, she sought consolation in the study of the classics and the composition of her numerous works. More than once she interposed between contending parties of the nobility, and by letters to the members of the royal family, laboured to effect a reconciliation between them. Besides these, she composed, she tells us, "fifteen of her principal works, without counting other little books, which fill seventy large sheets, between 1399 and 1405." The chief of

these is her "*Gestes et bonnes Mœurs de Charles-le-Sage.*" Her style is remarkable for its simplicity and earnestness, and her writings are full of the most elevated sentiments. "The biographer of Christine," said M. Michelet in a recent lecture at Paris, "whom some may perhaps charge with exaggerating the importance of the subject of his excellent work, has, nevertheless, described with equal freedom and feeling the important part which a woman succeeded in bearing at that epoch, by presenting a continual model of diligence, talent and virtue. It is certainly one of the most interesting biographical works we possess."

#### INSTRUCTION AND DEVOTION.

*Catéchisme à l'usage du diocèse du Mans.* The excellent bishop of this diocese, feeling the want of an abridged catechism for the use of his flock, composed a short time back a plan of one calculated to supply this deficiency. He forwarded a copy of it to each of the priests of his vast diocese, requesting them to favour him with their suggestions on the means of improving it. His invitation was responded to by many of them, and a commission was appointed to examine and put in order the results of their opinions; and the present work is the fruit of their united labours. The first sixteen pages contain an abridgment of the history of the Old and New Testament and of the Church. The work is then divided into three parts, 1st. the truths of religion; 2nd. morality and sins; 3rd. the sacraments and prayer. Under these heads, which do not occupy more than ninety pages, a complete, though brief account of the doctrines and duties of faith is given: and the book is a satisfactory compendium of the instructions and prayers that are necessary for all Christians.

*L'Art de traiter avec Dieu*, 1 vol. 18mo. By Father Rogacci, S. J. There are, observes the author, two classes of Christians; habitual sinners, and those who endeavour to avoid every kind of sin, however slight. For the latter the present book is written. The servile fear into which they are apt to fall, is dangerous to them; and in order to make them persevere, as they have begun, their heart must be opened to confidence and they must learn to look upon God as a child looks upon his father. The author proceeds to explain the snares which the devil lays for such souls, by the fears and anxieties into which he seeks to cast them; and teaches them to seek an antidote in a generous and confiding love of God. To all those who are troubled with such disquiet and difficulties in the way of salvation, this book cannot but prove highly acceptable.

*Nouvelle Année Apostolique, ou Instructions familières pour les dimanches et fêtes de l'Année*, 4 vols. 18mo., six francs.

*Consolations du sanctuaire, ou Méditations avant et après la sainte Communion*, 2 vols. 18mo. 3 francs, 50 cents. M. Auber, in a style remarkable for its loftiness and clearness, has shown in this book the sublime morality and deep devotion inspired by the Holy Sacrament of the altar.

*La dévotion du Sacré Cœur de Jesus proposée aux enfans.* The author of this book has conceived the happy idea of familiarizing the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus to children, by proposing for their imitation the examples which He was pleased to give in His blessed infancy.

*Mois du Sacré Cœur de Jesus.* The devotions contained in this book are divided into thirty-three days, in honour of the years of the life of Jesus.

*Mes Souvenirs ; Précis de ma Conversion.* This book contains an interesting account of the conversion of an English lady to the Catholic faith. Her father was related to the late and present Duke of Marlborough and to the Earl of Spencer. We strongly recommend the perusal of these *Souvenirs* ; they describe with great force and beauty the difficulties which she had to contend against on the part of her family, and the powerful attractions of divine grace in the work of her conversion.

*Manuel d'Instructions et de prières à l'usage de l'Archiconfrérie du Sacré Cœur de Marie, établie dans l'église paroissiale de Notre Dame-des-Victoires à Paris.*—We have presented to us in this book, an account of the labours of one, who, after having renounced a rich patrimony on behalf of the poor, has established a confraternity, under the protection of Our Lady, which has been approved by the Holy See, and has been blessed with the most wonderful manifestations of divine grace displayed towards its members.

*Divers Essais pour enseigner les vérités fondamentales de la religion aux personnes qui ne peuvent pas apprendre la lettre du catéchisme.* Par M. l'Evêque de Belley. These essays are seven in number, and are intended to teach pastors the method of instructing different classes of persons, who are unable to read, in the chief doctrines and practices of faith. The first is for a shepherd or labourer in the country ; the second for a young man who has learned a few prayers and the heads of the catechism, such as the commandments, the creed, &c., but who neither understands their meaning nor is capable of learning the catechism ; the third for a farmer, whose ideas are ever running upon his farm and the means of disposing of his stock ; the fourth for that class of peasants to whom much may be taught by means of pious pictures ; the fifth for a soldier, on the point of marriage, who is full of the ridicule and slanders he has heard uttered against religion and the priesthood ; the sixth is for two young persons, of about eighteen years of age, to whose education some care has been paid, one being a Protestant, and the other a Catholic ; the seventh contains an abridgment of Christian doctrine extracted from the ritual of the diocese. In each of these essays, the design of the excellent author has been to illustrate and explain the truths of religion from instances and things connected with the calling and state of life of the six different classes of persons of whom we have spoken. The idea is happy, and pastors will do well to consult a work which is the fruit of so much expe-



rience and such intimate acquaintance with the deficiencies in the common methods of instructing the poorer classes in the duties of our holy faith.

*Etudes morales et religieuses*, 8vo. These meditations were originally composed for private use at different intervals, and are now collected into one volume. They contain many striking thoughts presented in a forcible manner; and the *Rêveries et Méditations* at the end of them are full of touching reflections.

*Cours méthodique et complet d'Instruction*. Par M. Victor Boreau. The principle on which this book is written is enough to ensure it a favourable consideration. The learned professor lays down that religion and its duties are more important in education than literature and the sciences. Upon this principle his views of history are made to turn in such a manner, that, while every interesting point of history, discovery, or social order, is kept in sight, no event is passed by without yielding some considerations calculated to improve the mind and heart. The *Géographie méthodique* is also upon a new plan; the *Grammar* is a compendious solution of the leading difficulties of languages; the course of *Mythology* gives an account of the theological systems, not only of Greece and Rome, but of India, and the eastern people, &c.; the course of *Natural Philosophy* is illustrated by explanatory plates, and is rendered interesting by the numerous amusing experiments it contains.

*Le Livre de la Nature*, 4 vols. 12mo. seven francs. The work of Cousin Despréaux, published in 1801, has become a favourite book in the instruction of youth, by its varied views of nature and its method of adapting the discoveries of philosophy to their apprehension. But a new edition has long been wanted, which should contain the numerous discoveries made since the time when the book was written. This want has been supplied by a writer every way equal to the task, and the public has to thank M. Desdoutis for the numerous additions and improvements which he has made.

*Atlas méthodique des cahiers d'histoire naturelle, ou Introduction à toutes les Zoologies*. 2 francs, 50 c. Par M. Achille Comte. This Atlas is illustrated by upwards of one-hundred and fifty wood cuts; and the principles of the writer are deserving much praise, and we are happy to find that his work has been adopted in several houses of religious education.

*Nouveau Manuel du Chrétien; et Elévations de l'âme vers Dieu*, (1 franc 50c. each), will meet with a favourable reception on the part of those, who know that it is translated from the German of the confessor Archbishop of Cologne, Monsignor Droste de Vischering.

#### POETRY AND ART.

*Hymnes sacrées*. 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. Gladly do we hail this new tribute of the genius and poetical talents of M. Turquét, to religion and piety. It would be difficult to point out any of these beautiful poems as more worthy of meditation than the rest; but we

may particularize those upon Our Lady, and her festivals, as favourable specimens of the lofty and tender sentiment that pervades the writings of M. Turqu  ty. M. Berlioz has set some of these odes to music. We regret that our limits do not allow us to insert a few of the *hymns* that we had marked; but the whole volume will amply repay perusal.

*Le Lys d'Israel*, (2 vols. 8vo. 15 francs) by the author of *L'Ame Exil  e*, is another proof, if any were wanting, of the improvement in poetical taste, which induces the poets of our times to seek inspiration in themes, drawn from the Scripture history, or the saints and heroes of religion. To the same class belong the following works.

*Les Captifs, ou la foi sauv  e en Israel*, 1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c. by M. Delavault. The story is connected with the history of Tobias and Sara, and their descendants, and is adorned with descriptions of the rich and poetic countries, which were the scenes of the actions described.

*Noel*, by M. Michel Couvelaire, although written in prose, is of that poetic cast of thought and expression which has become so fashionable in France, since the publication of the *G  nie du Christianisme*.

*Reflets de Bretagne* is another of those poems, which have been written amid the poetical scenery of Bretagne, and the descriptions are tinged by the soft melancholy of the season of autumn and the country in which they were composed.

*Heures de Poesie*, (1 vol. 8vo.) by M. de Blossac, is a collection of short poems, distinguished by that charm of expression and depth of feeling, which mark the productions of M. Turqu  ty, and we trust that the reception of this first attempt of his imitator, will encourage him to proceed in the career which he has so happily commenced.

*L'Imitation de J  sus-Christ traduite en vers*. Although we are not very sure of the expediency of attempting to clothe the beautiful and energetic thoughts of the *Following of Christ* in the language of poetry, we are compelled to allow, that M. Sapinaud has generally been faithful to his original, and has succeeded well in many parts of his very difficult undertaking.

Two other works are upon our list, the *Voyage de La Trappe    Rome*, by the Abb   de G  ramb, (1 vol. 8vo. 7 francs 50c.) and *Du Vandalisme et du Catholisme dans l'Art*, by the Count de Montalembert, of which we shall be glad to have an opportunity to speak more at length.

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## MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROME.—On the 30th of November last, a secret consistory was held at the Vatican, to receive the solemn resignation of Cardinal Odescalchi, who has renounced his rank and dignities to enter the Society of Jesus. His holiness mentioned, in his allocation to the Sacred College, the earnest prayers addressed to him by his eminence to obtain his consent, and the regret which he felt at being obliged at length to yield to his petition. Cardinal Odescalchi belongs to one of the first families in Germany and Italy, and has filled some of the most important offices in the Church. He was, at the time of his resignation, cardinal-bishop of Sabina; one of the six suburban dioceses; vicar-general of his holiness, and administrator of the diocese of Rome; archpriest of Sta Maria Maggiore; grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, at Rome; prefect of two congregations of cardinals, and member of ten others; protector of the Austrian nation, of six religious orders, and of sixty congregations, churches, monasteries, and cities. Monsignor Cadolini presented his cardinal's hat to the pope, who, after conferring with the cardinals, received it; and then proceeded to create another cardinal in his place, as is customary in such circumstances. Upon the same day his holiness addressed to him a brief, allowing his resignation, but expressing his sorrow at it, and recommending himself to his prayers. He is now in the noviciate of the Society of Jesus, at Verona. Cardinal Della Porta Rodiani has been appointed vicar-general of Rome in his stead, and cardinal Lambruschini has succeeded him as grand prior of the knights of St. John.

Upon the 10th of December his holiness held a secret consistory at the Vatican, in which he declared his desire of proceeding to the canonization of the following persons: B. Alphonsus Liguori, founder of the Redemptorists; B. Francis de Girolamo, priest of the Society of Jesus; B. John Joseph of the Cross, of the order of St. Peter of Alcantara; B. Pacificus of San Severino, of the Reformed Minors; B. Veronica Giuliani, abbess of the Capuchinesses of Città di Castello. The canonization took place on the 26th of May. The lives of the above-named holy persons are just published.

On St. Stephen's day, a Latin discourse, in honour of the glorious protomartyr, was delivered before the pope and cardinals, in the Sixtine chapel, by Mr. Roskell, of the English college.

During the octave of the epiphany, a series of sermons, on behalf of the Institution for the Propagation of the Faith, was delivered in the church of S. Silvestro in Capite. An Italian sermon was preached in the morning by F. Ryllo, S. J.; and in the evening by F. Ventura, of the Theatines. Masses, according to the rites of various oriental churches, were celebrated in the course of each morning. On the four first days, English sermons were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman, F. Hughes, O. S. F., and the Rev.

Messrs. M'Gill and Kyan; and on the four last, Monseigneur Forbin Janson, bishop of Nancy, preached in French.

On the 1st of December last, Mr. Vincent Gandolfi was presented by Monsignor Acton to his holiness, when Mr. Gandolfi delivered a gold medal, with which he was charged by the president of Oscott College, together with an engraving of the interior of the chapel, which had been framed for the occasion. His holiness received Mr. Gandolfi most cordially, in a private room adjoining the library of the Vatican, made him sit down, and conversed with him for more than half-an-hour. He admired the workmanship of the medal, which he said should be a model for all future medals struck in the Roman states. We believe that his holiness referred to the circumstance of the medal exhibiting the exterior and interior of the building on its obverse and reverse. His holiness appeared exceedingly pleased with this testimonial of respect and filial attachment to the holy see, and expressed much pleasure and satisfaction to hear of the flourishing state of St. Mary's College. On the obverse of the medal is a front view of the college, round which are the words, *Collegium Sanctæ Mariæ de Oscott*, and below, *Ob extructum Seminarium, et Ecclesiam Dedicatam. Anno Salutis 1838*. On the reverse is the interior view of the altar and sacristy, on either side of which appear the words, *Virgini Deiparæ*. The medal was struck by Messrs. Hardman and Co., Birmingham, and is a beautiful specimen of art.

A solemn dirge was performed on the 9th of February, in the church of Santa Martina, for the souls of deceased artists; and a funeral oration, in Italian, was recited by the Rev. Dr. Wiseman.

On the 18th of February a public consistory was held, for the elevation of Monsignor Soglia, the pope's almoner, and Monsignor Tosti, the treasurer, to the rank of cardinals. In the evening the usual rejoicings were celebrated throughout the city.

His holiness has been pleased to confer the order of St. Gregory upon M. Abadie, the celebrated traveller, and his brother, who is at present in Abyssinia.

**SARDINIA.**—The king of Sardinia has bestowed upon the fathers of the Society of Jesus at Turin, the noble palace formerly occupied by the late queen, Maria Teresa, for the establishment of a college.

A church, built in consequence of a vow made during the cholera at Racconiggi, one of the summer residences of the royal family, has been solemnly dedicated to Our Lady by the archbishop of Turin.

**BAVARIA.**—The king has addressed letters of nobility to professor Görres, and has conferred upon him the order of Civil Merit, together with a pension to be held in reversion by his son.

The same pious monarch has transmitted 20,000 francs to the archbishop of Munich to form a fund, the interest of which is to be applied to the use of the ecclesiastics at Jerusalem.

**PRUSSIA.**—In spite of the violent treatment of the archbishops of

Cologne and Posen, the bishop of Breslau, who was considered the support of the court party among Catholics, has followed the example of his brethren, and signified his adhesion to the rules of the holy see respecting mixed marriages.

### ASIA.

CHINA.—Two missionaries, of the congregation of St. Lazarus, embarked for China on the 6th of March.

TONKIN.—An edifying account has been published at Rome of the martyrdom of two Christians: Father John Charles Cornay, of Poitiers, put to death by the government of Tonquin, on the 20th of September, 1837, at the age of twenty-nine years; and of a native catechist, Francis Cáu, who was strangled, and afterwards beheaded, upon the 20th of November, 1837, at the age of thirty-four. The narrative of his examination and martyrdom recalls to mind the acts of the ancient martyrs, whom he so closely imitated, both in his constancy and death.—(*See Annals of the Prop. of the Faith, March, 1839.*)

PERSIA.—We extract the following account of the conversion from Nestorianism of an entire people, from a letter from Monsignor di Giacobbe, archbishop of Hadirbegian, who has been appointed patriarch since the time at which his letter is dated (6th of January, 1839). “Having lately provided myself with abundant succours, I was able during the past year to proceed to the mission of Ormia. With the grace of God, fifty-one souls were in a short time converted during my stay, and others have been converted since that time. On that occasion Mar. Goriel, archbishop of Ardisciaj, promised to be converted, with all his diocese, consisting of five thousand souls, and I promised to build them a church; but I intend further to obtain for him a yearly pension of forty tomauns (about £22 sterling). We agreed, therefore, that he should come to Salmast to make his profession of faith, but he has not yet come, but he has sent me a paper, signed by him, on which I am to write the terms of the profession. Meanwhile, he goes about his diocese telling all his flock that they must confess to the Catholic priests, if they wish to be saved, and he sends Catholic priests to baptize the children.

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An advertisement, of considerable length, in the *Sydney Herald* of the 16th of November last, addressed to the Roman Catholics of New South Wales, announces, that a new weekly newspaper, to be called *The Australasian Reporter, and Roman Catholic Guardian of New South Wales*, is on the eve of making its appearance. The advertisement is exceedingly well penned, and enters very fully into the reasons which suggest the propriety of this new publication. The principal one appears to be the “cruel and persevering spirit of persecution by the press,” which has been increasing in malignity for some years past, doubtless because our strength in those parts has been for that time greatly increasing too. Loyalty to the queen, and attachment to the laws, with the advocacy of “rational prin-

ciples of government and legislation, be they Whig or Tory," will be the chief characteristics of the political portion of the journal. The religious department will occupy itself with the diffusion of spiritual knowledge; the more essential in that colony, from the scattered nature of the population; that thus those Catholics who are "too distant to hear the voice of their pastors, in defending their doctrines against the attacks of their opponents, may yet have a chance of instruction through their press." A prospectus, it is added, is in the course of publication.

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We close the present number of the *Dublin Review* with a new appeal to the well-tried charity of our readers.

Within the last few days, M. le Chanoine Duvillard, a distinguished clergyman of the diocese of Lausanne and Geneva, has arrived in England, bearing the powerful recommendation of his venerable bishop, Mgr. Pierre Tobie, and charged to make an earnest application to British charity, on behalf of a mission peculiarly dear to his lordship's heart. Our readers are doubtless aware, that in 1812 the free exercise of Catholic worship in the Canton de Vaud was first restored under certain "securities," and that it was not till 1825 that the erection of chapels and schools was suffered by law; since this last period, the exceeding poverty of the faithful few has been the chief obstacle to that progress which, notwithstanding, the ancient faith has made in every parish where a priest has been able to establish himself. In 1826, a year after the permission to build churches was conceded, the foundation of one was laid at Lausanne; it has been since completed, in a bold and massive architecture, from the pious munificence of the late baroness D'Olcak, its principal benefactress, assisted, too, by the slender means of the impoverished few, who still retained the traditions of their fathers. What is the result? There was then scarcely a Catholic within its precincts; now the church is crowded with the faithful. Of these some are foreigners, but by far the greater part is composed of neophytes. We ourselves have assisted at their worship, and witnessed with delight their multitude. Besides Lausanne, churches have been built, or are building, at Vevey, Nyon, Yverdun, Lachaudefont, and Bauttens, in the same canton, and in every case by voluntary subscription. In none of these places had mass been heard, from the establishment of Calvinism in the province, down to the Act of Toleration in 1812. And still the inferiority, in wealth as in numbers, of the Catholics, (who, compared even to the Protestants of all the diocese at once, average scarcely more than a third of the population), opposes great difficulties in the way of a satisfactory completion of these holy undertakings. This fact acquires a new importance from the circumstance, that one of the conditions on which their emancipation was granted, was that none of their priests, chapels, or schools, should ever become chargeable to the state for want of a proper provision. The manner in which this seemingly harmless stipulation



operates, may be best understood by a single example. In Vevey, eighty Catholic children and upwards are obliged, by the municipal authorities, to frequent the Protestant schools so long as their own remains unprovided for. The debt of 30,000 francs, which encumbers their new and beautiful church, and threatens even to deprive them of it, debars the Catholics of Vevey from the hope that unassisted by others they will ever be able to realize their fond aspirations for the establishment of a Catholic school within their city. The other towns we have named are similarly situated. In this distressing difficulty, the excellent bishop of the diocese has charged others with the painful task of soliciting the alms of the faithful in Italy and elsewhere, on behalf of the other parishes already mentioned; and M. Duvillard with that of asking our own for Lausanne and Vevey, and more especially for Vevey. When so much has been done by our Swiss brethren to make their charming country as spiritually desirable to British Catholics as it too well has been to our Protestant countrymen, can we refuse to listen to their humble demands, or meet them with the sentiments of a dwarfed nationality? Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Rev. Dr. Baldaconi, of the Sardinian Chapel; M. C. Chanoine Duvillard, of 30, Duke-street, Bloomsbury; and Messrs. Wright and Co. 6, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden. The charitable donors are at the same time requested to permit their names to accompany their contributions, that these may be preserved in perpetuity in the archives of Vevey-church, among those of its other generous benefactors. Thus they will share in the benefits of the solemn office, which, on the 8th December, the day after the anniversary of the church's consecration, is, and will be, annually offered in perpetuity for all its benefactors living and dead.

END OF VOL. VI.

# INDEX

TO THE

## SIXTH VOLUME OF THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

- Acts providing for the education of the Irish poor, 79, 81.  
Agrarian disturbances in Ireland, causes of them, 466.  
Alexander, (Pope) 306.  
Alfred, his establishment of schools and academies in England, 179.  
Altar in San Spirito, 120.  
Australia, (South) principles of the Colony there, 450—situation of its principal town, 451—its size, 455, land-jobbing there, 457—land-surveying, 458—price of labour, 459—spirit of the Colonists, 463.  
Apostolic almoner, an office at Rome, 128.  
Appendix to Dodd's History, containing Henry's letters, &c., &c., 415.  
Architecture, study of it in Italy, 7.  
Assisi, more a sanctuary than a city, 29.
- Bale, his play of Kynge Johan, 436.  
Bennett, his original dispatch concerning Henry the Eighth's divorce, 414.  
Bordeaux, its remonstrance against the prohibitory system, 374.  
Bourbons, their restrictions upon trade, 363.  
Braham, his singing, 532.  
Brockedon's Road Book, 1, 16.  
Bulls of the Pope, Tierney concerning them, 411.  
Bulwer, (Sir Edward) his oratory, 160.
- Campion, Catholic writer, 398.  
Catalani, her singing, 533.  
Catholicism, not unfavourable to philosophical speculations, 31—catholicism in France, Theiner's view of it, 165.  
Catholic clergy, chief inciters of the struggles of the Poles, 347.  
Catholic bishops, their resolutions concerning education, 107.  
Casimir, (John) his address to the Polish parliament, 336.  
Census of the Poles, 348.  
Ceremonies of Easter week, 489.
- Charity, that of Christianity, 115—wonderful extent of it at Rome, 131.  
Charlemagne, his era, 174—his constitutions approved by the council of Rome, 177.  
Christendom, different periods in its history, 66.  
Christian mysticism of Görres, 58.  
Christian confraternities attendant on hospitals, 122.  
Church, (Irish) its conduct to the Irish poor, 95.  
Cinquecent, 23.  
Civilization, (European) second period of it, distinguished for reforms of the church, 68—third period, 69.  
Colleges, necessity for supporting them, 465.  
Commissioners of railroads, their qualifications, 235.  
Confraternities, Roman, 129.  
Cooper, his novels, 490, 501, 508—his account of America, 491—his motives for avoiding all mention of American slavery, 528.  
Corporal of Bolsena, 10.  
Cotton manufactures, (French) carried on at what disadvantage, 362.  
Council of Trent, its decrees concerning seminaries, 192.  
Crime, the comparative amount of it in England and Ireland, 270—causes for that in Ireland, 273.
- D'Alton, (Mr.) quotation from, 80, 83.  
Dodd, his history of England, 395—his notices of Catholic writers, and Catholic confessors and martyrs, 398—Biographical notice of him, 401—first appearance of his work, 402—its reception by Catholics, 403—his charitable dispositions, 405—his means of getting at papers, 409.  
Drama, whether or not declining, 529—defects in composition, 537.

- Edgecumbe, Lord—his reminiscences, 530.  
 Education in Ireland, 74—Stat. 28, Hen. 8; as to, 78—Stat. 12, Eliz.; 81—7 Wm. 3; 81—12 Geo. 1, *ib.*—funds necessary for that purpose; 97—Wyse's reports on it, 98—its importance, 484.  
 Election of Popes—regulations concerning, 304.  
 England and its constitution described by Görres, 47—its analogy with that of the Church, 50.  
 Europe of Görres, 31.  
 Eve Effingham—story and characters of it, 510, 517, 519, 522.  
 Examiner—extract from, respecting railways, 258.  
 Execution—first in South Australia, 464—similar ones in Canada, 465.  
 Fano—account of, 19.  
 Follett, Sir William—extracts from his speeches, 145.  
 Foundation-schools in Ireland, 74.  
 Foundling Hospital, Rome, 123.  
 France—first European nation to change its constitution and established absolutism, 41—causes of its revolution, 42—its condition from 1789 to 1792, under the despotism of Napoleon, 45—what is wanting to give her perfect freedom, 46—its present political situation, 359—state of its landed interest, 364—dissensions between Northern and Southern, 367—state of its manufactures, 378—of its customs, 382.  
 Froude—extract from his letters, 417—his prejudices, 418—his state of mind, 420—his austerities, defect in them, 422—his tendency to Catholicity, 424—his opinions on Church authority, 431.  
 Garrande de Coulon—his statement respecting the Poles, 339.  
 Geraldine, 3rd vol.—story of it, 483.  
 Gerbert—his life, 291—his energetical letter, 296—character of his pontificate, 297—his learning, 298.  
 Gibbon, upon the Slavonians, 326.  
 Gladstone, (Mr. W. E.)—his oratory, 161.  
 Görres—life and writings of, 31—his Europe and the revolution, 38—its style and character, 72.  
 Gospel, how spread in England, 487.  
 Gregory VII—his life, 302—his death, 315—character and conduct, 316—his sincerity, 322.  
 Grey, (Sir George)—his oratory, 161.  
 Griffith, (Dr.)—his system of reclaiming bog land, 475.  
 Guide books—unsatisfactory, 5—how to amend them, 14.  
 Harpsfield and Harding—able Catholic writers, 398.  
 Harvey, (D. W.)—his speeches, extracts from them, 154.  
 Henry VIII—his character, from Dodd's history, 407—his struggle with the Pope, 311.  
 Henry VII—act passed in his reign for encouragement of husbandry.  
 Hildebrand—his election, 307—his letters to King Henry, 308.  
 History—Ecclesiastical and civil, 280.  
 History, Dodd's—its title, 396—how divided, 397—its merits, 406—quotation from, 407.  
 Hock, (Dr.)—his work on Pope Sylvester, 289.  
 Homeward bound, story and characters of it, 493.  
 Hospitals of Rome, 119.  
 Howick, (Lord)—his oratory, 160.  
 Ignatius, (St.)—his order instituted, to cope with Protestantism, 187.  
 Instruction,—religious works upon it, 288.  
 Inventory of plunder of religious houses, 414.  
 Ireland—means for its improvement, political reforms, extension of cultivation of the soil, 470—different acts for its benefit, 471—effect of the reclamation of land, 472—its trade with England, 474—its waste lands, 475—difficulties in the way of their reclamation, 477.  
 Italian Guides and Tourists,—1  
 Johan, (Kynge) elevated into a saint, 437—conduct of the play, 438.  
 Kilkenny railway company, 233.  
 Kosciusko—his manifesto and regulations, 336.  
 Kyle, Mr.—quotation from, 85.  
 Land-jobbing in America, 518.  
 Languedoc—its canal now to be completed 368.  
 Leo XII—anecdote concerning him, 120.  
 Literature—German, 277.  
 Lithuania—its close union with Poland, 343.  
 Lord John Russell—his oratory, 138.  
 Lynch—his work on the employment of Irish labourers, 473—measures suggested by him for consideration of Parliament, 477.

